WHY PEOPLE REMAIN IN SOCIALLY DISORGANIZED COMMUNITIES:

A CRITIQUE OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION THEORY

by

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at

The University of Texas at Arlington

August, 2020

Arlington, Texas

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

"When I stand before God at the end of my life, I would hope that I would not have a single bit of talent left and could say, "I used everything you gave me.""

– Erma Bombeck

First and foremost, I would like to thank my Heavenly Father for his grace and mercy in allowing me to weather the storm to complete this dissertation and earn a Ph.D. in a field that I am both passionate about and allows me to invest in others. I would like to extend a very special thanks to my supervising professor, Dr. Rod Hissong for your unwavering support throughout this process. Your cool demeaner, patience, and understanding of my family obligations allowed me the opportunity to navigate work, school, and a family of five while pursuing completion of this program. You have challenged me as a scholar and I can certainly say that your direction developed me into a greater researcher and writer, and for that I am extremely grateful. I would also like to graciously thank Dr. Anjomani and Dr. Audirac for challenging me to explore different avenues within my research. Your extensive feedback profoundly improved my research and through your collective guidance and support, I was able to proudly complete this dissertation.

Thank you to Dr. Arvidson and Dr. Casey for your fantastic teaching style and wisdom during your tenure at UTA. I learned so much from you all, and it was in your classes that my passion to further study social disorganization was ignited. Thank you to my friends Arica and Melanie for being a listening ear and a voice of reason during times of stress and uncertainty. Also to my friend Cherita, who boisterously encouraged me to keep going to reach bigger things, thank you! Rodney, thank you for your support, adverse views, and encouragement during this

process. I would also like to give a special thanks to some of my UTA classmates who have been an extreme source of support for me while going through this dissertation process. It has been such a pleasure knowing you all and I am eternally grateful for anyone that has contributed to my completion as we all know that earning a Ph.D. is not for the faint at heart. Thank You.

"Persistence is what makes the impossible possible, the possible likely and the likely definite."

– Robert Half

None of this would have been possible without the love and support of my family. To my mom, the Queen of my life Margaret Tatum, thank you so much for embedding in us the importance of education. Thank you for only giving us two options (school or military), because you knew the importance of having a seat at the table and having the means to accumulate wealth so we could provide for ourselves. You worked so hard to raise and rear us and I cannot express how much I love and appreciate you for all your sacrifices and guidance. I am so grateful for your help with my family, your support when times were rough, and simply thankful for you. Thank you for always being there.

To the jokester, the funniest fella I know, my dad Richard Tatum, thank you for your humorous spirit. You have definitely helped lighten the weight of stress that this program can encourage and so I thank you for your support and the tales that definitely brightened up a many stressful days. A special thanks to my siblings, for always being there when I really needed it, from bombarding my house to help me get it organized to allowing me to use your house to defend my proposal. I am so proud of all that you all have accomplished and pray nothing but the best for you guys and your families. To my eldest niece and nephew, you all have been such a delight, and a part of why it was so important for me to complete this program. I pray both of

you stretch yourselves and reach to obtain all the desires of your heart, because whatever you want to do is attainable. Thank you to my aunts and uncles that have supported and been my cheerleaders as I traveled the road less traveled.

To the LEADER OF OUR HOUSEHOLD, MY HANDSOME, AMAZING, and PROTECTIVE HUSBAND, Maurice Jones Sr. Thank you for being a sounding board and my protector during this period of emotional uncertainty. You supported me when I made the decision to go back to school, and I did not realize the sacrifice and strain you took on to champion my educational endeavors. Thank you babe, I love you. If it wasn't for your covering and you protecting me from outside stressors, none of this would have been possible. Thank you for adding two more gifts to our tribe, because they definitely kept the fire ignited for me to finish. You and I started the program with Maurice Jr. and God has blessed us with Lyric and Major while completing this program. This has proven to be a testament to the power of God.

To my eldest baby boy, I THANK YOU! You were my motivation to start the program. I started the program when you were three-years old and now you are an amazingly talented, super intelligent ten-year old with the world to navigate. You supported me and gave me some of our precious quality time to complete the needs of this program. Thank you, Maurice "Mojo" Jones Jr., for your love and being my hype guy.

To my beautiful baby girl Lyric, I experienced so many obstacles being in a PhD program while watching the miracles of God healing your body as you fought for your life the first 18 months of your life. You were born early as I ended another semester of school, but God positioned you right on time because you represented the need for resilience. You were a fighter

from the beginning and in the midst, it encouraged me to fight harder to be in a position to provide the life I desired for you guys to have. Thank you baby girl!

Last but certainly not least, my handsome surprise that I did not know I needed. Major, you have been a breath of fresh air for our family and a constant reminder of Gods favor over our lives. You have kept me up a many night and been my late-night alarm and study partner. Your smile and cool spirit light up the room and has helped me many days when I was not for sure if I had the ability to finish. I thank you my Major deal!

I pray you guys see if mommy can do it, no matter what the obstacle is, with God, hard work, resilience, and consistency the limits are boundless. You guys have helped me to grow and I want you to always remember mommy is with you in whatever you do, because you have the ability to do and/or be whatever you decide. You all are blessed children of our Heavenly Father and were called for greatness, always remember that. I love and thank you all!

DEDICATION

"For I know the plans I have for you, "declares the Lord, "plans to prosper you and not to harm you, plans to give you hope and a future."

– Jeremiah 29:11

This dissertation and degree is dedicated to those that were pivotal to the successful completion of this program, though they were not able to see it come to fruition. Each of you embedded gems that I have carried with me through this program. It was the aid you supplied both verbally and through your actions that allowed me to pursue and faint not during the process of obtaining a Ph.D. The fruit of your labor is present within the completion of this degree. I am forever grateful to those who now watch over me after their transition from labor to reward!

Thank you my girl, my auntie, Willie B. Martin, for your unconditional love and support. No words on paper could ever express what you meant to me and how thankful I am to have been in your presence. I thank you for your encouragement and sound mind when I was unsure and the many talks we had as I traveled to school after work. You are my girl and I love you. To my mother-in-love, thank you for your support and the love you showed us. Thank you for keeping Mojo for me to go to school and helping us on so many different levels. Your presence is truly missed, but I thank you for all you did and all you were to us. To my counselor, Dr. Lawanda Evans, you blessed my life immensely from the very beginning of this program. You were truly one of a kind and I am thankful for you. To my pastor, Dr. Karry D. Wesley, your wisdom was unmatched and your love for God blessed me. The time I spent learning under your teaching was priceless and I thank you for your prayers and direction as the leader of our body of Christ. You unwaveringly declared the power of faith, prayer, and obedience in our Heavenly

Father. I am so grateful to have experienced each of you, your presence in my life made it so

much richer. Thank you for your love and support for my family and I. I love you all!

"It is our darkest moments that we must focus to see the light."

- Aristotle

ABSTRACT

WHY PEOPLE REMAIN IN SOCIALLY DISORGANIZED COMMUNITIES:

A CRITIQUE OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION THEORY

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The literature surrounding social disorganization has typically focused on crime and a communities inability to influence existing social rules of behavior upon individuals (Paulsen & Robinson, 2004). This qualitative study examines twenty-one tenure tract residents, business owners, and/or leader's motivation for remaining in areas deemed socially disorganized under the HUD R/ECAP standards. Utilizing interviews and surveys to understand how individual participants experience living, working, and/or advocating in communities classified as socially inadequate, allowed patterns to emerge that pinpointed why people chose to remain in these communities. Leaders, business owners, and residents alike, offered an array of information supporting their position to remain within their community and a need for social disorganization to be explored holistically rather than individually with crime. The importance of communal

bartering and family support also emerged as a deciding factor for participants decision to remain members of the specified community. Implication for further research could include redeveloping social disorganization to be inclusive of traits that depict the nature and functions used within the community to identify the area as socially disorganized. It is also suggested that a bottom up approach be utilized to include residents, business owners, and community advocates in the decisions made to improve areas identified as socially disorganized.

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CHAPTER I

<u>Introduction</u>

Neighborhoods in areas deemed as socially disorganized are presumably easily

identifiable. "What with squatters, doubled-up families, illegal sublets and the 'unattached'

children and men who circulate between households, some projects house perhaps double the

population officially recorded in the agency's books" (Wacquant L. , 1998, p. 2). "Public

housing in this part of the city is notoriously filled with rats, maggots and roaches; many units

have not seen a coat of paint for over 20 years; thousands of them are occupied although deemed

unfit for human habitation" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 2). "The sound of rap music floats in the air, its

heady rhythms, as raucous as the street, filling the sparsely occupied parking lots at the foot of

the buildings" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 2). "Under the broken-down entrances denuded of light or

vestibule, cliques of unemployed youths kill time 'shooting the breeze', arguing and pushing

each other about" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 2). These characteristics are personal and structural

attributes that are unwaveringly associated with areas perceived as socially incompetent.

Areas recognized as having social impurities (residential or structural) are branded by a

negative stigma that paralyzes the community's ability to attain and maintain social, structural,

political, and economic leverage. These areas are typically predominantly populated by minority

(Black and Latino) residents in a lower economic class. The belief embraced by many

Americans, linking blacks and other disadvantaged minority groups to social images, such as

crime, violence, disorder, welfare, and undesirability as neighbors is ostensibly validated when

connecting residential spatial position to race. "These beliefs are reinforced by the historical

association of involuntary racial segregation with concentrated poverty – in turn linked to

institutional disinvestments and neighborhood decline" (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2005, p. 7). The stigma placed on these communities encourages and unwarranted isolation between residents and primary elements that form the basic social and physical structure within communities perceived as socially disorganized.

Social disorganization, in many instances can be viewed (from a macro-communal level) parallel to other stigmas associated with poor minority communities such as the concept of shrinking cities (describing cities in distress). This viewpoint, though biased to specific ethnic group (Blacks and Latino), provides the trajectory in which planners, investors, government agencies, etc. interact with residents regarding policy, economic, and structural elements. Sampson and Raudenbush (2005) notes, "race in American society is, therefore, a statistical marker that stigmatizes not only individuals but the places in which they are concentrated" (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2005, p. 7). It is suggested that dwellers in minority communities are unwilling participants, subjected to areas perceived as socially illicit and incapable of providing a quality life without outside interference. Historically, the stigma associated with social disorganized communities, shrinking cities, and other poor neighborhoods have been used dominantly by political, economic investors, planners, etc. "to replace minority and black working-class neighborhoods "with middle-class voters whose shopping dollars might reinvigorate nearby downtown retail districts" and help fiscally struggling municipalities compete with the suburbs for tax dollars (Abramson, 2012, p. 97)" (Audirac, 2018, p. 13).

Many areas classified as socially disorganized lack financial and political support to aid in the structural, relational, economical, and governmental stability of a community. "Not only are ghetto residents, as before, dependent on the will and decisions of outside forces that rule the field of power – the mostly white dominant class, corporations, realtors, politicians, and welfare

agencies – they have no control over and are forced to rely on services and institutions that are massively inferior to those of the wider society" (Wacquant & Wilson, 1989, p. 15). These communities do not harness visible resources for residents to actively engage in their personal support and development. "Impoverished neighborhoods lack such stable institutions as recreational facilities, stores, libraries, banks, convenience stores, and childcare centers. Schools that serve impoverished neighborhoods are often deficient of basic material resources" (Kingston, Huizinga, & Elliott, 2009, p. 6). In essence, communities stricken by social issues, are believed to be unequipped to compete with other communities due to inadequate support and resources both internally and externally.

Many researchers have isolated social disorganization as a crime-based theory. Its primary focus is on the effect lawbreaking misconduct has on people and physical structure within communities. Mays, Cochran, & Barnes (2007) notes, social spaces that embodies predominantly poor residents that are of a racial/ethnic minority are concentrated with social problems (Shoff & Yang, 2012). Sampson and Raudenbush highlights, "in poor neighborhoods, many activities that in better-off neighborhoods occur in private (e.g., drinking or hanging out) necessarily take place in public" (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2005, p. 7). The neighborhoods that are dominantly noted as having criminal behavior are those that are perceived as struggling communities based on a host of other elements other than illegal activities. "The urban black poor of today differ both from their counterparts of earlier years and from the white poor in that they are becoming increasingly concentrated in dilapidated territorial enclaves that epitomize acute social and economic marginalization" (Wacquant & Wilson, 1989, p. 9). As a result, many areas seen as socially disorganized are hosted into the pathology of the ghetto being one of

oppression and exploitation, rather than the results of disadvantage (Currie, Goddard, & Myers, 2015).

Exploring people within the frame of social disorganization without equally incorporating the physical, political, and economic influences allows for a prejudiced analysis of a neighborhood seen as socially disorganized. "The dark ghettos are social, political, educational, and-above all-economic colonies. Their inhabitants are subject peoples, victims of greed, cruelty, insensitivity, guilt, and fear of their masters" (Clark K. B., 1967, p. 11). This behavior further encourages a weakened communal system. It also demonstrates the pitfalls experienced by residents due to policies and procedures developed for political and economic gain rather than societal enrichment. "When American social scientists talk about poor central city neighborhoods, they mainly mean black neighborhoods" (Stark, 1987, p. 905).

Residents in communities of social disorder allegedly do not see value in building relationships within their community. Warner (2003) suggest, individuals in disadvantaged communities have a perception that their neighbors do not have the same goals and values, which discourage collective participation in practicing informal social techniques that would be helpful for developing a stable community. These communities equally feel the brunt of tainted social institutions because economics is praised for playing a more vital role than family and school, thus further weakening the moral values and culture, resulting in heightened crime (Warner B. D., 2003). Though residents in areas of duress seemingly do not find a necessity in communal relationships, their lack of faith in the police runs parallel simultaneously throughout poor neighborhoods. Even in the midst of differentiating values, poor communities distasteful experience with law enforcement is universal.

Contrarily, although residents in areas viewed as socially illicit are considered to have differentiating desires of interaction among each other, block size neighborhoods within the community do harness familial relationships. In communities plagued with social ills, many residents' survival mechanism is based in the concept of Georg Simmel "small-town life" (Gottdiener, Hutchinson, & Ryan, 2015, p. 57). Within this concept Simmel classifies the value of communal interaction and kinship within small towns, which indorse a network of people that embrace a traditional society. Within the society Simmel notes, "it was entirely possible that no money changed hands while farm produce and needed commodities were exchanged" (Gottdiener et al., 2015, p. 54). This form of urbanism in modern day neighborhoods allows for a village atmosphere within a city that collaborates to ensure overall needs are met within the smaller community, the practice of social capital. This informal responsibility to each other within communities of duress influence the nature of interpersonal relationship through social capital and long-standing residential desire to remain in communities labeled disorganized.

There is an assumption that people who live in areas that are displeasing to the general population are forced to stay within these areas due to limited monetary resources. Wilson and Kelling (as cited in Welsh, Braga, & Bruinsma, 2015, p. 448) "argued that social incivilities (e.g., loitering, public drinking, and prostitution) and physical incivilities (e.g., vacant lots, trash, and abandonment buildings) cause residents and workers in a neighborhood to be fearful". As a result of fear, many stable families move out of disturbed neighborhoods, leaving remaining residents to isolate themselves and avoid others (Welsh et al., 2015). It is possible for a resident to be paralyzed within their community as a result of being afraid. Yet, fear does not coincide uniformly with crime (Porter, Rader, & Cossman, 2012). Therefore, it is not crime but rather a disinterest to be associated with others based on personal perception (mischievous behavior,

residential theft, disrespect) that discourages specific personal relationship within socially disorganized communities.

Areas identified as socially disorganized have a history of long-standing residents who reside within poor communities. These inhabitants are not bound to areas of duress because of lacking resources. Instead, it is the initial move-in date attached to the individual value system of the occupant that encourages their stay within areas that others view as struggling communities. Focused on the effects of "kinds of place" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 374) in different types of neighborhoods, the theory of "social disorganization refers to the inability of a community to realize common goals and solve chronic problems" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 374). The theory of social disorganization allows poverty, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, and weak social networks to increase the likelihood of crime by decreasing the neighborhood's capacity to control individual public behavior (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). This has aided the dogma that "neighborhood ecological conditions shape crime rates over and above the characteristics of individual residents" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 374).

Social disorganization theory has a primary role in residents' decision to stay or leave areas perceived as unstable. Yet, the current explanation of the theory does not effectively coincide with characteristics associated to identify neighborhoods as socially muddled, exclusive of crime and social control. Establishing power of social influence through the practice of adapting neighborhood behavior; Edwin Sutherland's "differential association theory asserts that deviant behavior is learned through interaction with others" (Church II, Wharton, & Taylor, 2009, p. 5). Alternate theories such as routine activity and broken windows theory aid the ecological approach that focuses on concentrated crime and deviance within specific spaces (Piscitelli & Doherty, 2018). Each theory (social disorganization, differential association, routine

activity, and broken windows) is essentially identified by negative traits associated with crime and an inability of residents to mobilize to flourishing communities. Current models of social disorganization have downplayed the notion of subcultural variables and significant elements that influence qualities that identify areas as socially disorganized separate of crime (Bursik Jr., 1988).

It is suggested within the bodies of literature that highlight crime and deviance, that specific behavior is expected and accepted in areas perceived as socially disorganized due to individual and communal values (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). The idea that active communal participation is only present attached to corruption and misconduct is also evoked. Yet, in many instances, at the individual level, inhabitants participate in social capital within their block detached from wrongdoing. The stigma associated with social disorganization proves to be more befitting for crime-based theories such as the differential association theory, routine activity theory and broken windows theory. Within the basic idea of social disorganization, there is much to be explained as to why people stay as residents of these areas seemingly afflicted by physical, social, economic, and political ills, when the theory suggest residents would flee.

Socially Stressed VS Social Disorganized

Neighborhoods classified as socially stressed areas contain many of the physical, economic, residential, and political challenges associated with areas perceived as socially disorganized. In many ways these terms used to describe poor, unkempt, economically deprived, minority communities are being used interchangeably to identify communities in duress. However, within these stigmatized labels, there are subtle differences that allow each descriptive term used to characterize struggling communities to be isolated as its own entity within the field

of sociology. Though similar in attributes, scholars have attempted to develop a clear distinction between communities recognized as socially disorganized verses socially stressed. Yet, the similarities associated with these terms allow communities that classified as socially disorganized, to also be classified as socially stressed at will, when measured using HUD's concept of R/ECAP.

Bennett and Miller (2006) (as cited in Saleem et al., 2018, p. 749) notes, "neighborhood social disorganization is characterized by visible signs of disorder in neighborhoods including the presence of people hanging out on the streets, violence, and physical deterioration of the environment." This coincides with the physical attributes associated with communities viewed as socially stressed. However, though behavior plays a role in areas categorized as socially disorganized, areas deemed socially stressed speaks to resident's mental capacity to cope with social ills within communities afflicted by social duress. "We find that residents of "stressed" neighborhoods have higher levels of depression than residents of less "stressed" neighborhoods" (Matheson, et al., 2006).

Socially disorganized and socially stressed areas have many of the same initial attributes that allows these spaces to be stigmatized as communities of duress, such as poor physical structures, poor residents, and perceived violence. Minority residents are typically dominant in these areas and economic resources are limited and/or non-existent. Similar to areas identified as socially disorganized, areas that are socially stressed also deal with low wage employment and limited economic opportunities for single women head homes. "In comparison to men, women are less likely to be employed, more likely to work in lower status positions when employed, to have lower incomes and be single parents (Denton & Walters, 1999; Ross & Bird, 1994)" (as cited in Matheson, et al., 2006). Yet, as mentioned above though these areas have these overlapping

factors, both socially disorganized and socially stressed areas possess subtle differences that signify their position as similar but separate entities used to characterize struggling communities. Though used interchangeably by many scholars, this study will examine social disorganization detached from social disorganization.

Statement of the Problem

Since its beginning, the theory of social disorganization has been subject to a myriad of critiques used to discredit the need and importance of this theory (Bursik Jr., 1988). Shaw and McKay drew "on elements of strain, cultural conflict, and control theories, but the logical implications of those frameworks are at times inconsistent" (Bursik Jr., 1988, p. 521). Criticisms commonly faced by Shaw and McKay were the inability to efficiently test the data and measure social disorganization, lacking depiction of ecological stability post World War II, and a failure to adequately develop a normative framework that was sensitive to the realities of political and social life (Bursik Jr., 1988). Schuerman and Kobrin (1983, 1986) noted changes in land use patterns induced by a change from predominantly owner-occupied housing to rental units, which led to the attributes (population turnover, changes in population composition, and socioeconomic composition) highlighted as basic tenants within the theory of social disorganization.

Communities identified as socially disorganized are unforgivingly viewed as areas that lack one or all of the following elements: quality people, picturesque structure, financial stability and political participation. Yet, the theory of social disorganization does not contain a specific and or viable definition to support and/or pinpoint these community features. Shaw and McKay definition of social disorganization disregard central elements (residential, structural, financial and political) that makeup the basic structure of a community separate from crime and deviance.

The definition is strictly based on the informal and formal controls developed under Shaw and McKay (1942); a view of social disorganization theory under the criminology umbrella. The logic that four interconnected neighborhood factors function as an index of a community's capacity for informal and formal social control on individual development is reinforced within the theory of social disorganization (Madyun, 2011). "According to this theory, the number of single-parent households, mobility, diversity, and poverty undermine a community's ability to socially control and pass on the norms, expectations, and values that lead to acceptable successful outcomes by diluting modes of socialization" (Madyun, 2011, p. 24). This logic developed under the criminal framework solely coincides with the basic tenants used by these classic scholars to show residents inability to regulate themselves. It does not address nor represent communal elements (structure, finance, policy) outside of residents that determine the overall perception of specific stigmatized communities (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003).

Poor communities inherit a distinction of being incapable of realizing common values of their residents or solving commonly experienced problems (Bursik, 1988; Kornhauser, 1978). However, this does not equate to the attributes used to label a community as socially disorganized. Failure to adequately determine what classifies a neighborhood as socially disorganized, encourages government entities and developers to demolish neighborhoods physically and culturally, because of the negative stigma and an unfamiliarity of the communal norms within the neighborhood. This results in leaving residents displaced and promoting gentrification within minority communities. "They want to put all the blacks in the projects. They want to build buildings for the rich, and not us poor people. They are trying to move us all out. In four or five years we will all be gone" (Wacquant & Wilson, 1989, p. 15).

Gentrification similar to the idea of shrinking cities has become the staple for redevelopment masqueraded under the authority of revitalization. "Gentrification can completely change the character of a neighborhood in a short time, transforming it from a neglected, run-down district to a trendy, upscale representation of middle-class wealth and success" (Grifith, 1996, p. 241). However, this change in physical, economic and inhabitant structure, staged as revitalization, typically has detrimental effects caused by displacement in established communities that appears to be in economic duress. Revitalization promotes the ideology that a community will be redeveloped to enhance and uplift specific physiognomies to improve the individual and structural quality of life within the area. Many community leaders present this reinvention of the space in a sense that current community residents would have an upgraded quality of life, while disregarding the financial burden that typically supports the forced removal of long-standing residents.

This defacement of perceived disorganized communities, perpetuates a break down in minority community's economic stability, forcing long standing residents to relocate, re-establish living quarters, and conform to other neighborhood cultures which further destroys minority (specifically black) communities. "Concentrated disadvantage not only deprives neighborhoods of resources that may be mobilized to control crime, but also increases social isolation among residents, which impedes communication and interferes with their capacity to pursue common values (Bruce, Roscigno, and McCall 1998; Sampson and Wilson 1995)" (Kubrin & Wetizer, 2003, p. 380). In fact, forced removal of long-standing residents in areas perceived as socially disorganized, causes more concentrated disadvantage and residential instability. The definition projected by earlier scholars to describe social disorganization is in serious need of clarity and evolution. Truthfully, the title of social disorganization should not be used publicly to describe

occupied communities, as the stigma unwaveringly causes draw-back of cooperation from residents and a disinterest to invest.

Inhabitants who are long standing residents of neighborhoods perceived as socially disorganized are viewed as residents with barriers (financially, economically, physically, or structurally) preventing them from relocation. The theory of social disorganization suggests that long term residents of communities that are heavily plagued with social ills would depart these communities at first opportunity. Keenan (2010) contends lifetime residents' value their community and have no desire to transition away from the homes and communities they have aided in establishing. Most older adults aspire to remain in their current dwellings as they age, but their ability to remain in their homes and communities often depend on the condition of their neighborhood (Riley, Hawkley, & Cagney , 2016). It is more common for lifelong residents to be forced out of their community by the 'powers that be', rather than voluntarily leaving the neighborhood many of them have supported and seen naturally evolve throughout their tenure. Anderson asserts (as cited in Warner, 2003) due to structural changes, "trust and perception of decency that once prevailed in the community are increasingly absent" (p. 77).

Within these communities there is a strong informal control system that evokes subconscious respect toward original/long standing residents and adheres to their direction. The culture embraced by long standing residence is one of mutual respect due to their position as an elder or long-term resident within the community. "Black families, especially, may be more likely to have developed skills over their lives for coping with the challenges of disadvantaged neighborhoods (DeLuca, Garboden, & Rosenblatt, 2013)" (Riley et al., 2016, p. 1132). In many instances residents that have a long stance within the neighborhood may not see behavior within the community as inappropriate or dangerous, but rather a display of urbanity within the

community. The theory of social disorganization suggests that people will leave their community at first opportunity. Yet, areas that are recognized as socially disorganized have long standing residents who value their neighborhood and have no intentions of relocating. Though identified as socially disorganized areas, long standing residents want to stay.

Unfortunately, social disorganization is usually associated with poor, minority neighborhoods (typically black areas) lacking financial resource and social control. This stigma associated with poor minority communities alludes to an inability of specific minority areas to successfully partake in non-structured advocacy planning. In many instances, similar to more affluent resourceful neighborhoods, a community may lack one or more attributes that is associated with social disorder. This should not automatically deem a neighborhood dysfunctional. The community may support a different value system, such as specific areas in Dallas that are considered more artsy and/or culturally liberated that embrace specific unconventional design features like graffiti walls. "Everywhere we look, creativity is increasingly valued. Firms and organizations value it for the results that it can produce and individuals value it as a route to self-expression and job satisfaction" (Florida, 2002, p. 18). Developers and government entities classify areas in poor neighborhoods as socially
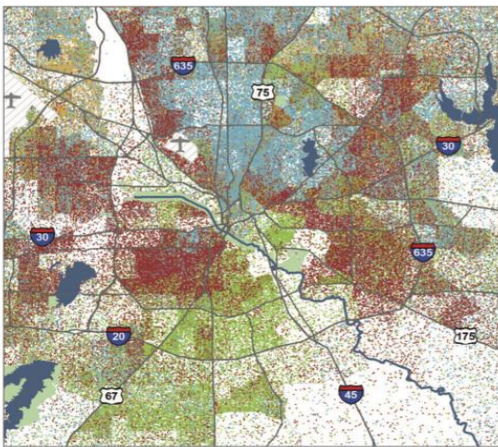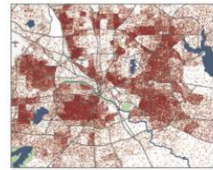
disorganized predominantly because of financial stress. However, many of these areas are revitalized using urban design, yet reclassified as upscale living based on gained capital at the expense of low economic minority residents. Historically in the US, political and financial decisions in stigma bias communities welcomes the cycle of destruction (build, gain capital, allow to deteriorate, remove resource, destroy, rebuild) typical in poor minority areas, while disregarding the financial anxiety placed on long-standing residents due to involuntary removal.

Based on the value system within the theory of social disorganization, these space design features (such as graffiti walls) should position the area as socially disorganized due to cultural norms that promote unstable social control. Historically, areas that displayed street art or untraditional designs were tell-tale signs of a community infested with criminal or disorderly behavior. "Anderson (as cited in Stewart & Simons, 2006) argues that the high rates of poverty, joblessness, violence, racial discrimination, alienation, mistrust of police, and hopelessness that characterize many disadvantaged neighborhoods have instilled in some residents an oppositional culture that rejects mainstream values" (p. 4). It is authenticity that attracts both long standing residents and developers to these areas perceived as socially disorganized. Richard Florida (2002), expresses this sentiment through confirmation that authenticity and uniqueness are qualities that are valued in places. "It (authenticity) comes from the mix – from urban grit alongside renovated buildings, from the commingling of young and old, long-time neighborhood characters and yuppies, fashion models and "bag ladies." An authentic place also offers unique and original experiences" (Florida, 2002, p. 22).

Social disorganization has been established by definition to be based in informal and formal control under the authority of criminology. Though social disorganization has been associated immensely with crime in the research of Shaw and McKay; the original inception of

social disorganization studied human ecology and the value of 'place matter' to identify patterns of development used to develop the theory of social disorganization. The current definition is not in alignment with characteristics that are used to identify individual, structural, political, or financial ills that plague communities. These traits, or lack-there-of, are precursors for determining whether a neighborhood is identified as socially disorganized. Therefore, the definition itself associated with the theory of social disorganization must be revamped in order to be inclusive of neighborhoods that may not have a lot of crime but are struggling with other traits associated with this theory.

This theory identifies residents in poor neighborhood as victims of social disorganization, whereas long standing residents identify themselves as pioneers within their community. Residents are not choosing to abandon neighborhoods depicted as socially disorganized, but rather being forced out by decision makers. "Involuntary moves tend to be short distance and made by socioeconomically vulnerable households (Metzer, Fowler, Anderson, & Lindsay, 2015)" (Riley et al., 2016, p. 1133). Contrary to the belief system established in the theory of social disorganization, even when residents are forced to move out of their dwellings, they still remain within the same community.

Purpose Statement

The theory of social disorganization suggests that people flee from areas that are perceived to be in social duress, unless they are forced to stay because of a lack in financial resources, personal, and/or structural relationships. The theory discounts the reality that there are other factors in addition to crime that contribute to areas being classified as communally incompetent. These factors include structural, economic, personal, and political influences. The

theory proposes that crime by way of lacking informal and formal social control, is the dominant influence that dissipates neighborhoods afflicted with social ills. However, areas regarded as socially disorganized include long standing residents who have chosen to stay, though the space and inhabitants have been characterized as dysfunctional. As mentioned, the act or perception of crime does not weigh heavily on resident decision to stay or relocate from areas regarded as socially ill (Porter et al., 2012).

The intent of this study is to explore why people choose to remain in blighted areas, when the theory of social disorganization suggests they would depart. In the study, the HUD R/ECAP data was used to determine tracts that met the HUD R/ECAP standard which parallel social disorganization. The typology identified was based on communities that are 50 percent non-white and a poverty rated exceeding 40 percent or three or more time the average tract poverty for the metropolitan area, whichever threshold is lower. Qualitative interviews with long-standing residents explored why people have chosen to stay in areas that show evidence of social disorganization. These interviews allow a more in-depth view into the experiences that created value that encouraged residents to remain in their current neighborhood.

Scholars, McNulty and Bellair (2003), Sampson and Raudenbush (2005), Warner (2003), and many others have reported a plethora of influences that would lead residents to abandon areas viewed as socially disorganized. Yet, minority residents within communities classified as socially disorganized value specific physical and social attributes that encourage their continued occupancy in areas classified as socially struggling. These factors include both culture and individual values that align with the beliefs and morals of the individuals residing within the community. "Swidler (1986) argued that the poor do not possess different values from the rest of society but rather have access to a different repertoire from which to construct their strategies of

action" (Small, Harding, & Lamont, 2010, p. 16). In many instances this culture shift, speaks to the behavior, built environment, economic, and political stance accepted in areas perceived as socially disorganized. The factors that anchor poor minority residents in socially struggling communities depends dominantly on the culture and values developed by long standing residents. These factors equally involve qualities that shape individuals, physical environment, economics, and psychological elements that aid in long-standing residents desire to remain in their local communities.

It is assumed that residents will abandon their community if economically able, however many scholars have noted that finance, similar to crime play a secondary role to residents of socially disorganized communities' decision to relocate. Physical structures and residential behavior develop the culture and interaction between residents and the built environment in areas deemed socially inadequate. However, the emotional attachment, social capital, and familial experience among neighbors have proven to be the anchor that disrupts residents, with the ability to leave, from departing communities seen as socially disorganized. "A study by Freeman (2006), for example, suggests that longtime residents can benefit from new social connections to in-movers' social, cultural, and economic capital, which enables them to demand better police patrol after dark, send their children to improving schools, and receive other public services" (Papachristos et al., 2011, p. 217). Long-standing residents are not anti-newcomers but rather more interested in building relationship with neighbors with a common goal to develop the community, absent displacement.

Poor minority neighborhoods, which encompass the characteristics of social disorders, was the focus of the study. Using three neighborhoods will identify neighborhood patterns and can aid architects and planners in ways to approach rebuilding communities through the process

of advocacy planning, isolated from capital influence. The use of qualitative data is vital to advocate for change for lifetime inhabitants forced out of neighborhoods viewed as socially disorganized. In addition, insight gained from the interview of current long-standing residents will allow developers and government entities to aid in development of poor neighborhoods based on communal needs, rather than strict financial gain. This will help poor minority residents to be seen as assets to the community, rather than viewed as spoils associated with the stigma of social disorganization.

<div align="center">Contributions</div>

Scholars of social disorganization have presented volumes of material of why people should and would dislocate from areas afflicted with social ills. These researchers include Clark (1967), Bursik (1989), Anderson (1999), and Shaw and McKay (1947). Kenneth B. Clark (1967) addressed the issue of ghetto pathology being a "mutually reinforcing package" (Currie et al., 2015, p. 11) used to aid instability within these areas as a result of low-wage work that trapped people in poor housing. Though he noted the resilience of residents living in areas perceived as socially disorganized, he felt it "crucial that this energy or "resilience" be harnessed to community mobilization and not just serve as an individual coping strategy" (Currie et al., 2015, p. 14). Shaw and McKay (1947) similar to Clark identified residential mobility as a form of attaining social organization. Bursik (1989) viewed political decisions regarding the placement of public housing as a way of amplifying crime and decreasing the community's ability to regulate itself (Kubrin and Weitzer, 2003). He further assert, "Black neighborhoods without such projects had low crime rates, similar to White neighborhoods without public housing (McNulty & Holloway, 2000)" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 386). The practice of cultural adaptation to negative structural conditions and behavior detours potential residents from the neighborhood

and discourages short term residents from renewing occupancy within the community. In many instances, the involvement of US investors, developers, planners, architects, and government entities have treated the symptoms (poor structure, poor inhabitants, detached political leadership, etc.) of social disorganization through the practice of withdrawn economic and social resources, shrinking cities, and gentrification for capital gain while disregarding the actual problems associated with social downfalls. Treating the problem would require time, communal relationships, and slower development to develop programs that is beneficial and necessary for the community, deposing the ideas of a one size fits all model of planning.

The theory of social disorganization must be detached from crime and revamped to provide a more distinct model of what classifies a space as lacking social organization. "Crime did not become the focus of study until researchers Shaw and McKay (1942) entered the scene" (Kubrin C. E., 2009, p. 226). As a result of crime being the prevailing social ill, social disorganization was heavily redefined as the ability for a community to obtain and maintain informal and formal control. This control refers to a resident's ability to determine and resolve serious problems faced within the community. "According to the theory, poverty, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, and weak social networks decrease a neighborhood's capacity to control the behavior of people in public, and hence increase the likelihood of crime" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 374). Consequently, though crime is mentioned throughout the literature of social disorganization, it is not the ultimate deciding factor of rather people leave their community.

Additionally, the above characteristics (poverty, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, and weak social networks) identified by Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) as prerequisites for crime, do not necessarily identify violent crime areas (in which people are more

skeptical about). "Fear of crime and socialization literature which suggests individuals (particularly women) are socialized to be more fearful of violent crime than property crime (Chiricos, Hogan, & Gertz, 1997; Madriz, 1997; Reid and Konrad, 2004)" (Porter et al., 2012, p. 242). Though crime should not be completely disregarded, the literature shows clear patterns of the traits mentioned above (ethnic heterogeneity, residential mobility, etc.) being the deciding factors that encourages residents to remain in areas perceived as socially struggling.

As the theory of social disorganization has evolved, many of the original qualities that were discredited in the literature, such as culture, are seen as pivotal traits when determining rather a community is socially disorganized. The stigma associated with areas perceived as socially disorganized, naturally harnesses an unpleasant connotation that encourage decision makers to redevelop communities based on bias perceptions of how a community should look and function in accordance with political plans for the area rather than communal necessities. Involuntary positioning in neighborhoods of social duress for poor minority occupants have been perceived as a result of poor financial management and elevated crime. The literature is not inclusive of residents that are genuinely interconnected within their community, but rather highlight dwellers who original goal was temporary tenure. I intend to provide literature that supports the ideology that many of the traits that appear to be burdens based on the theory of social disorganization do not affect residential mobility for long-term residents. Instead there are long standing residents that value their community, have progressed with the neighborhood, and have no desire to flee from the area within which they are embedded.

Limitation

The limited definition accepted for the theory of social disorganization, embraces a one-dimensional facet of social disorder. The heavy emphasis on crime and other means of formal and informal control within the realm of social disorder allows components such as residential, structural, financial and political attributes to be uninfluential and viewed as inequivalent in comparison to crime under the current definition. As mentioned above, there is a direct need for an evolved definition that allows other aspects of the theory to be explored. Furthermore, the need for a systematic weighing system to identify neighborhoods as socially ill is vital because many neighborhoods may contain some but not all of the traits. An appropriate weighting system would allow the theory of social disorganization to be studied acknowledging the different forms of social disorganization that can be patterned within minority communities.

My research entails a series of issues that should be explored in the future to advance the theory of social disorganization. Utilizing the proposed value system, allows communities to evaluate and determine the degree to which they may be socially disorganized based on the four interconnected elements (residential, structural, political, and economic). The ability to compare and contrast elements in affluent neighborhoods to poor communities would give a more distinguished analogy of attributes that determine rather an area is classified as socially disorganized. It is also possible that areas deemed more affluent can also harbor multiple traits that, when present in poor neighborhoods, cause the poor neighborhoods to be categorized as socially disorganized. Yet, more affluent areas that may embody attributes common in socially plagued areas will not be addressed, in order to avoid the possibility of creating a completely different direction within my research.

Another limitation is advanced research exploring the ideology of people versus place matters. Studying the philosophy of people versus place matter would be appropriate since

human ecology initiated the discussion of social disorganization. In fact, in determining why people (people matter) stay in areas (place matter) that show evidence of social disorganization, an in-depth analysis of this system of people matter verses place matter would aid in determining the vitality of the four elements I highlight within my research. Specifically, the pathology of race-based decisions in relation to land occupied must be evaluated due to the pivotal role race has played in US history. Policies and systems in many instances have been created directly to govern minority land patterns as many scholars have attested (Bursik Jr., 1988). When exploring social disorganization many of the character traits are identical to the traits associated with black minorities in particular. This leads one to question if communities are classified as incompetent because of social ills, such as the broken window concept, or if these communities are judged more harshly and given the stigma of socially disorganized due to the racial group that embodies these communities, as Sampson and Raudenbush (2005) allude to. It further begs the question of whether minority communities are deprived of resources to revitalize the community without displacement of residents because the community is too far destroyed, or if American history is following the pathology of devaluing communities economically, residentially, structurally, and politically due to the racial makeup. Though I acknowledge the stigma associated with labeling communities socially disorganized, the analysis to determine if the stigma of race outweighs social disorganization should be evaluated in later research to give a more developed view of social ills in minority communities.

Lastly, a new theory that highlights the attributes within struggling communities while acknowledging the social downfalls would be paramount in developing a partnership between residents and decision makers. In many instances, a newly established theory developed specifically to display the attributes within a community that have social imperfections, but have

evolved with the change of time, space, and residents would allow a communal conversation to take place between policy makers and dwellers to encourage the placement of resources that would be valued and utilized within the community. A theory is needed to discourage resistance because of the historic practices of the US, which embodies the action of overtaking land by any means necessary, and with no regards to current inhabitants. Minority communities have been subjected to many of the ills associated with this practice by US investors, developers, etc. and therefore embraces a distrust toward decision makers. Future research to determine a newfound theory that support long-standing residential position in areas perceived as socially disorganized is vital to destroy the stigma associated with poor minority communities, decrease displacement, and form communities inclusive of all economic class.

Overview & Conclusion

Many studies investigate the consequences of young residents living within poor minority communities. However, my demographic area targets residents in socially disorganized communities, who have remained in the area despite socially compromising characteristics. It is imperative that my research highlights the influence of older residents on the development and maintenance of individual, structural, political, and financial systems within areas deemed as socially disorganized. Long-standing residents play a vital role in communities viewed as socially disorganized. In the face of adversity, for further development of social disorganization, it is important to understand why residents choose to stay in areas of blight, when they have the ability to relocate.

Long standing residents in specific socially disorganized neighborhoods embody diverse demographic characteristics. It is possible that long standing residents within the neighborhood

could include an array of different family dynamic, such as adults that may have grown up within a neighborhood, moved away and later returned. Often, as parents grow older in less affluent communities, children relocate themselves in childhood homes to aid in the care of both the parent and property. "Empirical studies of the consequences of neighborhood disadvantage for older adult relocation are few, but it is reasonable to expect that a disadvantaged residential environment would undermine the ability of an older adult to remain living independently in his or her home" (Riley et al., 2016, p. 1131).

To address my research question, I incorporated the HUD R/ECAP standards and the severity of drained resources to identify three communities that could be used within my methodology to more precisely recognize neighborhoods with distinct yet various characteristics of social disorganization. This supports the need for the current definition to be re-established to incorporate key elements that influence social disorganization and aid in developing a more theoretically sound system that examines the impact of social disorganization. This will also allow for a more balanced perception, less dependent on crime, within the theory. In order to accomplish a renewed definition and determine why people choose to stay in areas of social disorganization when the theory suggest they would relocate, several steps must be explored.

Chapter I gives basic insight to the theory of social disorganization. It presents my research question, why do people remain as residents in communities that show evidence of social disorganization, when the theory suggest people would leave? It also highlights the stigmas associated with the theory along with several critiques of the theory. A discussion of the purpose of my research, as well as my contribution and limitations within the research follows. Chapter II focuses on the contributing literature of scholars that have aided in the rise, fall, and redemption of social disorganization. Chapter III introduces key elements that are imperative in

developing the framework for social disorganization independent of crime. It also allows insight on the influence areas plagued with social disorganization have on the enhancement or demise of residential, structural, economical, and political aspects of community development.

Chapter IV describes the methods I use to test my hypothesis. Utilizing HUD R/ECAP data to analyze the demographics within socially incompetent communities will allow me to identify patterns among neighborhoods that embody characteristics that would classify them as socially ill. Following the evaluation of demographics, interviews will be taken to give further insight into why people choose to stay in areas that theory suggest people would flee. Chapter V gives a detail analysis of the participants, their views of social disorganization, and the reason they have chosen to stay, work, and/or lead within their designated communities. It also highlights the values of the tenured participants. Lastly, Chapter VI gives an overview of the dissertation and findings. It further provides limitation and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER II

<u>A Look into the progression of Social Disorganization</u>

Social Disorganization is defined as the inability of local communities to realize the common values of their residents or solve commonly experienced problems (Bursik, 1988; Kornhauser, 1978; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1920). Scholars for decades have debated the theory of social disorganization. In fact, due to unacceptable data and the lack of determined importance, it fell out of academic favor for many years (Stark, 1987; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003; Kubrin C. E., 2009). After a stint of being discredited as a viable theory, social disorganization found new proponents in criminal justice research. Both, sociology and criminal justice scholars, focused the theory primarily on explaining the effect of crime on social disorganization. Until the late 20th century, similar to Shaw and McKay, modern day researchers have neglected to incorporate other factors that contribute to socially disorganized communities.

Researchers who have explored the theory of social disorganization, have done so using an ecological foundation to explore sociological behavior in conjunction with natural setbacks, such as poor health, heightened criminal activity, and failing education systems. These attributes are traditionally primarily in poor neighborhoods. Appropriate behavior in socially disorganized areas is developed based on "a value-assumption about what is 'organized' in the identification of any state of affairs as 'disorganization'" (McGee, 1962, p. vii). When paired with this form of poor neighborhood propaganda, it seems natural that neighborhoods should be seen through the lens of criminology. "A social problem (such as divorce or juvenile delinquency) is a set of behaviors which are the result of contradictions or conflicts within a normative system or the

result of the absence of a normative system covering the specific behaviors in question" (McGee, 1962, p. viii).

This subjective value system suggested by McGee (1962) is unspoken yet understood in any 'social problems' that occur within the field because a situation can only be deemed problematic when judged using human point of view or ethical standards. "While divorce may be a problem from an ethical-religious point of view, it is hardly problematic to the Las Vegas lawyer who specializes in handling divorce actions" (McGee, 1962, p. viii). Therefore, the behavior, culture, structure and/or economics accepted in areas characterized as socially lacking, may be viewed as normal by residents within the community they are vested. Yet government leaders, planners, and developers have embraced the mindset of revitalizing areas perceived as ruined. This coincidently leads to gentrification and the demise of established neighborhood to develop what society has classified as a traditional community. This results in communities restructured for monetary gain at the expense of long-standing residents.

Employing the opinions of decision makers to judge the stigmatized behavior of residents in socially compromising neighborhoods subconsciously allows outside entities to determine which common values are appropriate. "To the outside observer, densely populated inner-city neighborhoods may appear chaotic. But ethnographic studies and field research show that this may be misleading" (Gottdiener et al., 2015, p. 202). Uninformed aid from leaders outside of the community, relinquishes control from internal residents and distributes it to outside economic and political resources. Historically, this misplaced distribution of power to determine economic, structural, and residential needs in poor minority communities have proven to be ineffective when detached from the communal interest of political leaders and the economic elite (Parker, 2018).

Thomas and Znaniecki define social disorganization as a "decrease of the influence of existing social rules of behavior upon individual members of the group" (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1920, p. 2). Scholars following Shaw and McKay predominantly supported the ideology that a breakdown of formal or informal social control within a community leads to weak personal bonds resulting in an increase in the deviant behavior by individuals and groups. The primary viewpoint of Shaw and McKay embodied the thesis that "structural characteristics of poor communities produce ineffective community structure and resources, which, in turn, lead to weak social controls" (Yang & Hoffman, 1998, p. 227). Yet as mentioned above, the perception and stigma associated with communities identified as socially disorganized typically does not coincide with the experience of long-standing residents within the area.

Post Shaw and McKay (1942), many scholars viewed social disorganization as a macro level approach to understanding variation in the levels of neighborhood crime and delinquency. Specific scholars such as Sampson and Laub (2005), have advocated that crime is the predominant factor in social disorganization theory, particularly when discussing unwarranted and undesirable behavior in the neighborhood. This view biases social disorganization theory as a primary explanation of criminal behavior. It further asserts a stigma of self-inflicted harm imposed upon residential, structural, economic, and political elements by residents in areas with perceived high volumes of social disorder. Many scholars have accepted the ideology of warranted self-induced harm of residents in conjunction with singular factors that influence social disorganization.

A revised definition that represents the many layers that effect social disorder is imperative in developing an accurate depiction of what constitutes social disorganization within a neighborhood. A revamped definition is also essential to identify specific disorderly traits

(residentially, structurally, economically, and politically) used to classify neighborhoods as socially disorganized. To emphasize crime in social disorganization is befitting under the umbrella of criminology. However, when identifying many other contributing factors that influence the idea of social disorganization, it can easily revert back to its initial position within the sociology spectrum. This requires a perspective and definition different from that determined by earlier scholars following Shaw and McKay. I am not debating the validity nor importance of exploring crime as a form of social disorganization. However, it is imperative that we acknowledge and explore other circumstances that directly, simultaneously, and dominantly influence social disorganization position within undervalued communities.

The current definition of social disorganization does not include all neighborhoods, but rather targets specific types of poor neighborhoods. These stigmatized neighborhoods typically are identified by perceived heightened crime and poorly kept physical structure. Similar to my analysis that crime should not be maintained as the dominant nor solitary proponent in determining areas of social disorganization, scholars such as Arnold and Brungardt (1983) and Davidson (1981:89), strongly dismiss the idea of crime within social disorganization being seen as a necessary or sufficient condition of criminality (Bursik Jr., 1988). Criminal behavior should not be seen as an innovator of social disorganization but rather a secondary element that may or may not influence the four interconnected factor that determines the design and function of a community. Furthermore the public usage of the theory of social disorganization to identify poor minority areas must be disembarked to allow the community to be seen as an inhabited place with potential assets, rather than a stigma that encourages complete demolition. Stigmas associated with socially disorganized communities are similar to the practices of White Dallas

Elites of the early 20th century, who associated African Americans with contamination (Parker, 2018).

From a human ecology stance, social disorganization theory evaluates individual, structural, political, and economic resources within a community to determine the culture and/or experience of areas labeled socially disorganized. Davidson (1981) argues that social disorganization "should be seen as a descriptive convenience rather than a model of criminogenic behavior" (Bursik Jr., 1988, p. 519). It further assesses that minority groups (black in specific) are in their state of living because they do not work hard enough, though opportunity is available for them to succeed. Both of these concepts have proven to be false in areas identified as socially dishonorable and further aids the act of racism embedded into every functioning system, which impacts oppressed minority communities. Restrained resources and promoted devalue in areas perceived as socially ill lack social and professional networks which would allow opportunities that society assumes are there but not utilized. The success or failure of communal attributes are essential to determining the functionality and design within communities. This provides a need for further insight into why people stay in areas that show evidence of social disorganization, when they are equipped to relocate.

<div align="center">Evolution of Social Disorganization</div>

Chicago School

Founded by Albion Small in 1893, the University of Chicago was home to the first sociology department in the country (Gottdiener et al., 2015). In 1914, Robert Parks joined the department and took on a prominent role. Each of these scholars had traveled to Germany as graduate students and taken courses with the European thinker identified as having the greatest

influence on urban sociologists in the United States during the period of (1858-1918), Georg Simmel (Gottdiener et al., 2015). Simmel believed, "everyday existence within the city altered the way people thought and acted compared to traditional society" (Gottdiener et al., 2015, p. 53). As a result, Park and Small incorporated the teachings of Simmel at the University of Chicago, which focused on social behavior (urbanism) and interaction within the urban environment (urbanization) during the early stages of the Chicago School.

The theory of social disorganization originated at the University of Chicago. During the early 20th century, many scholars such as Robert Park, Ernest Burgess and W.I. Thomas introduced the basis of social disorganization by initiating the need to investigate human behavior within the urban environment. These scholars, along with several others were employed or affiliated with the sociology department at the Chicago School. Robert Parks, a prominent figure in the department of sociology, studied Chicago (a melting pot for immigrants during the early 1900s), that was rapidly expanding as a result of the arrival of immigrants of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds. The neighborhoods of the immigrants in the city provided a "social laboratory" for sociologists to eventually explore social disorganization. Accordingly, the American Journal of Sociology (1902) identified the city of Chicago as "one of the most complete social laboratories in the world" (Gottdiener et al., 2015, p. 63). It further assessed that "no city in the world presents a wider variety of typical social problems than Chicago" (Gottdiener et al., 2015, p. 63).

During the early stages of development, the theory of social disorganization was mostly interested in the settlement patterns based on human behavior. It was not until Robert Shaw was appointed as the director of juvenile research and Henry McKay hired as research assistant in the early 20th century, that juvenile delinquency was introduced as a pivotal element to understand

the effects of the environmental and community influences on behavior. Following this era, of social disorganization being viewed inadvertently with crime, scholars developed a disdain for Shaw and McKay usage of juvenile delinquency to determine social disorganization. As a result, elements such as culture, that had been introduced into the conversation of social disorganization in the original stages and discredited, was given validity and revitalized. Throughout the progression of the theory, many scholars contributed a singular element to investigate social disorganization. It is proven through the works of the below theorists that time played the most vital role in the development, transition, and critiques of this theory.

Early Social Disorganization Theorists

The theory of social disorganization was developed over a series of years to identify social traits and patterns used to understand the effects of the environmental and community influences on behavior. Many scholars from the Chicago School worked in partnership to develop and/or influence the origin and evolution of social disorganization. Scholars such as Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) and Park and Burgess (1925) pioneered the ecological phase of social disorganization by investigating the human ecological influence on the built environment. Each of these scholars were significant in developing the basic foundation for the theory of social disorganization.

The city of Chicago during the early 1900s, marked a quickly growing industrial and residential city. This was in large part due to immigrants who were relocating to the city for better opportunities. Thomas and Znaniecki position in social disorganization focused predominantly on the poor circumstances that immigrants were subjected to during their initial entry into Chicago. They also emphasized the evolution of immigrant behavior by generation.

They contended that 1st generation immigrants did not practice criminal behavior upon their arrival nor during their transition to permanent housing. However, the same conduct was not apparent for their descendants. Unlike their parents, 2nd generation residents were more detached from the neighborhood and showed no value for customs and norms. Congruent with the research of Park and Burgess (1925), areas with higher levels of 2nd generation immigrants, ensued high levels of crime.

Robert Park at the Chicago School embraced human ecology – the study of the process of human group adjustment to the environment, from the very beginning. "Robert Park's wanted to create a new "science society" and borrowed the model of plant ecology to formulate his model of human ecology" (Gottdiener et al., 2015, p. 76). This form of ideology resembled the belief system of Herbert Spencer who perceived that society was "dominated by biological rather than economic laws of development" (Gottdiener et al., 2015, p. 63). Mr. Park's idealized two levels of organization, the biotic and cultural levels, in which he trusted determined if urban life was organized. "He incorporated the idea of conflict among competing land uses and competition among population groups, although it is unlikely that he envisioned the particular forms of conflict among class, ethnic, and racial groups that beset American society in the twenty-first century" (Gottdiener et al., 2015).

Ernest Burgess basic theory of city growth developed from the works of Robert Parks and Roderick McKenzie. He believed, like the earlier work of Roderick McKenzie, that as the city grew competition would arise for the most "valued land" which was in the inner city. This would lead to commercial businesses dominating the central city and pushing others out based on the importance of their position. It also gave a visual to the "haves and have nots" as capital played an important role in both business and residential positioning during this era in which the city of

Chicago was rapidly growing both industrially and socially (by way of immigrants). He identified this model as the concentric zone, in which those who were financially thriving could afford to live further away from the center, leaving those that were less financially advanced near the central ring in the areas plagued with poor environmental and structural conditions.

Park's Human Ecology perspective attached to Burgess Concentric Zone Model, industrialized the idea that spatial patterns of urban settlement was directly associated with patterns of how people lived in the city and the capitalism that determines the interaction between land, business, and residential activity. Parks and Burgess work together was founded within the ideology that the fundamental form of social interaction was competition which in-turn decided the territorial dispersal of people within a community. In many instances, early sociologists of the Chicago School utilized immigrant pattern research to identify settlement patterns during the era of industrialization. Research provided by Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) on immigrant migration provided insight on where people lived and gave account to how and why they relocated.

Thomas, Znaniecki, Park, and Burgess research during the early 20th century was significant in identifying patterns of land use and residential behavioral traits within communities. This form of human ecology supported the determined patterns of urban growth in Chicago and other developing cities in the early 20th century. Each of these scholars systematically pinpointed patterns that were used to isolate expedited growth in specific concentrated regions in the city. Though Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) accomplished this by expressing the criminal ruins that made way because of the introduction to immigrant migration, the tenants of the earlier sociologist consistently supported the research of human behavior in conjunction with land settlement. According to Burgess, the city constantly grew because of

population pressure (Gottdiener et al., 2015, p. 65). This form of regression was identical to Parks earliest transition from plant ecology to human ecology, where he conquered that human acted identical to plant when it came to dominating territory. By exploring settlement and land usage patterns, human behavior, and immigrant position, these early sociology theorists established the human ecological footing for the theory of social disorganization.

Classic Social Disorganization Theorists

No other scholars have influenced the theory of Social Disorganization more than Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay. Establishing different findings from Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) and Park and Burgess (1925), Shaw and McKay's research within the theory of social disorganization focus strictly on the impact crime has on urban communities and the influence of crime rate when acting as an independent variable over the ecological system within a neighborhood. These pioneers studied crime in the context of social disorganization by primarily identifying the juvenile delinquency rates and its significance in conjunction with neighborhood patterns. It was not until Shaw and McKay, that crime served center stage as the primary connection to social disorganization, disregarding much of the basic work of their predecessors and adding a different perspective by exploring juvenile criminal behavior patterns.

Shaw and McKay encouraged the idea that informal social control by the community was the connection that determined social organization. These scholars promoted the idea that poverty, residential mobility, and racial/ethnic heterogeneity were the primary tenants that determined a neighborhoods ability to regulate itself socially. "Studies find that these ecological characteristics can and do influence the degree of social disorganization, with implications for crime and delinquency" (Kubrin C. E., 2009, p. 227). History have proven that the studies that

were used to determine the relationship Shaw and McKay discovered between crime and settlement patterns may have been misused as neighborhood challenges had changed since the Era in which they pulled their data. By utilizing juvenile court cases during the years of 1900 through 1930, Shaw and McKay collected a wide range of data in the Chicago neighborhoods that showed specific concentrations of delinquency in industrial and commercial areas. "Collectively, the findings from Chicago school studies formed the basis of social disorganization theory" (Kubrin C. E., 2009, p. 226).

These classic scholars' research was heavily dependent on the concentric zone developed by Park and Burgess. They applied their research of juvenile delinquency and crime to the concentric zone to support their description of neighborhood ills that determined rather or not a neighborhood met the criteria to be deemed socially disorganized. Shaw and McKay overlaid juvenile delinquency and crime data on Park and Burgess concentric zones to determine the criminal makeup of the city. The research provided by Shaw and McKay heavily depended on cross-sectional models (data collected at only one point in time) of social disorganization which was grounded in a basic assumption of stability the was not supported by historical evidence (Bursik Jr., 1988). The periods (1900-1906 and 1917-1923) Shaw and McKay used to establish results of land patterns and delinquency evoked limitations of the data and questionable methodology. The lack of logical consistency in the conclusion of research from Shaw and McKay urged reservation when measuring social disorganization from results of these classic scholars (Jonassen, 1949).

Shaw and McKay suggested that residents were perceived as following the pattern of the neighborhood being disconnected and disinterested in issues that plagued the community, such as poor school systems, hyperactive gang activity, and failing education systems. Their research

comparing crime to settlement patterns became the prerequisite for many researchers who followed or explored the idea of the theory of social disorganization. For a period both sociology and criminology scholars following Shaw and McKay embraced a dominant focus on criminal activity without acknowledging it's influence on land pattern, but rather the social influence on residential and economic structure.

During this era of classic social disorganization, not all scholars supported the tenets (poverty, residential mobility, and heterogeneity) Shaw and McKay theorized as components of social disorganization. Edwin Sutherland (1947), also affiliated with the Chicago School, was influential to criminology research during the 20th century. Previous scholars rejected the idea that culture could possibly influence residential, structural, economic or political position within a community. Sutherland created contrast to Shaw and McKay's work by suggesting a paradigm shift that allowed communal culture to be reintroduced into the conversation of social disorganization.

It is well established that people in poorer neighborhoods are subjected to more health problems, poor access to quality education, more criminal activity, more physically deteriorated structures, less political influence, and a host of economic setbacks. However, these flaws individually and even collectively, do not predetermine a community as unstable. It is very possible that if poor is all you know you may perceive or believe that your community is thriving due to different values and vantage points. Sutherland (1947) extended Shaw and McKay's work through his implication that areas that had high crime were not necessarily socially disorganized, but rather organized around a different series of values that did not necessarily fit within the mold of what is deemed 'proper' or 'appropriate' for neighborhood behavior (Matsueda, 1988).

Within this paradigm, these areas were not seen as failed spaces but rather functional and stabilized for those living within the neighborhood.

Sutherland deemed it irresponsible to stigmatize a community based on a definition that isolates the dominant group within a space, simply based on decision makers (government, contractors, etc.) ignorance to the social dynamic within the community. This limited perception of a neighborhood results in an imbalanced assessment based on personal views and experiences as an outside spectator rather than a native of the area who could very well have a different outlook. Sutherland's belief that areas that were recognized as socially disorganized were not necessarily dysfunctional steered him to the differential association theory. Within this theory, he argued that criminal behavior is learned within concentrated groups of friends and family in which the values that promote criminal behavior is encouraged and the techniques used to perform bad behavior is learned (Church et al., 2009). Sutherland recommended that differential association theory should be used to complement social disorganization as both gives a depiction of unfavorable neighborhood behavior.

Critique of Classic Social Disorganization

The theory of social disorganization went into a different scholastic direction following Shaw and McKay (1942) due to an unsuitable emphasis on crime and unsupported empirical evidence associated with their theory of social disorganization in relation to criminal patterns. Unlike the glory years of Shaw and McKay, scholars such as Sampson and Grove (1989), Stark (1987), and Bursik (1988) did not completely discredit Shaw and McKay but rather showed pitfalls that aided in the demise of crime being emphasized in social disorganization. Bursik (1988), Sampson and Grove (1989), showed both patterns and data to aid Shaw and McKay's

research during a period in which many academics utilized the work of these scholars as a blueprint of criticism that showed gaps in their research of social disorganization.

The largest contribution of Sampson and Groves was the study of social disorganization empirically testing the social aspect. Shaw and McKay were heavily criticized about the lack of evidence and unreliable results that were submitted to support their view of social disorganization. Whereas Bursik showed that crime pattern was stable, and it was indeed possible to have steady crime, even when population change. These scholars helped make social disorganization relevant again. In fact, Sampson and Groves (1989), did not definitively test social disorganization but rather, "demonstrated that social disorganization theory has vitality and renewed relevance for explaining macro-level variations in crime rates" (Sampson & Groves, 1989, p. 799).

Stark, like the above scholars, was extremely instrumental in identifying the downfalls of "norms" in the characteristics of social disorganization. Stark (1987) identified a misrepresentation of the causes of social disorganization promoted by Shaw and McKay as well as the Chicago school. He denounced the aspects of urban neighborhoods that characterized high deviance developed under Shaw and McKay and introduced factors in which he believed were concepts in the literature of early works of the Chicago School scholars. The factors he believed promoted high deviance were density, poverty, mixed use, transience, and dilapidation.

Stark further asserted the ills of labeling people in poor minority areas as socially disorganized. He made it clear in an essay he developed addressing the theory of deviant places that people were not to be categorized as disorganized because people were not disorganized, instead neighborhoods had traits of disorganization (Stark, 1987). He discouraged the stigma

associated with identifying people using derogatory branding. Rodney Stark along with Bursik, gave voice to the idea that in specific failing areas of social disorganization, even when there is a complete turnover rate of residents, the neighborhood still harbors the same pitfalls (Kubrin C. E., 2009). The above scholars influenced the resurgence of the theory and its importance when analyzing areas with social issues because it had become unfavored due to the data being deemed insignificant.

Modern Social Disorganization Theorists

A shift from criminology to a heavier dependence on social ties being a major contributor to the stability of communities were evident in the renaissance era of social disorganization. Modern social disorganization scholars were very vocal and influential in the rebirth of social disorganization. Unlike earlier scholars whose primary focus was ecological influence on settlement and later crime, modern scholars embraced the idea of culture and human influence on physical structure and environment. Similar to the basic tenants (ecology and energy; technology and production; economy; social considerations and targeted policy) embodied in urban sustainability (Smets & Lindert, 2016). Though much research is needed, these modern theorists helped revitalize social disorganization, independent of crime and also aided in developing the data needed to support the findings that were not fully established under Shaw and McKay. "These modern social ecologists developed a "purer" form of structural theory that emphasizes the association of community deterioration and economic decline to criminality but places less emphasis on value conflict" (Xiong, 2016, p. 48).

Culture Re-introduced

The earliest scholars of social disorganization introduced culture into the theory as a way of identifying heterogeneity among communities. The idea of culture presented mixed emotions as many scholars did not find it relevant due to the perceived inability to test the value of culture within communities. Specifically, earlier scholars eschewed the idea of culture being relevant to the study of social disorganization, whereas modern researchers publicized the importance of incorporating culture back into the study of social disorganization. Similar to the theory of social disorganization, culture, which had been discredited, re-emerged as an essential feature within the study of social disorganization.

Kornhauser (1978) and more recently Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) represent the great debate of the relevance of culture within the theory of social disorder. Though, Kornhauser found value in studying social disorganization, she neither fully accepted any of the ideology as-a-whole of the previous primary sociologists (Kornhauser, 1978). Kornhauser did not endorse culture as relevant because she did not find that communities consciously encouraged a "culture" of disgrace. It is evident that no one aims to embrace the unpleasant stigma associated residentially, structurally, or economically with social disorganization or minority (Black) communities. In fact, Kornhauser's disdain with including culture evoked the strong statement, " so abused have been the concepts of culture and subculture in the explanation of delinquency that if these terms were struck from the lexicon of criminologists, the study of delinquency would benefit from their absence" (Kornhauser, 1978, p. 253).

Combating the ideology of Kornhauser in more recent years, Kubrin and Weitzer (2003), have taken on the responsibility of re-introducing culture into the topic of social disorganization. As noted above, many early scholars had a distaste for the idea that culture played a role in the identity of social disorganization. Kubrin and Weitzer made it apparent that culture plays an

irreplaceable role in what is deemed acceptable within a community. This viewpoint coincides with my research as planners, leaders, government, etc. have a responsibility to identify the norms of a community if their aid within the community is residentially driven rather than capital enticed. The need for Kubrin and Weitzer support of culture, as a contrast to scholars such as Kornhauser, allowed an enhanced diagnosis of both the cause and effect of areas labeled as socially demised. Though once seen as unnecessary to explore by theorists, "it is becoming abundantly clear that 'cultural factors deserve greater attention' (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003) and should not be ignored" (Kubrin C. E., 2009, p. 232).

Evolution Overview

Since early 1900s, each of these scholars have participated in the development of social disorganization. Though, many of the fundaments and perceived influences have transitioned over time the basic idea of social disorganization has remained focused on people interaction in places. However, though many scholars have attempted to determine a hardened ideology of social disorganization, the established definition has yet been revisited to include a broader spectrum of other elements that influence the stability of a community physical neighborhood design, residential behavior, economic development, or political influence. A more precise depiction of attributes that support social disorganization is needed to analyze neighborhood progress or failures. As a result of these gaps in determining a clear definition and description of social disorganization, communities cannot truly be evaluated under the authority of the present theory of social disorganization.

CHAPTER III

A Holistic Approach to Social Disorganization

Historically, social disorganization has been analyzed, compared, and joined to singular elements that effect human behavior within the built environment. As mentioned above for many years criminal behavior was the dominant point of reference in identifying rather a community should be labeled socially ill. This singular approach embraced by many scholars, left much to be desired in determining how and why specific communities were deemed incapable of realizing common goals and solving chronic problems (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). It further encouraged the false illusion that government entities must takeover and gentrify in order to stabilize less affluent communities, which often resulted in the displacement and breakdown of both residents and culture.

No theorist of social disorganization has stated the importance of multiple elements that simultaneously impact and contribute to the overall dynamic and functions of a community. Theorist have embraced singular factors that is presumed to be the leading cause of social disorganization, such as juvenile delinquency induced crime. The dominant focus on singular issues presumed to plague socially illicit communities are being judged by government entities and decision makers who truly have no understanding of the need of neither the resident nor community. There is an eminent need to evaluate communities perceived as socially disorganized based on 4 elements (residential, structural, economic, and political) and to establish a much richer and more multidimensional theory.

Communities within less fortunate areas cannot and should not be branded as socially disorganized without utilizing a more holistic approach which assesses the four elements that

constitute the framework of any community. The residential, structural, political, and economic formation of a community must be analyzed in order to determine the overall needs and status of communities observed as socially disorganized. In order to better aid these communities "effective policy must recognize the wide variation in institutional settings, and policies must be tailored to the specific conditions in each local area" (Boston , 2016, p. 368). Without operating within this holistic approach, residents are being displaced or forced to endure communal changes that are not inclusive of structural, economic, or political needs for community. "Low-income families want the ability to exercise choice over where they live and how they live" (Boston , 2016, p. 369). As shown below, the impact of these 4 elements individually gives a synopsis of the community, however the conjoined analysis of these elements provides an overall report of both the assets and needs within the community, which helps determine if a community is truly socially disorganized and/or in need of outside support.

People

The idea of people within the realm of social disorganization, stereotypically depict individuals' inability to control one or more social aspects of their life. Due to a variety of lacking elements personally and residentially, people who reside in communities labeled socially inadequate are automatically given the stigma of individuals' incapable of governing and growing economic, structural, and political resources. This stigma promotes a perception of incompetence and/or a helplessness to social traits such as crime, poor education, distrust, etc., leading one to embrace the suggestion that people of quality could not and would not live in these areas of disgrace. These areas of social duress are habitually inhabited by minority (blacks in particular) residents (Stark, 1987). The obvious segregation that engulf neighborhoods that has

traits of social disorganization further encourages a breakdown in development and sustainability within the neighborhood, classically leading to unwarranted and unwelcomed gentrification.

Inside neighborhoods of social disorganization, residents are constantly faced with a vision of inferiority and a dependence on outside resources structurally, economically, and politically in order to merely compete within socially and racially segregated communities. According to Clark (1967), this behavior of race segregation fosters psychological damage in black children, encouraging and unacceptance of themselves (Currie et al., 2015). "In the words of Chief Justice Earl Warren in his Brown opinion, segregation "generates a feeling of inferiority" among blacks that "may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to ever be undone" (Brown v. Board of Education 1954: 347 U.S. 494)" (Currie et al., 2015, p. 8). (Sampson R. J., Urban Black Violence: The Effect of Male Joblessness and Family Disruption, 1987)

Decisions are made for people in areas of social disorder politically because their basic economic needs do not allow them to attend public forums that would enable them to make decisions within their community. Community meetings are typically held to follow the proper political protocol, but typically not to engage residents. Many of these households are conducive of single parent families, led typically by women (Sampson R. J., 1987). Latter meetings for people looking to influence decisions for their neighborhood is often not an option because evenings typically consist of domestic duties within the household (kids, cooking, cleaning, etc.). "Low-wage work also promotes family instability, which undercuts the ability of stressed and overworked parents to supervise their children" (Clark K. B., 1967, p. 11). Thus, decisions are not usually made in the interest of residents within the communities, but rather made based on

political and development needs that promote capital. This is better known as the process of gentrification.

The perception concluded by outsiders usually does not appropriately identify traits that are valued by long standing residents within the community (Boston , 2016). Later scholars, such as Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) emphasized, culture within a community is paramount in determining the needs of people within a community. Physical traits that typically coincided with attributes that were telltale signs of social disorganization, do not necessarily allude to social duress within a neighborhood, but rather an alternate culture. People, like social disorganization, are not one dimensional and cannot be governed only by traits controlled by lack. Instead, in order to understand the development of a neighborhood without destroying the community, the normative system within the neighborhood must be identified. If aid from outsiders is not available to support the needs of long-standing residents, at the very least political figures and decision makers should not harm the community by disregarding the ethos within the community. As history has shown, this action only leads to further distrust, crime, and concentrated areas of poverty.

Crime

Crime is an action or omission that constitutes an offense that may be prosecuted by the state and is punishable by law. Research confirms that crime as a whole does not value universal standards, and therefore creates an imbalance in respect and reaction to what is deemed acceptable or inappropriate behavior. This wavering classification of criminal activity is easily influenced by moral values, religious beliefs, ethnic background, and most importantly perception. Individuals most likely to experience consequences of crime are minority members

of socially disorganized communities who express a strong distrust for formal control due to harassment experienced from the police force. "Residents of poor communities were significantly more likely than resident of other areas to report that officers were not responsive to local issues, performed poorly in preventing crime and maintaining order on the streets and responded poorly to crime victims (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998)" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 382). Similar disparities exist with regards to residents' perceptions of police misconduct. It is no secret that "poor neighborhoods, in specific black communities report more often police officers engage in unwarranted stops, verbal abuse, and excessive force in neighborhoods (Weitzer, 1999, 2000)" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 382).

Current reported events of crime, such as the misuse of force by police officers, has highlighted another influence that plagues socially disorganized communities, which is career choice. It has been determined by researchers that policemen identify residents in poor neighborhood as "deserving victims," who lifestyle encourage victimization (Klinger, 1997; Liska and Chamlin, 1984). Though unethical by moral standards and unacceptable based on the legal definition of crime, officers of the law when performing in minority (black and Latino) communities are not held to the same standards as civilians in avoiding what is considered crime. The altered unwritten conduct of residents based on lived experience within socially compromised neighborhoods, heavily influence the behavior and culture of residents in this environment.

Crime has many influences that does not change with the neighborhood according to Silva (2014), but rather the person. Consequently, when identifying specific racial groups as being more or less prone to crime, it is inadvertently speaking of the tolerance formal controls have in specific areas based on secondary influences such as race, sex, and economic position

within neighborhoods deemed socially disorganized. Though my research acknowledges that crime does impact socially disorganized communities, it is inexcusable to disregard alternate variables that influence how crime is viewed as well as its position in the theory of social disorganization. It further aims to support that there are residents that have a strong reluctance to relocate despite individual community perceptions of the influences described above.

Neighborhood Fear

Is a neighborhood safe or is fear of a specific neighborhood simply a perceived ideology of a neighborhood based on personal experience or personal values? According to many scholars who have measured social disorganization by crime rate, the fear of crime derives through the lens of spectators who perpetuate the idea of crime, rather than the physical act of crime (Porter et al., 2012). Residents in socially disorganized areas in many cases do not associate danger with the neighborhood in which many have spent their entire life. Yes crime is real, and often times it has been proven that crime level is elevated in areas that are more socially dysfunctional. However, to determine the level of fear associated with crime in socially disorganized neighborhoods, it should be determined rather the area is plagued with such harm that it is non-livable or are there other factors that contribute to ones feeling of safety in areas that are less affluent and has more "ghetto" characteristics.

Porter et al., (2012), utilized three level interaction to determine if safety concerns were in fact realistic concerns that should be explored based on aggressive actions or a figment of one's imagination based on negative social media exploitation. This vague and biased use of social media inadvertently supports an unwarranted stereotype of low income, ethically nonequivalent "bad neighborhoods" being more dangerous. As a result, it is suggested that

neighborhoods viewed as socially disorganized are incapable of having businesses that could leverage the economic stability of the community making residents more self-efficient.

The perceived negative portrayal of crime in more socially disorganized areas, combined with an inability to obtain financial leverage, increases the need of residents to participate in non-conventional methods of gaining resources, which results in a direct increase in crime and safety. Many scholars explore this topic "because it is among the most overt social reactions to crime and because its consequences are so prevalent, potentially severe, and easily demonstrable" (Scarborough, Like-Haislip, Novak, Lucas, & Alarid, 2010, p. 819). However, the perception of crime, weighed against the physical act of crime, further supports Wyant (2008) suggestion that fear of crime do not typically match up with actual crime rates.

"Social disorganization theories argue that communities with certain characteristics – those in which internal and external social control are absent or weakened – are more likely to have crime, and other social problems" (Porter et al., 2012, p. 231). This theory of social disorganization allows for an alternate view of crime within a neighborhood being identified as a factual problem based on tangible action rather than an alleged idea of potential safety concerns. According to Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, (2006); May, Rader, & Goodrum, (2009); Warr, (2000); Scarborough et al., (2010), it is evident based on reported crime in specific "disorganized areas" that fear of crime is often independent of actual crime rates. In many cases, the presentation of fear from residents, are a direct reflection of vulnerability experienced by the individual based on the demographic (black minority in specific) makeup within the area such as age, gender, race and education as scholars Sampson and Raudenbush (2005) asserts. When these characteristics are embodied within a community, it plays a dominant role in how residents

tolerate crime and the level of fear that is experienced based on what they have embraced as harmful within the neighborhood.

Most people who would typically be fearful of a specific area such as women, idea of crime shifts when other factors take precedent such as marriage and/or cohabitating. Many scholars have shown evidence that married women are less fearful of negative community perception verses women who live alone (Porter et al., 2012). This same ideology of fear directly correlates with people of higher education. This group of people have a greater fear of crime than those that have not completed higher education, because the knowledge and experiences they have obtained in higher institutes highlight the dangers of socially dysfunctional neighborhoods. This leave them more aware contextually and less accepting of negative behavior within their neighborhood. This type of culture shock presents a different awareness and consciousness of what is or should be deemed appropriate living arrangements. The literature suggests that "the more urban, the lower the socioeconomic status, and the greater the familial disruption the more likely and individual is to feel unsafe" (Porter et al., 2012, p. 238).

The idea of fear has the potential to inadvertently encourage unwarranted fear of areas that may not have dominant characteristics of social disorganization. It also preserves the negative stigma associated with Black minority and darker skin Latino residents. Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) maintains that increased fear, lower social control, and weakened involvement of community members is more likely caused by personal victimization, rather than property victimization. "Likewise, frequent personal victimization is more likely to cause residents, who can afford to leave their community, to settle elsewhere" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 390). This desire to leave based on personal victimization is not isolated within poor communities, but rather a logical decision to be considered within any neighborhood where residents face repeat

personal victimization offenses. People who have not been exposed to physical harm are not intimidated by communities that show evidence of social disorganization.

Culture

Initially, Shaw, McKay, and other early scholars were interested in neighborhood subculture. Many researchers noted the role neighborhood culture played in explaining the ills of social disorder within poor communities (Kubrin C. E., 2009). However, as crime was introduced as the dominant factor, scholars such as Kornhauser (1978), discredited the need to explore culture as an influence of the theory. "Later work downplayed cultural influences, and researchers focused almost exclusively on structural factors and their relationship to neighborhood crime rates" (Kubrin C. E., 2009, p. 231). As the study of crime developed, a new ideology of culture within poor communities was established. "These studies depict violent neighborhoods as culturally heterogeneous, "with residents who gravitate mainly towards the mainstream but switch between competing sets of cultural values depending on the situation" (Sampson & Bean, 2006, p. 22)" (Kubrin C. E., 2009, p. 232).

The culture a community embraces affects individual behavior, structural design, potential economic support, and political influence. Each of these elements both independently and cohesively, aid in the residential dynamic depicted within a community. The theory of social disorganization suggests that people in specific poor neighborhoods are incapable of managing and/or controlling the functions and development in underprivileged neighborhoods. As a result, it is assumed that residents in these communities constantly transition from these neighborhoods allowing for a continuous culture of detachment and an inability to stabilize individual and

structural components. Yet, these neighborhoods include long-standing residents who have both embraced and contributed to the class and culture in which they reside.

Accepted culture within any given neighborhood is disputable depending on the residents and functions within the community. Though economic vitality is not typically expected within poor communities, specific businesses do maintain financial gain from the local occupants. Consequently, the culture of 'hustle' is pervasive in poor neighborhoods as a basic and necessary mean of survival. "The verb to hustle denotes a field of activities that have in common the fact that they require mastery of a particular type of symbolic capital, namely, the ability to manipulate others, to inveigle and deceive them, if need be by joining violence to chicanery and charm, in the pursuit of immediate pecuniary gain" (Wacquant L., 1998, p. 3). "Like Shaw and McKay (1942) and other early theorists believed, we cannot understand variations in crime rates across communities without also understanding the role the neighborhood subcultures occupy in the calculus" (Kubrin C. E., 2009, p. 232). Culture within areas of social demise is a learned behavior used to strategically teach current and new residents the accepted behavior for specific communities. "It is becoming abundantly clear that "cultural factors deserve attention" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 380) and should not be ignored" (Kubrin C. E., 2009, p. 232).

New Developments

Though the components (poverty, residential mobility, and racial/ethnic heterogeneity) expressed by Shaw and McKay affect the mediating processes of social disorganization under the criminology narrative, they are secondary as they do not directly cause crime. Kubrin and Wo (2016), found value in introducing additional theoretical concepts that expand beyond social ties and informal social control to stress the importance of pinpointing the exact mechanisms

verses causation of social disorganization within a community. By identifying direct means of

social disorganization, Kubrin and Wo help to combat the greatest challenges faced within the

theory of social disorganization of "identifying and measuring the social mechanisms that

account for heightened crime rates in socially disorganized neighborhoods" (Kubrin & Wo,

2016, p. 123).

Kubrin and Wo (2016), highlight theoretical concepts that expand on the original ideas of

informal control presented by early Chicago School researchers, Clifford Shaw and Henry

McKay (1942). "These include collective efficacy, social capital, and social networks" (Kubrin

& Wo, 2016, p. 125). In many instances these suggested new developments acknowledged by

Kubrin and Wo (2016) correspond with the ideas presented as culture by early scholars. Each of

the theoretical concepts introduced are embedded in the need for mutual trust among residents.

"Scholars have identified mutual trust as a dimension of both social capital and collective

efficacy. Similarly, mutual trust may condition the relationship between social networks and

crime" (Kubrin & Wo, 2016, p. 130). However, contrary to the research of previous scholars,

these researchers emphasized the need for independent mechanism that were not dependent on

indirect neighborhood influences.

The concepts of collective efficacy, social capital, and social network are not new

developments and have been introduced independently throughout discussions of social

disorganization. "Sampson and colleagues (1997) introduced the concept, studies examining

collective efficacy in Chicago and beyond have proliferated" (Kubrin & Wo, 2016, p. 126).

Whereas Forrest and Kearns (2001) states, "much of the contemporary policy interest in ideas of

social capital derives from Putnam's (1993) influential research between civic traditions,

democratic participation and association activity in modern Italy" (Forrest & Kearns, 2001, p.

2137). These concepts have been visibly present as a point of reference within culture, when examining the behavior and relationship between social disorganization, crime and the structural environment. Kubrin and Wo stress the need for progression of the original concept to identify deficiencies between the theory established by Shaw and McKay and future scholars exploring the theory of social disorganization.

Collective efficacy, social capital and neighborhood network (most used under the culture umbrella) are vital to my research as long-standing residents in areas viewed as socially disorganized use each of these concepts to maintain integrated at a level that can affect change and decrease behavior they see as crime. My research also identifies illegal behavior that may not be viewed as crime by residents within socially ill communities because it aids in supporting other aspects (financial, residential, etc.) within the community. In essence, by embracing the attributes of these concepts, the research of social disorganization may attain a more well-rounded understanding of the primary needs of residents detached from personal opinion of what should be improved. The usage of these theoretical concepts within my research is irreplaceable as it allows decision makers and residents alike to be more equipped to aid the community by addressing communal needs to obtain common goals without destruction, displacement and demise of the community.

Distrust

Many areas that show characteristics of social disorganization, harbor a strong distrust for the police force and other public servants that have been charged with protecting and serving (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). A similar distrust is evident when attempting to form informal social networks within poor or ghetto areas, as residents newly introduced into a community are unwilling to be subjected to informal policing or correction from peers within the neighborhood.

Due to the crime and the "honor code" that is abided by in these areas, residents with no vested stake within the community disengage and avoid correcting residents due to fear of retaliation that could be detrimental. Residents in socially ill neighborhoods do not value or trust political and government leaders to consciously act for the betterment of the community. Therefore, correcting residents is precisely the role long – standing residents provide in neighborhoods of social demise. These occupants have a vested interest in the neighborhood they have seen develop over time and take responsibility for the informal check and balance system among the community (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003), otherwise identified as social capital.

Within the culture of areas deemed socially incompetent, long – standing residents act as mentors within the neighborhood, as many residents do not trust service providers. In fact, "African American's greater distrust in the health care system puts them at a greater risk for negative health conditions" (Shoff & Yang, 2012, p. 1345). In many poor neighborhoods, African American communities in particular, believe "AIDS is a government – induced genocide against African Americans, and that the government promotes substance abuse as a way of keeping African Americans in poverty and in prison have also been suggested as reasons for higher distrust among African Americans (El-Sadr & Capps, 1992; Gamble, 1997; Wasserman, Flannery, & Clair, 2007)" (Shoff & Yang, 2012, p. 1344). These views of government induced harm on poor neighborhoods, subconsciously encourages neighboring residents to develop a sense of responsibility and ownership for the well-being of long-term occupants integrated within the community.

Family Dynamic

Family dynamic refers to patterns of interaction and common norms between immediate family members. Unfortunately, in communities deemed socially disorganized, poor family dynamic and compromised adolescent behavior becomes the result of negative behavior more often than positive nourishment and productive conduct within a community. This is due to a variety of direct and indirect influences that has the tendency to alter the direction of a community, such as residential mobility, peer pressure, broken families, lack of economic resources and crime. Each of these powers, when seen in communities that are socially disorganized, aid in the further breakdown of both personal and structural community stability and gives insight into how family dynamic and adolescent behavior effects the possible development or demise of a community. More specifically, family dynamic and adolescent behavior serves as one of many factors that is enervated and plays a pertinent position in the destructive or successful outcome of individuals within socially compromised neighborhoods.

Marriage also plays a role in how residents are received within communities deemed socially disorganized. There is a consistent association between marriage and lower crime rate. The presence of marriage influences potential tenants' decision to inhabit communities that show evidence of social disorganization because these communities typically have a lower rate of social disorder. Yet the union of marriage does not constitute as a sole variable to identify social disorganized areas. Due to the many features that are deemed indicators of social disorganization, there are no areas that portray all the characteristics that are used to classify a neighborhood as socially disorganized. Porter & Purser (2010), identifies how vital marriage is within a community. In fact Sampson (1987) hypothesizes, "A population of married couples tends to stabilize other interpersonal relationships and foster attachment to conventional others, lowering the number of law violators (Sampson R. J., 1987)" (Porter & Purser, 2010, p. 942).

The crime reducing effects of positive family dynamics is in many ways the reaction of marriage within a community. It is also reported that married couples are more likely to be healthier and have more productive children. Lo and Zhong (2006) (as cited in Porter & Purser, 2010, p. 943) found, "that intimate connection with a spouse deterred deviance among men and, even more readily among women."

Wooldredge and Thistlewaite (2003) suggest that neighborhoods with fewer married adults were more likely to witness higher rates of assault. It is evident based on the research of Porter and Purser (2010), many communities enjoy the stability, perceived safety, and additional protection they receive when being in the environment of men that has a vested interest within the neighborhood. Thus, "if an individual lives in a community with a high degree of married and cohabitating households they should be less likely to fear being victimized given the lower crime in the community" (Porter et al., 2012, p. 232).

Unfortunately, according to Wilson and Aponte (1985), the rate of black families with female heads has increased over the years. This increase in black female headed households, Wilson and his colleagues argue, along with extramarital births may be tied to an increased difficulty of finding eligible bachelors that are marriage materials with stable employment (Wilson 1978; Wilson and Neckerman 1986; Ross and Sawhill 1975). Wilson and Neckerman (1986), "suggests that the increasing rate of joblessness among black men merits serious consideration as a major underlying factor in the rise of black single female-headed households (Wilson & Neckerman, 1986)" (Sampson R. J., 1987, p. 351). The rise of females as head of households supports a great disadvantage for the family dynamic in areas that show evidence of social disorganization because mothers are taken away from the home in order to provide a living, while children are plagued with idle time to embark in mischievous endeavors. The

dynamic of single-family homes lends support to the cultural practice of social capital by neighbors and family within community blocks to compensate for missing parental guidance.

Areas that show evidence of social disorganization within the family dynamic is often time disrupted by incarceration of community members. "Two parent households provide increased supervision and guardianship not only for their own children and household property (Cohen and Felson 1979) but also for public activities in the community" (Sampson & Groves, 1989, p. 781). When family dynamic is broken by illegal activity consequences, the results has the ability to destroy a community to the point of no return if the party being removed serves as a resource within the community. Not only does the removal of a family member effect the immediate family, the community is also affected because it creates a breakdown within the household and throughout the community as a supervisor figure and financial provider. However, after returning from incarceration, the family member often times is returned strictly as a liability, lacking the ability to obtain and sustain work, or re-enter the community as a productive resident and vital party of the neighborhood they were removed from (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). This create excessive danger economically, physically, and structurally in areas identified as socially disorganized.

Incarceration

Incarceration plague communities of social disorder. Though heavy incarceration was presented as a benefit to social structure during the Bill Clinton era. The reality inherited were targeted policies created that predominantly effected poor minority communities. "A prisoner is more likely to be male, young, poor, unemployed, a racial or ethnic minority, and have a low level of education (Western, 2006)" (Massoglia, Firehaugh, & Warner, 2012, p. 144). Policy

implications were formed on the premise of counteracting illegal actions that were typically

explored in areas of social demise (black minority communities). This encouraged further

deterioration in minority communities, for "in the United States compared to whites, blacks are

less likely to be given a probation only disposition or to have counts reduced or dismissed for

certain crime (Free, 1997)" (Lee & Rasinski, 2006, p. 183). Blacks are "also more likely to be

sentenced to prison and to receive longer sentences" (Lee & Rasinski, 2006, p. 183), creating

both family imbalance and a more extreme economic liability.

The forced removal of residents has a grand influence on individual, structural,

economic, and the political stance within underprivileged areas. "Incarceration of community

members may have multiple effects on neighborhood self-regulation, particularly in

neighborhoods that are already deficient in social ties and social control" (Kubrin & Weitzer,

2003, p. 384). This form of residential mobility causes further duress, within family dynamics,

that may have otherwise been viewed as stable. "The incarcerated are overwhelmingly Black and

largely convicted of drug offenses; and the consequences of these disparities are evident in the

poor social, economic, and political health of the communities they leave behind" (Lee &

Rasinski, 2006, p. 190). Residents familiar with the community typically are not afraid nor do

they view parties punished for non-aggressive crimes as a threat within their community. The

stigma associated with non-aggressive offenders are highlighted by decision makers, government

leaders, etc. which encourages a disinvestment of resources. This pattern allows the powers that

be the opportunity to later obtain the land of the oppressed for minimum financial cost but

substantial economic gain.

This heavy usage of incarceration as a means of regulating community structure, gives

further insight into the distrust poor minority residents has against both government agencies and

policy. "The incarceration rate for blacks is over six times larger than the rate for whites, and incarceration has become an increasingly common part of the life course, especially for black males with low levels of education (Pettit & Western, 2004)" (Massoglia et al., 2012, p. 143). Many inhabitants in areas of social disorganization typically result to crime as a means of providing basic needs for their family. The demand to provide basic necessity within their individual family dynamic is heightened when additional responsibilities (parole expenses, rent, children) are added to a struggling situation. "Many offenders appeared to give little thought to the offense until they found themselves unable to meet current expenses" (Jacobs & Wright, 1999, p. 154). In essence, members in areas of social disorder involved themselves in the sale of drugs or other activities as a remedy to emergent financial hardship. Consequently, minorities lead the pool of imprisonment due to choices made out of economic lacking. "Whites are the largest consumers of illicit drugs in the U.S. (SAMSHA, 2001); yet are under-represented among those impacted by drug enforcement policies (FBI, 2002)" (Lee & Rasinski, 2006, p. 184). Current policies create a continuous culture of harassment toward the minority population, while allowing white communities to flourish and be unscathed, by avoiding consequences of policies that would create social disorganization within non-minority communities.

The act of incarceration as a result of crime support the theory of Shaw and McKay (1942) research of crime being a dominant factor of social disorganization. However, though the punishment of incarceration from a criminology standpoint is viewed as a positive reaction within poor minority communities of social disorder, incarceration equally creates further demise in the realm of sociology. Incarceration politically and economically forcefully separates families, creating a financial and emotional burden for individual families along with community venues, as that resource has been stripped from the community.

"If offenders are resources to some members of the community and if they occupy roles within networks that form the basis for informal social control, their removal is not solely a positive act [in reducing crime], but also imposes losses on those networks and their capacity for strengthened community life" (Rose & Clear, 1998, p. 451).

This results in a further lack of surveillance due to the need of the remaining family members to compensate for the removed resource. "Incarceration can undermine the ability of released inmates to reestablish positive ties with family members, friends, and neighbors, and may make these individuals a liability for their families insofar as they are unable to secure a job" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 384).

Long-standing residents act as a mentor in aiding incarcerated individuals back into the community. These community-pioneers are more willing to take risk by allowing the perpetrator to perform household chores in exchange for monetary gain during periods that they are unable to attain employment. Travis (2002) notes (as cited in (Massoglia et al., 2012, p. 147), "punishment for the original offense is no longer enough; one's debt to society is never paid." Long-term dwellers position, allows for them to vouch for ex criminals, encouraging other neighbors to allow them to perform task which serves as a dual benefit within the neighborhood. This act of service allows ex-criminal to sustain their basic needs and in-return, the ex-criminal helps relieve the long-standing resident of household duties that may be more strenuous in their elderly state. "Although criminal offenders often have a negative influence on communities, in many instances they are vital members of families and neighborhood social network" (Kirk, 2016, p. 224). The inner communal relationship between elders within communities of social disorganization allows for a mutual respect and aids in rebuilding citizen and structural comradery within neighborhoods deemed socially disorganized.

Adolescent behavior acts as the dominant demographic within Shaw and McKay's research of the theory of social disorganization. In areas that show evidence of social disorganization, mistakes made by adolescents has the ability to physically, emotionally, and structurally derail, both the individual, family, and overall community dynamic. In many instances, "social disorganization theorist assumed that distressed neighborhoods had more problems due to the lack of shared values and beliefs" (Witherspoon & Ennett, 2011, p. 1244). However, many of these same negative attributes highlighted in areas of social duress are also found more heavily in economically affluent areas. "The theory that individuals living in such places experience greater social capital and resource constraints (i.e., less strengths) due to limited employment opportunities, increases poverty, and social isolation (Wilson 1987, 1993) may be equally applied to rural areas (Osgood & Chambers, 2000)" (Witherspoon & Ennett, 2011, p. 1244). Yet, due to maintained capital circulated within financially stable neighborhoods, theorists have made a habit of heavily circulating the negative traits assumed to be associated strictly in resource lacking communities, while disregarding the possibility of the pluralistic neighborhood theory.

Adolescents and parents view their neighborhood differently, as they should. Absence in lived experiences, prevents adolescents from having the mental maturity to process neighborhood concerns identical to their parents, in areas with characteristics of social disorganization. Witherspoon and Ennett (2011), suggest that "adolescents' viewed their neighborhoods more favorably than parents" (Witherspoon & Ennett, 2011, p. 1245). This is supported by Aber and Nieto (2000) idea of pluralistic theory. This theory "argues that "structurally disadvantaged" neighborhoods have inherent strengths to sustain and cultivate

positive youth development, suggesting that positive and negative neighborhood characteristics may be distinct entities" (Witherspoon & Ennett, 2011, p. 1244). Though neighborhoods may be classified as being bombarded with ills of social disorganization, adolescents from various social class and economic backgrounds are subjected to influences regarded under the umbrella of social disorganization.

Youth residents need the structure of a functioning environment in order to obtain and sustain a productive life that embraces opportunity. Long standing residents, along with parents attempt to provide this balance within the community through basic moral acts. Yet, though poor adolescent can be identified in any neighborhood, in areas of social disorganization many opportunities are squandered due to poor behavior and limited resources. As discussed above, incarceration as a result of illegal activity, typically drug related, is a staple for black male residents in poor neighborhoods. However, illegal drug usage and alcohol consumption can be more infectious among youth in areas that are considered socially stable, rather than those areas of social demise (Fagan, Wright, & Pinchevsky, 2013). "Higher income and socioeconomic status have been linked to increased alcohol use among adults and teenagers (Hawkins, Catalano, & Miller, 1992)" (Fagan et al., 2013, p. 70), whereas "lower socioeconomic status has been associated with higher rates of smoking, at least among adults (Gardner, Barajas, & Brooks-Gunn, 2010)" (Fagan et al., 2013, p. 71).

Though Caucasians are less likely to dwell in neighborhoods of economic distress, the suggestion that influence of neighborhood disadvantage would be stronger in minority youth has yet to be proven. Accordingly,

"Caucasian adolescents reported the highest rates of smoking, drinking, binge drinking, and marijuana use; African American youth reported the lowest rates of cigarette use, alcohol use, and binge drinking; and Hispanics reported rates in between these two groups for cigarette use, alcohol use, and binge drinking, and the lowest rates for marijuana use" (Fagan et al., 2013, p. 76).

Adolescents do experience negative connotation associated with residing in areas of social disorganization; however the area may not play as important a role, as the adult inhabitants within the community. As Fagan et al., (2013) noted, children behavior mirrored the patterns of the adult associated with them. Yet many affluent communities are not plagued with the stigma, classifying the community as socially disorganized.

"Social disorganization theory posits that adolescent outcomes are influenced by the degree to which residents of neighborhoods have shared values, social relationship, and an ability to achieve shared goals (Nash & Bowen, 1999; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997)" (Bowen et al., 2002, p. 470). The downfall to adolescent behavior being influence by shared values within a neighborhood is when the values do not coincide with constructive behavior. Vested-community members, encourages neighborly behavior which allows for the community to act as a village in rearing and raising children. This aids in creating a support system that is equally beneficial for the young and old. Residents have no quarrels about raising their children in areas perceived socially disorganized because, as the literature can attest, youth from any areas can be infected by social problems. "For African Americans in particular, the identification of neighborhood factors influencing individual behavior led to the re-emergence in the literature of social disorganization theory" (Madyun, 2011, p. 23). Adolescents feel comfortable in environment in which they receive peer acceptance.

Many factors (crime, neighborhood fear, culture, family dynamic, incarceration, and adolescent behavior) contribute to the life cycle and lived experience of residents (predominantly minority) within areas of social disorganization. These factors have a strong influence on how people are recognized by government entities and the general public. The stigma associated with residents within presumed socially ill areas determine the perception of success or failure of a community from outsiders. It also steers the structural, political and economic decisions made for residents. It is not viable to explore or conclude communal needs strictly on residential activity within neighborhood deemed social disorganized without investigating the basic elements that influence residential behavior and survival within these struggling communities. Below I further acknowledge the need for structure, residents, economic and politics to be evaluated simultaneously to aid in the overall depiction of communities deemed damaged.

Structural

Residential input is typically disregarded in the physical design, economic and policy phase when redeveloping a neighborhood in areas perceived as socially disorganized. This allows for heavy gentrification causing further economic strain for current residents and policies that are not incumbent of the local dwellers. "Very little work has investigated the complex relations among physical and social neighbourhood-level characteristics (Dannenberg et al., 2003; Roman and Chaflin, 2008; Singh et al., 2010; Srinivasan et al., 2003; Wen and Zhang, 2009)" (King, 2013, p. 2409). Physical structure and urban planning determine the type of resident and the behavior accepted from inhabitants within a community. "Physical ecological dynamics, are themselves molded by local governments, institutions, social movements,

developers and others who influence policy and market structure to shape neighborhood trajectories (Brown and Chung, 2008; Massey et al., 2009; Rothwell and Massey, 2009, 2010; Sampson and Morenoff, 1997; Taub et al., 1984)" (King, 2013, p. 2408). Structural design plays a dominant role in promoting potential for financial gain for investors, while aiding in establishing policies that undercut residents within the neighborhood. Urban planning and architectural design have proven to be imperative in determining how residents and non-residents move and function within a community.

There has been a great debate between architects and urban planners about how cities should be designed. While architects focus predominantly on complex design within individual structures, urban planners suggested position is to develop community spaces and how they will be navigated. Though each professional plays a role in how the communities are perceived, the outcome and sustainability can be questionable based on the party analyzing the space. Residents typically will have a very different perspective than investors, developers, or government agencies, as each party has a different interest. As a result of the conflict that persist among planners and architects, areas of social demise within cities have developed problems of congestion, housing shortages, inadequate public services and poverty. Unfortunately, these pitfalls dominantly effect poor, minority residents and gives further support to the stigma associated with traits of poor minority neighborhoods.

Theorist such as Jane Jacobs, New Urbanist approach, encouraged the idea of viewing cities as a living ecosystem. As a pioneer of New Urbanism, she believed that planners should strive to develop cities that embody the return of active streets and diverse cities with mixed uses. Ironically in minority communities, streets viewed as active have historically been ridiculed and stigmatized due to the perception of mischievous behavior associated with pedestrian street

use. Similar to the theory of social disorganization from a structural stance, she felt the way cities were designed prevented them from building and maintaining informal social control, resulting in cities designed to support crime. "Jacob's book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) opposed 'one size fits all' planning approaches and large building schemes, emphasizing instead allowing places to evolve gradually through natural selection and infill development, with minimal government intervention and in careful consultation with local residents" (King, 2013, p. 2408). In essence, in areas plagued with social disorder, mixed land use can equally be considered positive or negative within a community. However, the benefit of slow development allows for long-standing residents to become accustomed to change without being forced through the process of displacement or gentrification.

Gentrification

Gentrification has the ability to change a communities physical, residential, economic and political structure negatively or positively. "Gentrification can completely change the character of a neighborhood in a short time, transforming it from a neglected, run-down district to a trendy, upscale representation of middle-class wealth and success" (Grifith, 1996, p. 241). Presented as revitalization projects, gentrification often introduces the displacement and deterioration of physical and residential structure within socially disorganized communities. "Social disorganization theory suggests that gentrifying neighborhoods might experience an increase in crime rates as the neighborhood social structures undergo a period of flux and socioeconomic heterogeneity, which lessen a community's ability to control crime internally" (Papachristos, Smith, Scherer, & Fugiero, 2011, p. 218). However, from a political-economic stance private and public organizations embrace the Marxist approach. This encourage disinvestment within poor, social disorganized areas to create slum ghettos, only to later gain

profits by renting and selling to the middle class. "Disinvestment is seen as a means to "prepare" a neighborhood for gentrification (Aoki, 1993)" (Grifith, 1996, p. 242).

Gentrification has the tendency to destroy sense of community in areas that show evidence of social downfalls. Neighborhoods with strong and organized communities, are able to avoid the interference of outside suggestion and change. However, socially disorganized communities become victims of gentrification as gentrification is based in capitalism by way of exploitation of poor, usually minority neighborhoods. Smith (1986) "argues that the exploitation of gentrified neighborhoods by real estate as trendy, cultural centers is only part of the larger economic strategy to reap profit from the reinvestment of capital in the urban core" (Grifith, 1996, p. 243). Gentrification is financially beneficial for the middle and upper class, as the goal is to achieve economic advancement, which often times creates conflict with residential stability in socially disorganized communities.

According to Gale (1985), black neighborhoods are less affected by gentrification because white people do not want to move in those areas. However areas chosen to be gentrified are usually poor, minority areas that are purchased by middle and upper class "white, highly educated individuals with professional careers and higher incomes" (Grifith, 1996, p. 245). During this new wave of revitalization, expressed through gentrification, residents near central downtown, in homes that are architecturally desirable yet inexpensive, are typically those forced out through displacement. These dwellers are "marginally employed or unemployed, elderly, single mother, or working-class White, Black, or Hispanic families" (Grifith, 1996, p. 249). In fact, the characteristics of those typically displaced during the process of gentrification mimic the characteristics associated with residents in areas stigmatized as social disorganized. Unfortunately for inhabitants who are forced to move, it can cause severe psychological strain

for long-term residents who have a deep emotional attachment to the neighborhood (Durham & Sheldon, III, 1986).

Therefore continuing the adverse effects of socially disorganization by way of obscured mental health imposed by the dramatic experience of dislodgment.

Gentrification supports the ideology of the haves verses the have nots. Those that are more financially stable have the power to influence policy based on individual interest. The literature highlights the inability for residents to truly have a voice in the decision process when gentrification is the goal within the community. Revitalization, when citizens are the priority, supports long-standing residential improvement suggestion without, disembarking all the attributes that have aided in the culture of the community. "A study by Freeman (2006), for example, suggests that longtime residents can benefit from new social connections to in-movers' social, cultural, and economic capital, which enables them to demand better police patrol after dark, send their children to improving schools, and receive other public services" (Papachristos et al., 2011, p. 217). In many ways longtime residents believed that the early stages of gentrification support an enhancement in their quality life. "On the other hand, displacement, increased rents, and new forms of surveillance are potentially detrimental – if not outright harmful – outcomes of gentrification for longtime residents (Chernoff 1980; Levy and Cybriwsky 1980; Pattillo 2007; Perez 2004)" (Papachristos et al., 2011, p. 217). As revitalization transitions into gentrification in socially disorganized communities, long standing residents experience the detrimental breakdown within people, structure, economics, and policy.

Infrastructure

Many structures in areas of social disorganization were beautifully designed with character befitting the community in its original state. "The 'built environment' consists of the human-modified components of the physical environment, such as housing and commercial land use, transport networks and landscape design, and the accompanying benefits and risks (such as traffic risks, access to parks)" (King, 2013, p. 2409). Similar to buildings in more economically inclined areas, wear and tear from weather, usage, and residential defacing creates more worn structures. In areas of social demise, the defacement of communal properties attached to the ethnic character of residents gives and automatic stigma to the culture and inhabitants within the community, similar to Wilson and Kellings (1982) broken windows theory. "Neighborhood structure influences crime, there is mounting evidence that crime and violence shape neighborhood conditions themselves" (Kubrin C. E., 2009, p. 389). Residential (apartments, duplexes, single family, detached) homes in areas of social disorganization also receives negative connotation when homes are unkept, abandoned, and destroyed by citizens in and outside the community. In essence, "neighborhood structural conditions influence violent delinquency primarily through the street code" (Steward & Simons, 2006, p. 26).

Well-designed communities have the ability to create atmospheres that encourage healthy culture, happy productive people, financial stability, and policies that help maintain stable environments. "In other disciplines, the presence of environmentally sound neighborhoods and good neighboring has been linked with effective child rearing (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov, & Sealand, 1993); school success (Baker, Barthelemy, & Kurdek, 1993); better health (Taylor & Covington, 1993); lower crime rate (Darian-Smith, 1993; Sampson,1989; Warner & Pierce, 1993); and general quality of life (O'Brien & Ayidiya, 1991)" (Plas & Lewis, 1996, p. 109). The basic infrastructure and city plan of residential and commercial building governs functionality in

all areas. However, rather than supporting gentrification within poor communities, it is imperative for architects, planners, and government entities to develop areas that redevelop space to attract a diverse group of people without destroying the culture or totally removing the current inhabitants.

Rather socially disorganized or not, every community cultivates a specific behavior that coincides with the basic design of the area. "A major goal of these efforts is to integrate low-income and public housing residents into the fabric of the developments and the surrounding (regenerating) community, among higher-income residents, and in contexts of greater stability, safety, opportunity and order" (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013, p. 480). When decision makers evaluate the need for reconstruction in areas viewed as socially disorganized, safety is presented at the forefront while the reality of potential displacement is overlooked. "Unger and Wandersman's theorized that cognitive mapping of the physical layout of a neighborhood helps individuals determine the degree to which they feel safe in interacting with that particular environment" (Plas & Lewis, 1996, p. 109). When determining how planning occurs in areas of social dysfunction, it is imperative to design the plan with current inhabitants in mind. According to Boston (2016), residents in socially exploited areas do not value inhabiting mixed development. Though gentrifiers target middle class investors to aid in redevelopment of socially disorganized communities, it is suggested that long standing residents need government and political support to maintain and/or stabilize areas they have invested in personally.

Jane Jacobs sought a solution for poor planning in downtown city regions. She encouraged mixed-use land development, where residential and commercial businesses would be intertwined and arbitrarily lead to natural surveillance, resulting in safer environment. Jacobs (1961) harbored no trust for city planning in downtown regions as she believed city streets

lacked basic qualities that would aid in more successful neighborhood design aesthetically and residentially. "Residential location is an established marker of social standing (Logan 1978; Logan and Alba 1993), so it is not surprising that Americans are willing to pay more for residence in more desirable neighborhoods" (Massoglia et al., 2012, p. 145). The downfall of the theoretical input from planners is the one-dimensional style of planning which implies mixed economic class structural design but practice the removal of lower economic residents and structures to rebuild structures that eliminate original inhabitant by way of economic influx.

The people whom in many instances have spent their life investing into land and areas they value are devalued by decision makers that have deemed their communal work and investment socially incompetent. Every aspect of these stigmatized areas is being sacrificed in order to allow areas that are socially, economically, and aesthetically thriving to attract investors. As mentioned, these areas allow financial gain through exploitation and demanding relocation of settled residents. "Although affluent households still choose newer housing and moderately older housing still portends a neighborhood economic decline, older housing is becoming more attractive for gentrification (Rosenthal, 2008), even as there is increased demand for access to amenities (for example, shops, restaurants and services, but also including positive neighborly social relations) provided in denser cities (Glaesar & Gottlieb, 2006, p. 2410)" (King, 2013, p. 2410). For the investor, developer, government, etc., overtaking land inhabited by poor minority residents is beneficial economically and structurally because of the current aesthetic state which promotes a culture of authenticity and capital gain as mentioned above.

The reality remains, that the value system among long-standing resident within communities of lack, is very different than the value newcomers, planners and investors have for the community. "Deconcentration efforts are geared towards either dispersing poor people to

less-poor communities or attracting higher-income residents to low-income neighborhoods"

(Chaskin & Joseph, 2013, p. 480). Long standing residents have a greater interest in building

people within the community, whereas new residents and decision makers have a vested interest

in planning for the community with a focus in capital gain. Yet, "for all groups, the architectural

character of the neighborhood was most commonly cited as the main reason for moving"

(Grifith, 1996, p. 246). In my research, culture and sense of belonging has been imperative for

long term residents desire to stay in their community.

Uneven Development

Land use is not being evenly encompassed due to racial disparities promoted by

government agencies, developers, and real estate agents (REA). During a period after the crash

of the housing market, "racial/ethnic segregation continues to structure access to goods and

services" (Besbris & Faber, 2017, p. 851). Using techniques such as mortgage redlining, racial

patterns of steering, and mortgage application denial has allowed real estate agents to capitalize

on minorities limited knowledge in housing. "Redlining was not only common but facilitated, if

not demanded by the state, which set rules for mortgage lending (Gotham 2002; Jackson 1987)"

(Besbris & Faber, 2017, p. 851). "Concerning the Dallas housing market, racial restrictive

covenants, redlining, unsanitary living conditions, inadequate space, and overcrowding were all

dynamics that historically plagued African American communities" (Parker, 2018, p. 47).

Though illegal, real estate agents have made a habit of taking advantage of minority clients by

stripping them of their rights to have unlimited access to locations to reside and possible

financial opportunities. This unethical practice has led to further concentrated poverty in poor

minority communities as a result of drained resources to induce relocation of long-standing

dwellers.

Black minority residents consistently experience the brunt that racism projects on their lifestyle. "African Americans not only lived in segregated communities, but they also witnessed the decline of their neighborhoods due to disparity in city funding for proper maintenance and growth, the practice of redlining, and the city's devaluation of their property value" (Parker, 2018, p. 47). Similar to other ethnicities, Blacks desire to experience land in ways they feel safe and secure residentially, economically and politically. However, efforts to live in neighborhoods that are mixed is being compromised as Real Estate Agents in many instances choose specific areas that further concentrates racism, rather than aiding in developing more balanced mixed-income development. "In terms of homeownership, Blacks have lost the most in the housing crisis largely due to the reincarnations of institutional stratification in the housing market on the basis of race, such as predatory subprime lending (Bocian et al., 2011; Rugh and Massey, 2010)" (Meghan & Rugh, 2013, p. 1371). This form of lending allowed residents to obtain a home only for it to later be taken due to contractual agreements that were not in the interest of minority or poor residents. This resulted in further demise of minority residents as they now faced the consequences of foreclosures on their credit report, thus heightening social disorganization within that community.

Concentrated poverty includes incarcerated individuals forced to stay in low-income areas that is affordable stemming from the slew of disadvantages experienced post incarceration. Lack of job opportunity and stability leave many previous assets as liabilities within communities of social disorganization. Perceived as the least desirable neighbors, "African Americans who have been forced to live in ghettos are facing additional problem of a declining supply of low-income housing as a result of gentrification (McGee Jr., 1991)" (Grifith, 1996, p. 252). Historically, minorities (Blacks in particular) have not been privy to the same zoning

protections against incompatible use as have their white counterparts. Minorities have become victim to the process and preparation of gentrification in areas that have been disregarded by the powers that be. This results in a community that vocally opposes redevelopment because they are unable to trust the government as working for the betterment of the current residents but rather future dwellers. "To many African Americans, gentrification represent an attempt by whites to take over the same "black territory" that they were so eager to flee from only a few decades earlier" (Grifith, 1996, p. 252), better known as white flight.

Though displacement through gentrification fosters ill feelings toward government agencies, developers, and real estate agents, the need for mixed housing is seen to be imperative to improve financial stability, that would create other opportunities within the community. Government entities, developers, and real estate agents projected goal is to regenerate communities by integrating low-income and public housing residents among higher-income residents (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013). "Although gentrification may change the character of individual neighborhoods, in reality fewer than half of the housing units in these neighborhoods are rehabilitated in most cases" (Grifith, 1996, p. 248). This leaves many long-standing residents concerned about redevelopment within socially struggling communities as it is not found to be beneficial for residential inhabitant or the overall community structure. It further lends to the above idea that the structure of the community is destroyed when rehabilitation is replaced with new development and promoted to middle class, detached from residents previously affiliated with the perceived ill-fated community.

Overview Structure

The built environment determines residential experience in both affluent and struggling communities. Long-standing residents in areas that practice the theory of social disorganization are at greatest disadvantage when gentrification, failing infrastructure, and uneven development is dominant within the community. This leads to further lack in potential resources since investment capital is typically gained when a return is inevitable, despite the position it may harness for less valued residents. Many residents are faced with the development of infrastructures that leads to further oppression (liquor stores, loan shops), rather than those that service the community both personally and economically (neighborhood grocery store, affordably priced quality service center). Structure is not independent of resident, economic or politics. Instead, in order to understand the role of structure within communities of social incompetence, each element is viewed interconnected to traits that influence the design and pitfalls experienced within the urban plan. Though economics have been mentioned in the above 2 elements, below further position will be given to the role it plays within the overall scope of social disorganization and why people choose to stay in these areas.

<center>Economic</center>

Though residents in areas of social disorganization, usually are employed or receive some form of social assistance, often times there is still a deficiency which leads individuals to pursue other means of revenue to subsidize their income. "It is the grey world of the illicit and the illegal, that which leaves no paper trail, no official trace, that which is reproved and repressed by society – including, quite often, by those who partake in it – but a world known and tacitly tolerated by all because it is both banal and necessary: you have to live and to take care of your own" (Wacquant L., 1998, p. 4). Though not necessarily illegal, nearly all residents of the ghetto must, at one point or another, rely on some kind of hustle to get by. This reliability on multiple

sources of income is equivalent on a smaller scale to middle and upper-class investment in assets such as real estate, stock market, etc. to gain additional revenue to obtain and maintain a specific quality of life. Yet in financially stable communities this form of investment or the people partaking in it is not given the stigmatized label hustle or hustler. The difference in the hustle between low income verses middle and upper-class income is the ignorance low-class residents possess in developing passive income that does not require trading physical or potential jail time.

The stigma associated with socially ill areas discourages financial investment within communities harboring a low-class economic footing. As a result, long standing residents in poor neighborhoods are more understanding and have learned the manner of coexisting and embracing both the neighborhood residents and their behavior to compensate economic resources deducted by government and investors. These residents typically have an influence on some of the behavior projected, due to their position as an elder (long-standing) resident and their knowledge of basic financial needs within socially disorganized communities. They are not unbeknownst to the possible activities performed to obtain basic household necessities, but they have simply learned to systematically utilize the 'give and take' method to aid financial gaps within the community.

Employment Opportunity

In theory, it is suggested that people residing in socially inadequate areas live there because they lack the drive to change their economic value. Many are given the stigma of being lazy unruly dwellers, who chose to be in their current state of poverty. However, the reality stands that no one chooses to struggle. There is an array of circumstances that are faced in areas of economic hardship which prevents open access to financial gain within traditional (Swidler,

1986)employment. Swidler (1986) (as cited in Small, Harding, & Lamont, 2010, p. 16) "argued that the poor do not possess different values from the rest of society but rather have access to a different repertoire from which to construct their strategies of action." Gainful employment attainable when trying to provide basic needs is typically insufficient, as the money does not cover the accrued expenses. In fact, trying to meet the basic needs for everyday living historically creates further economic imbalance through the forced removal of resources within areas of social disorganization. As a result, "urban economic reorganization thus indirectly increases neighborhood violent crime" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 385).

Minorities (blacks in specific) are at a disadvantage when attempting to obtain legal employment as opportunities are scarcer, joined with the reality that many of their social and educational status does not warrant high wage employment. Currie et al., (2015) alleges, that in Clark's analysis "the roots of ghetto pathology, in his view, lie in inadequate and demeaning low-wage work, which in turn traps people in poor housing" (Currie et al., 2015, p. 11). It has been proven through the works of many scholars that whites are afforded more opportunity due to social relationships than blacks who are often times viewed dangerous and a liability. "At the level of the job, racial disadvantage results from discriminatory pay and hiring as well as from the relegation of African Americans to less prestigious and, therefore, lower-paying jobs (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993)" (Bruce, Roscigno, & McCall, 1998, p. 37). The breakdown in communities overwhelmed by characteristics of social disorganization equally supported an evolved collapse in minority families and overall community. "The pathology of the ghetto is not merely the result of disadvantage, but of oppression and exploitation" (Currie et al., 2015, p. 11).

Incarceration within areas of social demise for petty and/or non-violent crimes aid in the economic demise of communities identified as socially disorganized. In many ways, incarceration is seen as a way of balancing minority group population to avoid the minority becoming the majority and therefore threatening the position of the advantaged economic and political welfare (Bruce, Roscigno, & McCall, 1998). As a result, minorities experience competition and exploitation theories used against them when trying to gain or maintain employment to support their families. "Both competition and exploitation theories assert that racial antagonism exists because minority racial group member represent a threat, perceived or real, to the material well-being of working-class whites (Tomaskovic-Devey & Roscigno, 1996)" (Bruce et al., 1998, p. 37). The usage of these theories eliminates potential for minorities to discontinue reliance on government and private sector agencies to subsidy missing finances that could have been otherwise recycled within the community through employment.

Long-standing residents in these areas have a history of performing low wage occupations such as baby sitting and house cleaning in order to provide basic needs. Research has shown that minorities in general make less money than their white counterparts. It is further confirmed that black women make less than any other race and/or sex. Ironically, homes in areas of social disorder are predominantly led by black women, thus perpetuating the intense downfall that is experienced from economic shortage resulting from competition and exploitation theories. "The discriminatory methods employed secure the material interest of dominant racial group members or a certain class faction while intensifying economic, political, and social disadvantages for African Americans and other racial/ethnic minority groups" (Bruce et al., 1998, p. 37). Though discrimination is apparent for minorities, a vividly changing economy has also participated in limiting opportunities within disadvantaged communities, as residents do not

have the means nor desire to relocate to areas for a job, thus leaving them privy to communal low wage employment.

Within areas of social disorganization, similar to physical structure, the act of steering and redlining takes place within the economic realm. Many investors purposely avoid minority population regions and encourages the practice of preparing the space for gentrification, as mentioned above, through disinvestment within a community. "Recent evidence, for instance, suggest that elite investment/disinvestment patterns and local growth machine politics systematically bypass localities with large minority populations, thereby shaping economic development and creating racial inequality through spatial pattern of investment (Logan and Molotch, 1987; Molotch, 1988; Wilson, 1992)" (Bruce et al., 1998, p. 38). This is harmful to the community as it creates limitations for consumer resources through monopolized options.

The act of disinvestment, eliminates the ability for current long-standing residents to receive aid to develop a structural system that could reduce crime, stabilize the community through functioning facilities, and demystify social disorganization within minority neighborhoods. As Messner and Rosenfeld (1994) argue, "American economic institutions are so powerful that economic values outweigh values emerging other institutions such as family and schools" (Warner, 2003, p. 77). Yet, the informal value system embraced within minority communities is one that is influenced by long-term residents who have created specific unwritten boundaries for the community to support family and the education system through social capital.

Residential Mobility

Residential mobility can be seen as both a pro and con within areas of social hardship. Scholars have attributed crime to the desire to relocate, however as the literature have provided

in the works of scholars such as Porter et al., (2012), often times the fear of crime does not equate to actual crime. Therefore, people intentions to move typically does not convert to the act of relocating. "Detailed empirical analysis of how direct victimization influences mobility has been hindered by a lack of relevant data" (Xie & McDowall, 2008, p. 813). In fact, the literature as mentioned above supports the reality that even when people are forced to move from their dwellings they typically stay within the same neighborhood. Therefore the ideology projected under sociology, suggesting that residential mobility is a consequence of social disorganization, is not validated as people are not choosing to leave their community.

Residential mobility or lack thereof in the literature of social disorganization indicates that people are forced to stay within areas of disorder because they do not have the means to relocate. It also asserts that financial lack and incarceration are among the most dominant components that prevent residents from having the choice to remove themselves from the environment.

"A further analysis revealed that the interaction term of poverty and mobility had a significant relationship with crime rates, with the highest crime rates in neighborhoods with high poverty rates and low mobility. They reasoned that poor neighborhoods in most cities today tended to be the most stable areas because the residents had no choice but to stay there primarily due to a lack of resources" (Roh & Choo, 2008, p. 11).

However, the perception of crime within demising areas does not evoke fear for residents unless they are direct victims of the action. As a result people are not inclined to move, even if they are not satisfied, when they have not personally experienced physical harm (Xie & McDowall, 2008). Though they may feel leery, hearsay of potential danger does not warrant voluntary

removal from a community. Also, though Roh and Choo (2008), provides that poor neighborhoods tend to be more stable, according to the theory of Social disorganization, lacking resources and an inability to move are characteristics that accompany a lack of communal values and informal social control in poor neighborhoods. The theory declares that people will flee from the area due to instability which causes high crime rates.

When optional mobility is not achieved in areas with characteristic of social disorganization, scholars claim that crime increases within those communities. It is confirmed that even when residents change, areas plagued with social disgust remain physically the same. The risk attached to criminal participation is evoked by societal norms that discourage rehabilitation yet encourages a lifetime sentence of second-class citizenship. "The decision to commit robbery typically emerges in the course of illicit street action suggests that legitimate employment is not a realistic solution" (Jacobs & Wright, 1999, p. 154). This is displayed through limited opportunities from employers, permanently acting as gatekeepers within socially ill communities. "An area's level of mobility is an important feature of social stability, a factor that influences the link between neighborhood disorder and crime (Skogan, 1990)" (Clear, Rose, Waring, & Scully, 2003, p. 36). Therefore, when residents are forcibly removed from these neighborhoods, these residents are subjected to the "churning" procedure which recycles them back into the community as a liability rather than an asset.

The theory of social disorganization proposes that the contributing factors are racial heterogeneity, poverty, and residential mobility. In an era where gentrification is the staple for many low-income neighborhoods it is not voluntary, but rather involuntary mobility that pushes people away from their selected communities. "In some communities, however, involuntary or coercive mobility may be the dominant force of movement in and out of a neighborhood" (Clear

et al., 2003, p. 37). Though economic lack or crime may play a role in the desire to leave, the literature suggests that many people stay in these areas because the community culture coincide with their individual values.

Residential Class

The haves and the have nots, represents the basic makeup of the 21st century. With the middle class quickly dissolving, "systems of racism, classism, and sexism rely on institutional policies, exploitation, and simplistic oppositional constructs (e.g., good/bad, superior/inferior, dominant/subordinate)" (Harley, Jolivette, McCormick, & Tice, 2002, p. 229) in order to function. Residential class determines the structural, economical, residential and political behavior and attributes that are accepted within communities viewed as socially disorganized. In areas of social disorder, commercial and residential structures are not as well kept, resources are limited and therefore takes longer to recycle within the community, and policy in place is presented and determined by the elite class. Inhabitants in low-income housing areas represents the low-class, as neighborhood circumstances places them at a disadvantage due to policies that enable them to progress.

This clear distinction between the classes, allows for those outside of disorganized regions to make decisions that may not be of best interest for low-income residents. Sandhu and Aspy propose, "in reality there are only two classes (of course on a continuum): the oppressed and the oppressor, the powerful and the powerless, or the haves and the have nots" (Sandhu & Aspy, 1997, p. 24). When residents in poverty-stricken areas are purposely sabotaged for capital gain, it creates a culture of distrust against the powers that determine policy, and in return provokes a cycle of mischief among residents. "Policy decisions affecting the opportunity

structure and quality of life of American communities are made every day, some of which are

explicitly associated with economic or class disparities and others tied to traditional civil rights

or race-specific matters" (Squires & Kubrin, Privileged Places: Races, Uneven Development and

the Geography of Opportunity in Urban America, 2005, p. 59). This form of interaction causes

detriment within the community, disregarding the elite that creates and enforces policies that

hinder the lower-class while enhancing those in power. Furthermore, without having the

resources to influence policy, the culture of exploitation continues at the expense of the under-

privileged.

Scholars such as Henry (1994), imply that poor people remain socially inadequate as a

result of self-inflicted personal and moral merits (something a person did or did not do, laziness,

etc.) (Harley et al., 2002). Yet the literature within the realm of social disorganization confirms

that people scarce position in socially disorganized communities is the result of aggravated

policies enforced that do not benefit lower-income areas, but rather investors and government

entities. Unlike French working-class men, who view the poor as fellow workers temporarily

displaced by the forces of capital, the United States has a history of creating distinctive moral

perceptions about those less fortunate. "In the United States, working-class men draw strong

moral distinctions between themselves and poor, emphasizing hard work, responsibility, and

self-sufficiency in their own self-definitions" (Small et al., 2010, p. 17). In contrast, the

compassion within the French society identify residents within the lower-class as simply needing

help. This distinction that the United States poses highlights the stigma associated with poor

minority residents and communities that, in many ways, have been pigeonholed as socially

disorganized because of economics and policies.

Poor minority concentrated areas have been unable to stabilize as they are constantly faced with steering mechanism economically and politically. "Economically, people of color and women make up the majority of the adult population in the federally defined poverty class (McCormick, 1994)" (Harley et al., 2002, p. 217). Accordingly, areas deemed disorganized socially are dominantly headed by black women, who historically are also the least paid by employers. "Poor communities lack money and resources, and therefore have fewer organizational opportunities for youth and adults" (Porter & Purser, 2010, p. 944). The lack of presence of organizations is tell-tale sign of an area that has lacking resources and arbitrarily consumed with the plague of social disorder. "Black middle-class neighbourhoods are far more likely than White middle-class communities to be located in close proximity to poor neighbourhoods, which residents frequently pass through while commuting to work, going to the grocery store and engaging in most normal daily activities (Pattillo-McCoy, 1999)" (Squires & Kubrin, Privileged Places: Races, Uneven Development and the Geography of Opportunity in Urban America, 2005, p. 51). However, these areas as mentioned above, are incumbent of long-term residents who have adapted to limited resources or unbeknownst that their community does not have specific amenities that middle and upper-class neighborhoods enjoy.

Residential class when realized by the less fortunate is disheartening to young residents in particular. Clark (1965) notes, that young people are aware that they are being dehumanized by broken schools, disorganized streets, and police, where others in the higher class are not subjected to many of these ills that nurtures the sense of powerless (Currie et al., 2015). Class plays a pivotal position in how people and structure maneuvers in areas of disorganization. Long-standing residents typically have had the opportunity to see communities during the different eras that have taken place during their tenure within the community. These residents in

many instances have created immediate stability within their individual homes as they have invested an abundance of resources in their personal dwellings. Furthermore, many have had the opportunity to eliminate their house debt, thus aiding in their financial security unless they are forced out of their home through the government process of eminent domain. Long-term residents' value the accomplishment of owning their homes and accomplishing ownership of an asset.

Capitalism

Capitalism stands to be one of the most challenging factors faced within socially disorganized areas. The need for resources that aid in the economic development of communities classified as incompetent is often stifled because of limited capital available for medium and small businesses within the community. This allows corporate capitalist entities to invest by creating monopolies that are beneficial to their business at the detriment (increased prices to account for theft, low wage employment) of community needs. The use of corporate capitalism in communities of duress disables residential ability to recycle resources within the community, as many residents will go further to consume in order to stretch their money. However, small and medium long-standing businesses within the community do aid in both developing job opportunity and assets for residents. Many businesses that directly affect residential empowerment such as hair salons, neighborhood grocery stores, etc., allow residents to employ more quality service through support of communal business owners. Long standing residents are not seen as valuable, but rather a prospect for private capitalism by corporate capitalist (chain liquor stores, Walmart, pawn shops, etc.). This encourages a breakdown in social interaction and value from both parties (residents and corporate capitalists).

The act of capitalism among the lower class, is the act of receiving maximum efforts and labor for minimal cost. Each person working in a capitalist system, is encouraged to do more work for less wage. Unlike the upper-class elite, the act of working under a corporate capitalist system does not provide adequate economic gain to maintain lower income households in socially disorganized communities. Yet within communities of distress, "about 85 percent of households rely on employment (i.e. selling one's labour) as their primary source of income" (Howell, 2018, p. 1). The exploitation within poor minority communities at the hands of capitalism, effects the individual, family, and structural being within these regions, by coercing policies that enhance the wealthy at the detriment of lower-class neighborhoods.

In economically poor communities, competition for employment in low wage jobs, allows employers to hire offering lower income. This is typically the case in corporate capitalism.

> "Competition theorists (e.g. Blalock, 1967; Olzak, 1992) focus largely on manifestation of racial antagonism and its consequences for discriminatory action by working-class whites. Race relations, it is suggested, remain relatively stable until a significant amount of African-American (or other racial/ethnic minority group) labor becomes available for use by capital. Under these circumstances, Caucasian workers perceive increasing numbers of African-American workers as a threat to their economic status, since employers can easily replace them at a lower cost" (Bruce et al., 1998, p. 35-37).

Though beneficial to the company, it is not feasible for long hours to be vested into neighboring jobs at the risk of adolescent surveillance as it allows for the possibility for mischievous behavior and incarceration which creates further economic hardship. Residents in socially disorganized

communities are forced to work multiple jobs, taking time from their families, in order to meet basic financial needs. Whereas a multitude of opportunities are afforded to upper and middle-class by way of more lucrative capital and higher monetary value for less invested time. Socially disorganized residents lack the ability to achieve social capital within their areas as most people within economically lacking communities do not possess job positions (social network) that afford them the opportunity to employ their neighbor.

The presence of small and medium minority owned businesses typically doesn't allocate policies that support long-late night work hours. In many areas of social hardship business hours are usually in accordance with the rise and set of the sun. In fact restaurants, such as South Dallas Café hours were developed to both avoid criminal activity against their store and employees, and to allow communal residents the opportunity to rear their children during non-school hours. The equal exchange of employment and resources supports the value of small business capitalism and social capital needed within communities with limited economic and social resources. However small and mediums size business also sometimes inherit the economic limitations that are associated with limited capital and non-recycled monetary gain.

The lack of mixed income housing as a result of Real Estate Agents steering and redlining enforces a non-existence of social capital that could aid in financially stabilizing communities in duress. "Redlining of disproportionately black and Latino/a areas by banks and insurance companies most assuredly plays a role in reproducing patterns of depressed economic development and racial concentration both by limiting the formation of new businesses and also by contributing to the speed at which an area physically declines and is deemed undesirable by potential investors (Squires, Valez, and Taeuber, 1991)" Bruce et al., 1998, p. 38). Redlining in low income areas is another form of capitalist exploitation, as employment opportunities are

ceased prior to inception within socially disorganized neighborhood, causing a further imbalance of residents to resources. "As of 2000, no racial group was more physically isolated from jobs than Blacks, and those metropolitan areas with higher levels of Black–White housing segregation were those that exhibited higher levels of spatial mismatch between the residential location of Blacks and the location of jobs (Raphael & Stoll, 2002)" (Squires & Kubrin, Privileged Places: Races, Uneven Development and the Geography of Opportunity in Urban America, 2005, p. 53). Long standing residents have maintained their quality of life, even in the adversity of unwritten policy driven capitalism. These residents have compensated for some of the lack within the community by offering services such as affordable childcare, which enables newer residents to sustain their living standards.

Communities plagued with social disorder is often labeled as dysfunctional, rowdy, dirty places that lack structure. In many instances the informal structure that is put in place in these areas are used to aid each other in counteracting policies that assimilate demise within struggling communities. Similar to economically thriving communities, these areas sometimes face criminal infiltration that threatens the livelihood of the residents. However, as noted within the literature many of the crimes committed, unlike those committed within the upper-class, are to meet basic household needs that were not attainable within traditional jobs where they heavily invest their time for low wages. Unfortunately, residents who explore this level of economic gain, is typically imprisoned and subjected to further economic and individual stress within their community. "It seems likely that high incarceration rates concentrated in certain communities could increase social disorganization by depleting the already limited resources of community members and by damaging the social networks that serve as the basis for social capital and ultimately promote private and parochial social control" (Clear et al., 2003, p. 38). Yet, when

needs are not being met, the risk of incarceration becomes minute as incarceration in low-income communities is common among locals.

Corporate capitalism is a harsh reality for residents of low-income communities. "While a fraction of the world's population is inconceivably wealthy, 22,000 children die every day from poverty-related illness" (Howell, 2018, p. 1). Long-standing residents in areas of social disorder value is irreplaceable as they act as a barrier for many economic, structural and residential shortcomings that derive in their communities. It is the communal efforts endorsed by long-standing residents along with small and medium businesses that aid in rearing and creating boundaries within the community. The support given by these residents is informal and unforced. Therefore residents are typically more willing to abide by the basic culture that consistently evolves but are incumbent of the value system within the community. Misappropriated capitalism among the deprived is inhumane, however as long as policies are targeted to minimize investment in lacking communities, it will be hard if not impossible to achieve an economy that serves the interest of the large majority, rather than the limited over-privileged.

Overview Economic

Whether affluent or socially struggling, economics serves as the basic footing for urban planning, sustainability, and development. The economic influence as mentioned above directly effects employment opportunity, residential mobility, residential class, and capitalism within any area. However the misrepresentation of economics can be detrimental to residents, structure, and policy within areas classified as socially disorganized. These areas are fragile to economic as they are typically at a tipping point of communal demise due to limited resources, and ailing policies. Socially disorganized areas experience further hardship when residential behavior

partake in destruction of physical structure without means to rebuild or refinance the community. Therefore communities cannot gain stability or examined for improvement without evaluating the value of economics within the area. Below is the final tier I propose should be included as part of the 4 elements needed when evaluating areas recognized as socially disorganized.

Political

The theory of social disorganization that focus on crime and social control under the guidance of Shaw and McKay, dissimilates the validity of contributing factors that are pivotal to the research of the theory. Policy contributions to economic, residential, and structural entities are deciding factors in how neighborhoods are viewed and function. "Neighborhoods are shaped by urban political and economic forces" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 387). When policies are not put into place to allow for economic gain within a community, every aspect of the community is destroyed because the lack of funds gives no way to maintain or enhance public or private facilities. Arbitrarily, a lack of policy allows a culture of deliberate exposure to residential and structural downfalls that provoke disinvestment from residential, economical, and structural physical and emotional states. "Policies that take cultural conditions into account are more likely to be successful" (Small et al., 2010, p. 22).

Policy positioned appropriately in struggling communities supports the needs of a community rather than creating barriers that aid in the demise of the area. It is also beneficial for connecting and building relationships between residents and local government officials. "Increases in ties to government officials had modest effects in reducing victimization in affluent neighborhoods but much larger effects in disadvantaged neighborhoods" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 386). Affective, communal driven policies have the ability to heal the negative

connotation that is attached to struggling communities in order to develop platforms that are equally advantageous to all parties within the communities and possible consumers within the space. "In contrast, inaccurate perceptions about African Americans can influence important policy positions and place Blacks individually and collectively at risk" (Lee & Rasinski, 2006, p. 190). When policies are not created with minorities in mind, when the community is at stake, it supports a culture of unsolicited, bias laws that are neither necessary nor accepted by residents within the community. There is an imminent need for local government to aid in making decisions with the people rather than enforcing policies on people.

Neighborhood Facilities

The conditions of commercial facilities and residential housing serve as a precursor to the perception of areas being classified as socially disorganized. Commercial facilities and housing units in areas of social demise are commonly abandoned and infiltrated by local squatters. These facilities also have many of the structural broken window characteristics as expressed by Wilson and Kelling (1982). Current policies in place does not prevent the act of displacement through the process of gentrification, which allows low income areas to be used as a project for capital gain.

Many spaces that house commercial facilities are being replaced with low-income housing by way of apartment complexes. However, low-income housing in theory does not equate to financially affordable housing that would allow current residents the opportunity to inhabit them in their current economic situation. "The city refused to develop policies to protect existing residents from displacement, claiming that gentrification was just a natural market phenomenon in which they could not successfully intervene. City policy was biased in favor of

the gentrifiers" (Grifith, 1996, p. 247). Therefore, there is a conflict of interest between policy

makers and residents because residents need homes, yet do not value mixed income development

(Boston , 2016). Housing placed within these financial pitfall areas aid in stabilizing the

community by profitable income gained from housing facilities.

Policies enforced in areas afflicted with social ills does not align with the communal

values, nor conducive of stability for the poor. Many policies that are decided upon and enforced

in socially illicit areas does not account for the culture but allows for policies to be used in a

manner that enhances social deviance and heavier policing. As a result of this cycle of outputting

local residents and replacing them with more income savvy participants, it enriches the economic

value in the community at the expense of current occupants. "Specifically, for Whites, men, and

the middle and upper classes, these policies and programs serve to marginalize, stratify, and

subjugate people of color, women, and the working poor with the primary purpose of being able

to maintain authority and control over political and economic institutions" (Harley et al., 2002, p.

228-229). Financial gain in this instance is reached with the input of middle-class citizens,

however the culture is demolished as temporary residents consistently uproot, leaving a demised

sense of community for long standing residents.

When money is not at the forefront of communal policy decisions, values are.

Neighborhoods of monetary lack do not have the financial means to stabilize their communities

because of a series of inside and outside forces. However, most evident are the policies within

the community that does not support the functionality of the collective space. "Political decisions

regarding the location of public housing thus indirectly amplified crime by introducing a new

source of instability… that decreased the community's ability to regulate itself" (Bursik, 1989, p.

386). When policies are enforced that does not take into consideration residential needs or

economic position, the policy runs the risk of perpetuating criminal activities and further distrust toward the government. Clear et al., (2003) suggest "those who are interested in testing social disorganization theory should consider more closely the impact of public policies on community structure" (p. 56). As mentioned above, crime contributes to social disorganization, but in order to rebuild a community plagued with social ills, policy, economics, structure, and residents must be considered.

Neighborhood Policing

When communities are drained of resources, people with few options are more prone to mischievous behavior, hence perpetuating crime in confined concentrated poverty-stricken regions. Social disorganization does have qualities that enact crime, therefore I am not arguing the validity that crime is a result of the above factors being unstable. However it is imperative to understand that when residential, structural, economic and policies are not functioning properly in areas currently in distress, elevated crime is a potential outcome. "Criminal justice system may be one of the very forces that, in high quantities, destabilize some of the protective factors available to young people in poor communities" (Clear et al., 2003, p. 57). Therefore, the theory of social disorganization should be re-evaluated to mirror that concept. This usage of policy applied through laws, supports the government perceived need for heavier policing within socially ill communities, rather than investing in residents through programs to disrupt the monotony and encourage social structure and social network among residents.

People in communities of social duress should be able to trust that policies are being created and implemented with the interest of the resident in the community at high priority. Yet that has not been the reality for dwellers in low income areas. In fact, concentration of poverty

prone citizens by way of ex-prisoners, low income dwellers, and multiple family households, allows regions of social ruin to not have a voice in policy decisions. The inability for these places that are heavily populated with citizens unallowed to vote, allow for government to persuade policy in favor of investors, developers, and government operations. "Felon disenfranchisement, or the restriction of voting rights among ex-offenders, disproportionately affects African Americans, and this has had major implications for state and federal elections (Manza & Uggen, 2006)" (Massoglia et al., 2012, p. 143). Repetitious to the era of Jim Crow, laws passed have relegated African Americans to a permanent second-class status. Lack of voting right in areas concentrated by poverty leaves residents at a disadvantage when trying to have a voice in the decisions made for their community. The needs or desires of the community are not being represented because the heavy population of potential voters is disembarked due to their rights being legally compromised.

As a result, many residents with criminal backgrounds are forced into a lifestyle that no longer benefits the community, because of new-found experiences implemented by government entities, that has directly stunted their position within the communal system. According to Kirk, "ex-prisoners bring back to the neighborhood not only their experiences with the prison system, but also, more broadly, the cumulative negative experiences they have had with the police, the courts, and with prison" (Kirk, 2016, p. 225). As mentioned above, minority groups are more likely to report being harassed by public officials (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003), therefore increasing the likelihood of arrest.

However many affluent areas are not plagued with unparalleled pestering, nor afflicted by policies that are detrimental to those lacking financial stability. Many scholars such as Kubrin and Weitzer (2003), have highlighted the practice of heavy arrest, and policing toward young

minorities. The policy within neighborhood conjoined with provocation of police officers have led to the act of harassment being legal when inflicted by an officer who has taken an oath to protect and serve. This behavior further encourages displacement from housing and socially disorganized communities, unless gentrification is active within the neighborhood. In essence authors such as Williams and Smith (1986), "argue that the only real defense would be a drastic political restructuring that would result in housing being viewed as a fundamental right for all citizens rather than as a privilege for the advantaged" (Grifith, 1996, p. 253). There is a true need for housing policies to be revisited for the betterment of disorganized communities.

Policy

Post-Civil War policies such as the 13th amendment allowed black minorities to be criminalized at high rates for economic gain by the elite class. Though slavery was abolished there was still a need for low cost labor to maintain capitalism in American production. Due to the loophole in the 13th amendment, which eliminates involuntary slavery unless one is held as punishment for a crime still affects minorities (Blacks in specific). "Since the 1970s, incarceration rates nationally have risen 500%" (Clear et al., 2003, p. 37). It has allowed for racism, discrimination, and exploitation of minorities for capital gain.

Furthermore, not only are policies affecting minority communities, the same powers that create the policies act as judge and jury, which gives minority citizens an unfair disadvantage. "Despite years of antidiscrimination policies and antipoverty programs, racism, sexism, and classism continue to occupy both a pivotal position and function in U.S. society (Harley et al., 2002, p. 228-229). In essence, the stigma associated with incarceration plays an equilateral role with areas of social disorganization. However as history have shown incarceration is not always

the result of crime, neither in poor nor affluent areas. Areas of economic stability have the means which allows the elite class to avoid many ills that are faced in low income areas. Residents in socially disorganized communities do not have that luxury, and the community emulates that reality.

Low-income residents have many roles within communities that informally aid in creating boundaries and structure within the community, unbeknownst to outsiders. Social disorganization theorists have overlooked the effects of public policies on community life" (Clear et al., 2003, p. 56). Therefore policies implemented are functional in theory, but in many ways damaging to communities perceived to be afflicted with social issues. "Representative Woolsey emphasizes the importance of lawmakers recognizing cultural changes when developing social policy in general and poverty policy in particular" (Small et al., 2010, p. 23). Unfortunately long-term residents have not been able to counteract the failures created as a consequence of untamed policies.

Minorities (Blacks in specific) are constantly at risk of experiencing the negative effects of policies created by those in economic and political power. The powers that are most influential within the decision-making process, are based on racism, classism and sexism per Harley et al., (2002). Furthermore in areas plagued by social disorder racism, classism, and sexism are parallel to negative attributes that are frowned upon by US society. Minorities represent the residential makeup, low class represents the economic design, and predominantly women head households signify the sexism within areas of social disorder. "For successful and lasting change, strategies must deconstruct racism, classism, and sexism in all levels of social institutions" (Harley et al., 2002, p. 234). Yet to date, the presence of racism, classism, and sexism perceived as negative connotation in minority communities does not allow inhabitants in

socially inadequate communities the opportunity to participate in developing decisions. "Although social policy is promoted as a means of equalizing opportunities, such policies generally lack legitimacy because they are developed by individuals in positions of power who serve as gatekeepers and dictators of outcomes" (Harley et al., 2002, p. 229).

The justice system has created a cycle of disparity, by the constant removal and replacement of residents. This inhumane rotation from neighborhood to prisons, back to neighborhoods, encourages a lifetime sentence through scarce jobs, a lack of economic advancement and housing limitations for residents who have been said to have paid their debt to society. "Many criminologists appear reticent to confront, in their policy recommendations, criminogenic structural conditions that reinforce the unequal distribution of power, resources and opportunities in US society" (Currie et al., 2015, p. 6). This level of disorder that is associated with these residents encourages the very characteristics that are said to destroy communities.

Overview Policy

Policy has had the greatest influence on the demise of neighborhoods inflicted with social disorganization. The need for long term residents is vital to have any chance of sustaining or improving the residential, structural, economical, or political challenges faced in these areas. Long term residents provide stability in a personal sense and in many instances, aid in basic maintenance in the structural appearance of the neighborhood they have helped develop. They are further irreplaceable in speaking about the need, from a policy stance, for the community to function adequately.

Conclusion

Earlier work of sociologist from the Chicago School was diminished, leaving crime as the staple for the theory of social disorganization. A new era was formed in which social disorganization was consistently evaluated based on a criminology scale rather than a sociology stance. This limited studies for theory of social disorganization because many scholars for decades furthered the study of social disorganization by only evaluating its association to crime (adolescent, family dynamic, incarceration patterns, etc.).

Researchers have provided an insurmountable degree of literature to support the influence of crime on social disorganization. Scholars such as Shaw and McKay (1942), Kornhauser (1978), Sutherland (1947), have stiffly defined the attributes that classifies an area as socially disorganized, as well as the influence these traits have on the development or lack-there-of, in communities lacking economic stability. The accepted definition of social disorganization supports the ideology that crime is the driving force that stagnated community structure and individual development in poor, minority communities. Though originated as a study of human and plant ecology, transitioned to the study of people and 'place matter,' the theory left little room for suggestions outside the realm of criminology.

Scholars that have explored social disorganization have not acknowledged the stigma placed on residential, structural, economic, and political influence outside of the research of criminology. The need for each of these elements to be evaluated is pivotal to restructure the definition applied to social disorganization. There is a true need for a completely new theory to be introduced to better characterize areas with dominant traits of social dysfunction. "Something that is raised in several articles in this issue – is to establish a clearer distinction between crime and disorder" (Welsh et al., 2015, p. 458). The current definition as determined above is not inclusive of neighborhood character that determines the functionality within the community.

Furthermore, the current definition does not attest for long-standing residents who have a vested interest in the maintenance and enhancement of communities perceived as socially disorganized.

Long standing residents have learned to adapt and overcome conditions that have been forced upon them through policy and misuse of power enforced resulting from a long history of oppression experienced under US governing. Minorities in areas of social disorganization have constantly been tormented through provoked lacking resources, which has led to many of the issues that have deemed the area socially disorganized. The current definition of social disorganization does not embody the attributes, such as disinvested economics, policy that aid investors rather than residents, gentrification, etc. that have led to Shaw and McKay's accepted definition of Social Disorganization. Rather than accepting this definition that suggest that lack of informal social control by residents as the pioneer of social disorganization, my research proposes when the above factors are misappropriated and residents, structure, economic and policy is not considered, crime is one of the results. Though crime does play a role in the theory, it acts as a consequence when residents are not supported in other areas of building a community.

The theory of social disorganization suggest that residents would flee communities infected by social disorder at first chance. It further implies that the community physical appearance is incumbent of rowdy, unruly residents who are forced to reside in the area because of hardship, such as finances, or political pitfalls such as declined housing due to incarceration. However, similar to economically flourishing communities, areas classified as socially dysfunctional have maintained long standing residency within the neighborhood. As mentioned above, even when dwellers are victims of forced removal, they relocate within the same region. This support the ideology that residents have chosen to stay within communities viewed as

problematic based on their personal value system which is not driven by neither crime nor

revenue.

CHAPTER IV

<u>Methodology</u>

The cycle of poverty endured by minorities and imposed by US policy is a result of the belief system evoked by structured austerity urbanism. The stigma placed on these communities encourages an unwarranted isolation between residents and primary elements that form the basic social, physical, economic, and political structure within communities perceived as socially disorganized. The purpose of this research is to reimagine and redevelop the way areas with social inadequacies are presented and identified. It further investigates, in the face of adversity, why people who have the resources to relocate choose to remain in blighted areas, when the theory of social disorganization suggests they would depart.

This research requires qualitative examination to give a true synopsis of the characteristics that allow a community to be deemed socially disorganized and obtain clarity into why people choose to remain in their current neighborhood amidst perceived unpleasant living conditions. This study, which is rooted in the constructivist worldview, uses a semi structured interview approach to obtain clarity of the paradigm shift that takes place between social structures (physical, residential, economic appearance) and residential desire to maintain residence in a specific community. This approach was employed after communities of duress were identified and examined to pinpoint specific traits that classify the community as disorganized. This provided a physical view that fit the typology of areas viewed as failing. This chapter defines the research question, approach, and design used to support the purpose of the study.

<u>Constructivist Worldview</u>

A constructivist worldview is employed to explore and understand residential experiences that encourage a desire to remain in areas that theoretically one would flee based on physical, structural, economic, and political attributes. Social constructivists rely heavily on participants' view and some of their own cultural background to understand and reconstruct how people interpret a specific studied phenomenon (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). They further create knowledge through interaction between the participant and researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). It is vital for constructivist researchers to, "focus on the specific contexts in which people live and work, in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants" (Creswell, 2009). For this study, in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty-one individuals (residents, business owner, and/or community leaders) within areas deemed socially disorganized based on HUD R/ECAP standards.

Recap of the Comprehensive Housing Policy

Three Broad Goals

Create and maintain affordable housing units throughout Dallas

Promote greater fair housing choices

Overcome patterns of segregation and concentrations of poverty through incentives and requirements

This allowed different perspectives to be viewed by individuals residing or partaking in the community as a permanent tenured community member. The following questions guided the approach and methods utilized in this study:

1. Why have the participants (residents, business owners, public figures) chosen to stay in a community that is reported by HUD as underserved physically, economically, structurally, and residentially leaving it classified as socially disorganized?

2. What are participants' (residents, business owners, and/or leaders) perceptions of the relationship between residential, economic, and political attributes within the community.

3. How do the participants (residents, business owners, and/or leaders) view the community resources, residents, businesses, and leaders?

4. How can we identify and recover communities with a need for social improvement, without invoking harm with labels that stigmatize the community?

Research Question

Areas stigmatized as socially disorganized are presumably characterized as communities infested with advanced traits of communal dysfunction. The stigma associated with these areas is illustrated by the presence of poor minority (Black and Latino/a) dwellers, deteriorated inadequately developed structures, economically deficient resources, and politically failing systems that function based on capitalism rather than residential needs. These areas recognized as having social impurities (residential or structural) are branded by a stigma that paralyze the community's ability to attain and maintain social, structural, political, and economic leverage.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, the belief embraced by many Americans, linking Blacks and other disadvantaged minority groups to social images, such as crime, violence, disorder, welfare, and undesirability as neighbors is ostensibly validated when connecting residential spatial position to race. "These beliefs are reinforced by the historical association of involuntary racial segregation with concentrated poverty – in turn linked to institutional disinvestments and

neighborhood decline" (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2005, p. 7). Though neighborhoods labeled incompetent are allegedly infiltrated with social barriers and a strong objection to occupy the quarters, these communities have maintained a population of long-standing inhabitants. Therefore, several questions arise, one of which is: Why do people remain as residents in communities that show evidence of social disorganization, when the theory suggest people would leave?

Qualitative Research Approach

A qualitative research method approach was used to conduct research because qualitative methods are most appropriate to determine the meaning participants hold about the problem or issue (Creswell, 2009). It further allows people to more clearly express the meaning they give to events they have experienced (Merriam, 1998). A semi structured interview and survey method was utilized to understand how individual participants experience living, working, and/or advocating in communities classified as socially, economically, structurally, and politically inadequate. This method of qualitative research is valuable when studying small number of subjects to evaluate their personal experiences within socially struggling communities. It also aids in pinpointing patterns and determining additional similarities of meanings that creates an array of new paradigms for participants.

As a reaction to the ongoing pandemic, COVID19 I have been forced to explore different means of collecting data for health reasons. In order to stay in alignment with the guidelines (social distancing) set in place to prevent the further spread of this pandemic, I fully utilized technology (zoom, telephone, e-mail) and limited in-person interaction to perform snowball sampling to interview participants virtually. My goal was to interview a minimum of 15

participants (residents, business owners, community leaders, etc.) that were embedded within the community. My research included snowball sampling, open-ended interviewing, and data attained by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development dataset. Intentional selection of participants gave reasoning to support why people choose to stay within social disorganized communities contrary to the current theory. Interviews provided more clarity on why people chose to stay in areas classified as socially disorganized amidst the stigmas associated that suggest poor community dwellers would flee. Utilizing an interview method helps identify the role residential, structural, economic, and political influence have had on long-standing residents lived experience and their decision to stay within areas branded as socially disorganized.

HUD R/ECAP

In order to clearly and consistently identify, racially/ethnically concentrated areas of poverty (R/ECAP), the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) created a census tract-based definition of R/ECAP. Unlike definitions typically used to describe socially lacking, poor minority communities, this definition focuses on a racial/ethnic concentration threshold and a poverty test to develop guidelines for categorizing a community as a R/ECAP. These guidelines provide a clear depiction of poor social, economic, and political influence among ailing communities and developed specific requirements to identify both neighborhoods and residents eligible to occupy the structural environment of R/ECAP community.

In order for a community to qualify as a R/ECAP, areas must meet both the population and poverty thresholds established by HUD. Communities deemed a R/ECAP must have a non-white population of 50 percent or more to fulfill the racial/ethnic concentration threshold. The community must simultaneously possess a poverty rate exceeding 40 percent or three or more

times the average tract poverty for the metropolitan/micropolitan area, whichever threshold is lower. "Census tracts with this extreme poverty that satisfy the racial/ethnic concentration threshold are deemed R/ECAPs" (HUD, 2015). This amendment to Wilson (1980) definition of extreme poverty was inevitable due to poverty levels being substantially lower in many parts of the country. R/ECAP census tract in the City of Dallas represent "extreme poverty" level (Wilson, 1980; HUD, 2017) and the most severe degrees of racial/ethnic segregation within the city.

My research examines why people remain in socially disorganized communities. It serves as a critique of social disorganization because the theory suggest that people would depart communities categorized as incompetent unless unable due to financial strain. There has been an array of literature that supports the ideology that people would not choose to stay in communities perceived as socially inadequate if their finances permitted them to relocate. However, within my research it is expected that emotional attachment, sense of belonging, social capital, and social networks all contribute to resident's desire to remain located within their community. In order to identify communities that are perceived as socially disorganized and examine the attributes within these communities it was imperative to utilize the census tract unit of analysis. HUD definition of R/ECAP aligns with many of the qualities identified as telltale signs of social disorganization. After exploring several census tracts identified by HUD that met the criteria which embodied a non-white population exceeding 50 percent and poverty rates exceeding 40 percent, it was evident that the census tract unit of analysis and interviews would be most appropriate for my research.

Participants

Using three neighborhoods that meet the HUD R/ECAP qualifications will allow different communities to be analyzed to determine both patterns and distinctions that are common elements within areas identified as socially disorganized. Residents, business owners, and/or leaders with long standing tenures were chosen to participate in order to obtain concrete explanations of how they perceive their neighborhood and the attributes that have encouraged continuous participation within the census tract. Residents, business owners, and/or leaders with limited residency within the community would not be an ideal contributor because they could be identified as uninvested and having no anchoring ties to the neighborhood.

In order to identify participants that meet the criteria after identifying specific census tracts, I contacted city leaders (city council members, city managers, city council representatives, church leaders, etc.) by phone first, followed by a letter or e-mail to set up a virtual interview in order to identify their reasoning for service within the specific community. I further inquired to determine if they were residents who had chosen to live within the community they serve. Among the obvious (city leaders), church leaders, in areas heavily saturated with minority residents, are imperative to my research as they are typically vested within the community, familiar with the residents, and influential to residents and communal needs.

By allowing the leaders to be my first order of contact, I utilized these leaders to gain further insight of other community members. These interviews allowed greater understanding of both if they were choosing to stay and why they had chosen to stay in an area typified as socially disorganized and based on the comprehensive theory should have a trend of outward migration. By allowing the community leaders to direct me to community members, I obtained a better array of participants that are both vested in the community and residents long enough to have experienced the shift within the community dynamic. It is a given that neither of the three

communities are homogenous though may have a few similar characteristics. This form of snowball sampling allowed me to gain a greater quality of participants that fit the criteria needed to conduct quality research. The use of purposive sampling gave intentional feedback on why they have chosen to remain within a specific neighborhood and their relationship among elements within the community.

Role of Researcher

In qualitative research, it is imperative to create a good rapport and atmosphere to encourage genuine and perceptive responses to study question. Patton (2002) emphasizes that building rapport among participants was typically a direct result of participants feeling that their lived experiences are both valid and valuable. Though Creswell (2009) emphasizes the researcher is prone to bias opinions based on their own personal experiences and backgrounds, in qualitative research the investigator must not judge participants during responses to interview questions or behavior during interactions. In order to obtain quality responses from participants, the researcher must display a healthy and compassionate relationship absent offense, criticism, and judgement.

It is the researchers' duty to inform the participants of the purpose of the study, interview process, participant's contribution, and researcher's position within this phase of the study. As Upcraft and Schuh (1996) suggest, the interviewer must be efficient and organized to gain further trust with participants. It was my duty to both facilitate the interview proceedings and manage all data collected to avoid any loss of personal information and to obtain the confidentiality expected by all parties involved. Though participants are considered the experts based on their lived experiences, the researcher must be well versed within the topic to

orchestrate responses that truly represent the purpose of the study without diluting the

participant's voice. Qualitative studies discourage participants to be utilized solely as subjects but

rather embraced as partners with valuable insight (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994).

Data Sources

HUD R/ECAP data was the primary source to identify communities that coincide with

the characteristics of social disorganization. The most recent 2018 dataset provided by the US

Housing and Urban Development department was used. Interviews and surveys were conducted

to add personal aspects (culture, emotion, background) that cannot be pinpoint based on

numerical data alone. Below I describe how I obtained the research needed for this study.

Data Collection Procedures

In order to determine areas that are classified as socially disorganized, I used the dataset

provided by HUD to identify census tract neighborhoods that fall in line with the standard

established by HUD R/ECAP. In order to qualify as a HUD R/ECAP there must be a non-white

population of 50 percent or more to fulfill the racial/ethnic concentration threshold. The

community must simultaneously possess a poverty rate exceeding 40 percent or three or more

time the average tract poverty for the metropolitan/micropolitan area, whichever threshold is

lower. US Department of Housing and Urban Development along with The Opportunity Project

are contributors of the content which pinpoints socially disorganized communities by HUD

standards.

Following the identification of neighborhoods that meet HUD R/ECAP Criteria, surveys

shadowed by qualitative interviews served as the primary method of obtaining data. Interviews

are imperative to my research as it explains personal experiences and viewpoints that cannot be

explained by data alone. Whereas the survey aided in obtaining general topics that was to identify specific patterns. "The point is that the researcher cannot observe the informants' feelings and thinking, so that interviewing is a key to understand what and how people perceive and "interpret the world around them" (Merriam, 1998, p. 72). In many instances, data without the usage of personal experience allow neighborhoods to be viewed as ruined without understanding elements that may influence the neighborhood, such as culture, background, and/or ethnicity. Interviews "are an effective qualitative method for getting people to talk about their personal feelings, opinions, and experiences" (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest, & Namey, 2005, p. 30).

At initial contact, following the approval of the IRB, I introduced myself as a doctoral student at the University of Texas – Arlington to encourage a good rapport and develop trustworthiness with the participants. It is imperative for the researcher to build comradery by expressing her intentions for the research and participant (Creswell J. W., 1994). For this study, city official participants were initially contacted by phone based on their position. If they agreed to be interviewed, the researcher followed up with them via e-mail to confirm the best time and date for them to be interviewed and to send them the survey and interview questions to build trust, minimize interview time, and allow them the opportunity to review the questions prior. In face of the current global pandemic, zoom and/or telephone was used along with limited in-person interviews for some of the more elderly participants.

Participants were informed of the purpose of the study, research procedure, their right to withdraw from the study prior to or during the process, and protection of confidentiality. Interviews were recorded via voice memos and hand-written notes for key points and audio (with participant approval) (Creswell J. W., 2009). In order to provide structure and prevent elongated

interviews, I provided the interview and survey questions a week prior to the scheduled interview date in an attempt to give the participant adequate time to think about their response. The questions were created to evoke open-ended answers that create further dialect within the topic as Creswell (2009) supports. Rubin & Rubin (1995), suggest the usage of probing questions to inspire more clear and precise responses based on their individual experiences. In all, it was my intention to create an atmosphere in which participants could respond open and honestly about their experiences and why they have chosen to stay (in whichever capacity work and/or living) in an area view and disorganized.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data was analyzed according to the three methods used to document the experiences and characteristics within the community. First, the data provided by HUD R/ECAP was dissected to identify quantitative elements that support the neighborhood being classified as socially disorganized. Second, in an attempt to discover patterns, the interviews were carefully reviewed after being transcribed to get insight on both similarities and contrast within the communal unit. The interviews were initially transcribed used the Apple transcriber software, followed by me listening and correcting any words or phrases that did not transcribe correctly with the software alone. Each transcribed interview was imported into the Dedoose qualitative software to help organize, analyze, and pinpoint commonalities within my survey and interview questions. This program allowed me to manage, analyze, and code the collected data. It also aids in developing relationship coding, which aided in identifying themes. This form of constant comparative method is supported by Glaser & Strauss (1967), because it helps create categories based on the verbal testimony of participants. Lastly, the categories were compiled in order to develop and explore the telltale signs of disorganization along with the common themes that urges current

residents, business owners and/or leaders to remain within the community (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

<center>Limitations and Delimitation</center>

There are limitations within this study that could influence the results. The limited social gatherings due to the current pandemic created a limitation as people showed further distrust doing this time of uncertainty. It further discouraged in person interaction, which resulted in an unwillingness to participate by some leaders, business owners, and residents. The Black Lives Matter Movement also detoured some leaders from participating (they withdrew) due to their obligation to the community agenda of advocacy for the protection of Black Lives. This study caters to individuals with long-term investments (residential, business owner, and/or leaders) within the neighborhood. However, it does not incorporate newly-introduced or younger participants who also have a viewpoint that may be adverse to those of older participants that may be less open to progression. This is a limitation because in many instances, older residents may view those that are younger or new to the community as potential threats that compromise what they view as the community organization. It, in many ways can play to the possible bias of older participants (residents, community leaders, business owners, politicians) who have seen and partaken in the different phases the community (like any community) has faced.

This study is also limited in that it does not incorporate new business owners that have invested economically and their view of pitfalls and benefits within the neighborhood. They are attempting to create an investment, however due to time restraints it is not manageable to determine if they will weather the storm or thrive in communities that perceivably struggle economically. Though my study aim to analyze why people have chosen to stay in areas viewed

as socially disorganized, the ability to determine why business are attracted to these areas and how and/or if they change the dynamic would further enhance elements that are seen as valuable by both new and tenured individuals.

The residential perception of neighborhood boundaries also poses a limitation. As this research was developing it became apparent that the perceptions of participants were not always aligned with how outsiders viewed the community traits and boundaries. There was not a clear consensus of how the community identified the boundaries for their individual neighborhoods verses the boundaries identified by the US Census tract maps. It is imperative to establish where the community feels their neighborhood starts and stop in order to establish a more in depth outlook on rather their perspective of their community apply to the entire census tract or is limited to a few blocks within the neighborhood.

The limitations faced in this study would probably be dominantly rooted in bias based off personal contribution, background, and experiences. The ability to be non-bias amidst personal experiences has the ability to alter the narrative perceived by all participants' as it would take away the emotional element that is valued in qualitative research. The ability to identify who and what (quantitative) makes up a community is important, however to determine why people stay can only be determined by evaluating those elements and values that people hold dear, and that can only be explained by experience.

<u>Summary</u>

This study uses qualitative research methods based in the constructivist worldview. This is used to obtain a better understanding of individuals' view of the community when influenced by their own personal experiences and investments within the community. A study supported by

interviews will help to identify the essence of human experiences as described by the

participants. The data sources to be used includes both HUD data, survey and/or interview

questions to identify patterns that have encouraged long-standing participants to remain present

in communities viewed as socially disorganized. This form of consistent comparison guided

analyzing the data.

CHAPTER V

Data Collection and Analysis

Communities identified as socially disorganized are unwaveringly stigmatized as areas that lack resources and residential competence to effectively obtain and maintain communal stability. In these areas, the residents, structure, economics, and policies emanate specific traits and behaviors that make them easily identifiable to potential resources, developers, landowners, and law enforcers. Social disorganization theory and broken windows theory "both provide that these disordered communities are unable to recover because residents are apathetic or lack the social and economic capital necessary to address the community problems that have cropped up" (Schildkraut & Mustaine, 2014, p. 178). The three chosen HUD R/ECAP areas, I explore have proven to be the consequence of steered placement by way of policy and violence. Parker (2018) identifies the early challenges of Dallas during the 1920's to 1960's stating, "concerning the Dallas housing market, racial restrictive covenants, redlining, unsanitary living conditions, inadequate space, and overcrowding were all dynamics that historically plagued African American communities" (Parker, 2018, p. 47). Many of these attributes have continued over the years within these communities, encouraging the act of shrinking cities while disregarding the homeowner. However, even in the midst of lacking resources, discriminatory policies, and questionable living conditions, there are tenured residents identified as pillars, business owners, and leaders that are actively vested within the community.

Procedure

This data was collected using a purposive sampling strategy to recruit individuals who worked, lived, and/or served in areas identified as socially disorganized under the HUD R/ECAP

qualification guidelines. This strategy was followed by snowball sampling to gain participants that met specific requirements and were validated by someone within the community. These sampling techniques allowed for intentional contact and selection of participants based on their ability to meet particular criteria:

1. Age 18 or older

2. Resident, Business Owner, or Leader of a community that qualifies as a HUD R/ECAP (non-white population of 50 percent or more and a poverty rate exceeding 40 percent or three or more time the average tract poverty for the metropolitan/ micropolitan area, whichever is lower).

3. Resident, business owner and/or leader who has lived and/or served within the specified area for 10 or more years.

Participants were required to be age 18 or older because the choice to leave or remain in a community is typically the choice of the parent and/or guardian. It would not be appropriate to interview someone under this age because they would not have the lived experience, capital, or maturity of deciding where they would or should live or serve.

The theory of social disorganization following Shaw and McKay predominantly utilized criminology to explore social disorganization in relation to crime. This heavy emphasis on crime minimalized the sociology and ecological stance developed in the theory's origin. However, through the works of scholars such as Edwin (1947) and Kubrin & Weitzer (2003), culture was reintroduced as a feature of social disorganization which directly integrates sociology and ecology back into the theory. Descriptive characteristics such as dilapidated housing, trash, and food deserts are acknowledged as tell-tale signs associated with social disorganization. However, other depictions previously associated with less desirable areas, such as graffiti walls, mom and

pop shops, and communal congregations are now identified as cultural markers that contribute to artistic expression, making it deserving of funding and attractive to investors. This has proven to create extremes of revitalization and/or gentrification as many outside entities (investors, developers, and planners) confiscate the land and/or property (rather by policy or persistence) for minimal expense resulting in optimal profit. "While many middle-class black families sought to escape the poverty of the slums, evidence suggest that city officials were confiscating homes in black neighborhoods and reselling the confiscated properties to white bidders" (Parker, 2018, p. 50). This is evidence of capitalism at the detriment of minorities (African Americans in specific) repeating itself in present history.

The theory of social disorganization suggests that residents, businesses owners, and leaders represent unwilling participants forced to live, work, and/or serve within a less desirable area. However, the decision to focus on people who were vested for at least 10 years, was made with the intent to document changes if any they had experienced within different levels of the community structure (residential, economic, structural, and/or political). This allowed the participants to identify changes that were directly and indirectly executed that may have led to the community's perceived demise, staying the same, or getting better.

Recruitment and Sampling Method

Participants were initially chosen based on my personal involvement with parties from each of the three chosen HUD R/ECAP areas. I began my recruitment process by reaching out to individuals who were leaders/pillars within their community. Five of the seven leaders that I invited to participate agreed to be interviewed. However, in the midst of collecting data,

unforeseen obstacles became prevalent globally, resulting in four of the five original participants no longer being available.

During this period, two crises occurred causing leaders to actively engage in organizing their resources and voices in an attempt to aid their community and others. COVID 19, an aggressive virus, swept throughout the nation and world, claiming the lives of hundreds of thousands. There is little known about the virus except that it is extremely contagious, deadly, and has changed the way Americans must interact to attempt to slow and stop the spread. The physical closing of primary, secondary and higher education facilities during the middle of an academic semester was, and remains, unprecedented. Many individuals lost their jobs, homes, and ability to sustain a life that they once knew. This virus has also highlighted both the ill preparedness of the current federal administration along with the blatant malpractice being practiced among African Americans who are disproportionately being affected by this virus.

Contemporaneous with COVID 19 was COVID 1619. COVID 1619 (Galloway, 2020), a metaphor for the virus of racism dating back to 1619 when the first African slaves landed in the United States. It has forced Americans to again acknowledge the vile mistreatment African Americans experience at the hands of government enforcers, charged with keeping order and protecting citizens. As a result of the death of another unarmed black man, by the hands of police misuse of force (kneeling on Mr. Floyd's neck for eight minutes, forty-six seconds resulting in death) society was enraged at the continued disregard for human life. This is one of many incidents against African Americans, that has resulted in policemen/women acting as judge and jury, sentencing these individuals to death. Weitzer (as cited in Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 382) stated "disparities exist with regard to residents' perceptions of police misconduct; residents of disadvantaged Black neighborhoods are much more likely than residents of middle-class Black

communities to report that the police engage in unwarranted stops, verbal abuse, and excessive force in the neighborhood (Weitzer 1999, 2000)." These sentiments have been expressed numerous times, as the fight for equality goes beyond racism, into a systemic structural system that is manipulated at will to relieve law enforcers of responsibility of poor decision.

My original participants, immediately reacted to these historical situations by providing aid to help wage the gap (monetary, food, care, etc.) many Americans were not prepared for. Many of these residents simply needed help because they were ill, could no longer work due to job lost, had children, and even mental state was questioned due to the high tension and limited resources that has arose as a result of both the pandemic and epidemic. These leaders also actively joined forces with the Black Lives Matter movement, a peaceful protest for justice and equality, to demand justice and to show solidarity among humankind. As a result of these paramount influences, I was forced to redevelop my contact list, as one of the downfalls of knowing people personally is their ability to change their mind more sporadically because they are familiar with you, though it was understandable in these situations.

Outside of the one leader that did not withdraw their participation, I used google-map and google earth to become familiar with resources and homes that were located within each tract. Due to COVID 19, many businesses and organizations were no longer accessible in person because non-essential businesses were forced to close as the country entered a shut down. As a result many organizations and businesses were not equipped to deal with not working or working from home and therefore it created another barrier in attempting to obtain the initial contact. After creating a list of all the resources within each census tract areas, I utilized purposive sampling by way of the internet to obtain contact information. I further utilized social media to contact people that my family and I knew from different phases of life, but I did not have their

contact information. My initial interaction with them was a greeting, followed by asking for their phone number so I could speak with them. I received the numbers of other potential contacts (leaders in specific) by classmates and friends that I knew were in contact with them. This started the snowball sampling that created a variety list that represented the community better than I could have imagined.

Qualitative research is typically small samples that should be intentional and logical considering the intensity of the interviews (Padgett, 2008). Initially I expected to interview between 12 and 15 participants, as that would have given me a well-rounded sample of individuals that met the qualification. However, a heterogeneous sample was formed as the snowball technique expanded with the help of the initial contacts directing me to residents, business owners, and other leaders. These parties proved to have sound experience and colorful depictions of why they chose to remain and/or serve in these areas deemed socially disorganized.

Considering these barriers and advancements, I initially recruited seven leaders/pillars, five of the seven agreed, but later four of five leaders/pillars fell out due to COVID 19 and COVID 1619, resulting in me having only one participant. After dissecting each census tract via google-maps and google earth and redeveloping a list of resources and residents in each area, I obtained and spoke to a total of 34 contacts during my second wave of attempts. Including the one participant I had initially and some of the leaders who contacted me later, expressing they were now available to be interviewed, my ending sample size was justifiable as I recruited and interviewed 21 individuals. This included a variety of leaders/pillars, business owners, and residents within each individual census tract qualified to represent their area.

Each participant offered a new and fresh outlook of their experience within their position in the community. Many identified specific downfalls that they felt contributed or caused the community to be socially disorganized. However, though each participant believed their encounter with social disorganization in their community was unique, after reviewing each parties input, I realized that a point of data saturation had been reached. Bowen (2008) notes, saturation occurs when the collection of new data no longer contributes new knowledge to the explored concept (Bowen, 2008).

I began to hear similar values and experiences from participants whose position within the community allowed for a difference in encounters. For example, two of the leaders in one of the census tracts I interviewed, TV 8 and TV 9 had very unique viewpoints as leaders within their designated community. TV 9 had more interaction with the adolescent population, was heavily involved in community service, and an active participant in the community for two decades. She became a part of the community a few years after the biggest asset, an educational facility, was placed in the center of the neighborhood. It was a source of resources for her. TV 8 had more interaction with the older population, was heavily involved in community service and government politics for the area, and had been an active participant of the community during the phase when eminent domain was being orchestrated to provide the land for the biggest asset of the community. However TV 8 position within the community changed throughout his three decades from being a member of the community to a leader holding a position both within the community and on the city board. These two leaders provided information that was similar yet revealed two different viewpoints of pitfalls and successes that had occurred within their census tract. After completing interview 21, I contemplated the recurring experiences and determined that though my intention was to seek participants who experienced social disorganization or lack

thereof in unique ways, many of their reasons, experiences, and values ran parallel to each other reaching a point of saturation.

Interview Procedure

Data collection took place following the approval of the IRB, during June 2020 and July 2020. Following the initial recruitment script that invited the participants to be a part of the study (Appendix A), a follow-up e-mail was sent to each participant to provide more detail of the nature of the study and also to request they provide participants that they feel would be interested in participating within the study (Appendix B). Once the participants were deemed eligible to participate in the study, an informed consent was e-mailed or hand delivered to each party and signed by the participant. Each individual was asked if they had any questions prior to signing the consent and after each interview. Due to Covid 19, the researcher confirmed appointment times for each contributor to do the interviews by phone, to adhere to the stay at home and social distancing order put in place by the state government. The researcher also explained the purpose of recording the interviews and obtained verbal consent from each party prior to beginning the interview. Each interview consisted of a survey for demographic purposes followed by a questionnaire to determine more in-depth responses to the research questions. The interviews lasted from approximately 15 minutes to 80 minutes, averaging about 28 minutes in length. The purpose of the survey was to obtain basic information that was not otherwise the focus of the interview but provided insight to the participants basic viewpoints of their areas.

The interview questions were imperative in determining how individuals perceive their neighborhood based on their lived experiences. They posed a series of open-ended questions that allowed participants to respond freely (Wells, 2011). The goal of the interview was to determine

specifically, why people remain as resident, leaders, and business owners in socially disorganized communities? Each question was constructed to gain greater insight by exploring a variety of traits that could and should affect how one views the community and navigates through it. In my initial attempt to obtain participants, many individuals were eager to speak about the mishaps, but unwilling to be recorded. In many instances the results highlighted the individuals' inability to forwardly speak of discrepancies and disapproved performance by local government agencies. The initial interviews raised a few important topics I had not considered, three additional prompts were added to the interview schedule in specific for leaders to gather more in-depth information.

Well (2011) suggests, that a researcher who believes the narrative is co-constructed through exchange between the researcher and participant is more likely to listen actively and become involved by asking additional questions. This approach helps build rapport and coincides with a constructivist perspective, acknowledging that the presence of the interviewer shapes, builds, and effects the participants understanding of their own experiences. Social constructivists rely heavily on participants' view and some of their own cultural background to understand and reconstruct how people interpret a specific studied phenomenon (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). It is vital for constructivist researchers to, "focus on the specific contexts in which people live and work, in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants" (Creswell, 2009).

The digital recordings were uploaded onto the researcher's UTA e-mail address for secure storage. The researcher initially played and listened to the interviews, used the transcribe application to initially transcribe the interviews, then played and listened to the interviews again to correct any errors that was transcribed incorrectly with the application. For accuracy, the

researcher also transcribed her own notes taken during the interview process. The participants responded to all questions asked and elaborated on specific question they felt were necessary, which aided in developing the similar context among the individuals (Creswell, 2009). It also helped to determine a more accurate portrayal of their experiences as resident, business owners, and leaders within the community. The transcripts were analyzed to identify similarities, followed by the interview transcription being inputted and coded using Dedoose qualitative software. This software allowed a coding process to be applied to the data to generate categories. This resulted in descriptive themes being recognized from the researchers' interpretations. This method of qualitative data collection, performing detailed interviews, allowed the researcher the opportunity to ask questions that would help answer the overall research questions of this study.

<u>Results</u>

A total of 34 residents, leaders, and business owners were recruited to participate in the present study, and 21 were included in the final analysis. All participants in this study identified as African American men and women, who have lived, worked, or led in one of three areas identified as socially disorganized under the HUD R/ECAP qualifications. As the below map shows, these three areas are census tract 27.01 (District 7), census tract 41 (District 4), and census tract 114.01 (District 8). Each area is located in close proximity to a major highway.
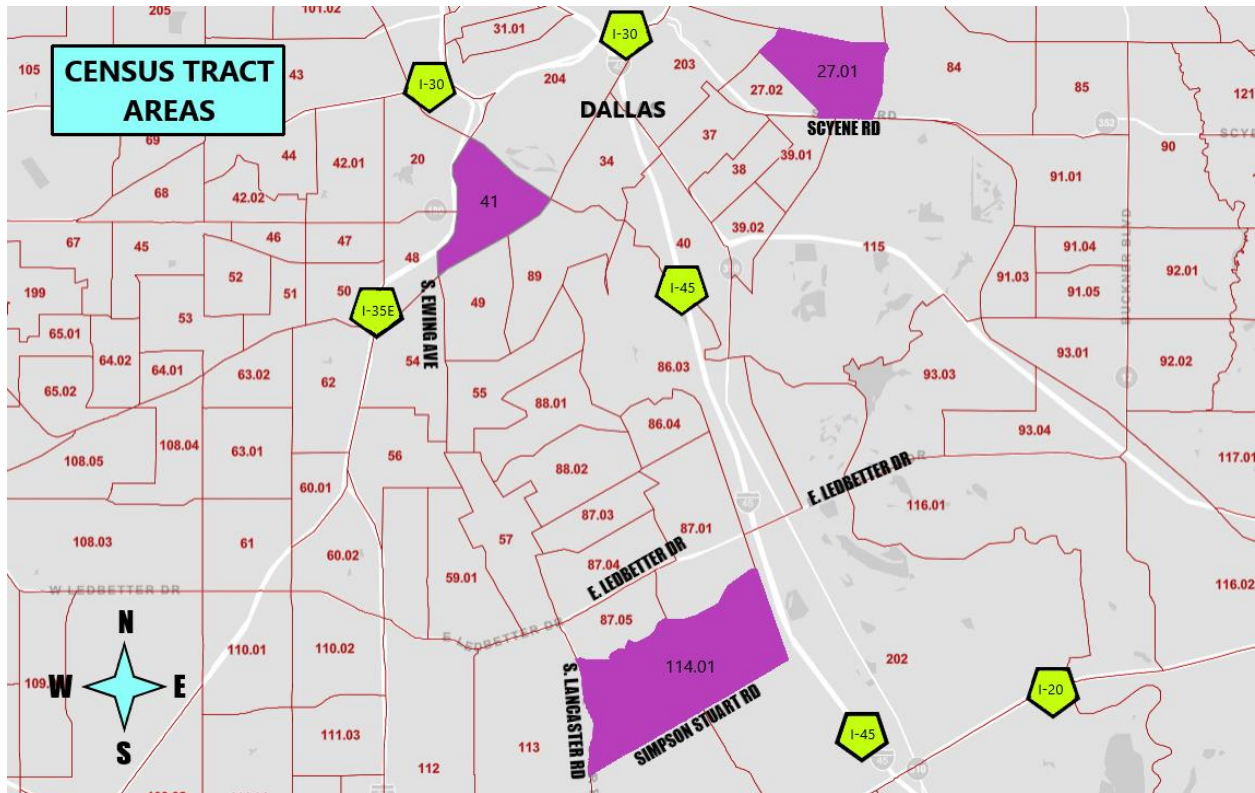
Men represent twenty-nine percent (n=6), whereas women account for seventy-one percent (n=15) of the participants. Each census tracts include seven (33.3%) participants. At the time of the interviews, participants ranged in age from 28 to 72, with an average age of 49 years. Within this study sixty-seven percent (n=14) of participants live in one of the three census tract areas. Twenty-nine percent of the participants (n=6) are leaders and fourteen percent of participants (n=3) are business owners within one of the three census tract areas. Out of the six leaders within the study, eighty-three percent of participants that identify as leaders (n=5) live outside of the three HUD R/ECAP census tract areas. Everyone included in the study has lived, worked, and/or served within one of the designated census tract areas for ten or more years. Out of 21 participants, only two (9.5%) expressed a desire to relocate, this will be discussed later.

As mentioned in previous chapters, social disorganization was dominantly regarded under criminology for many years. Within this study, nineteen percent (n=4) of residents

experienced some form of incarceration. However within those four participants only one (25%) of the four experienced long-term incarceration in a prison. Contrarily, forty-three percent (n=9) of individuals within this study experienced vandalism or burglary of their property and one person (4.8%) suffered physical assault while in one of these census tract areas. After carefully examining the data and listening for recurring themes, five overarching themes (people, structural, economic, political, why did you stay) became apparent, and ironically was in alignment with the holistic approach discussed in Chapter three. These led to a series of subthemes that help identify why residents, leaders, and business owner choose to remain, though the theory suggest they would not stay in these communities. Some of the subthemes were universal to more than one theme, however as more of the data was collected, the subtheme navigated toward one theme over the other.

The below table represents the participants described above that was included in this study. To maintain anonymity, each participant was assigned an ID that was attached to their individual descriptions. For example, participant PQ 1, lives in census tract 114.01. She is a widowed female between the ages of 55 and 69 and a leader within her community. Her highest level of education was high school and her household finances range between $40,000 and $79,999. She is retired and has never been incarcerated. Though her home and/or property has been vandalized at some point while residing in her neighborhood, she has no desire to relocate. The table below provides a brief synopsis of each participant mentioned throughout this chapter and may be used as a reference for individuals views, mentioned by participants below.

Table 1. Demographics

ID	Location	Sex	Age	Kids	Position	Relation	Education	Finance	Incarceration	Reloc.	Live and Work	Damage
PQ 1	Census Tract 114.01	Female	55 - 69	Yes	Leader	Widowed	Highschool/ GED	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	No	Retired	Yes
PQ 2	Census Tract 114.01	Female	25 - 39	No	Leader	Single	Bachelors Degree	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	No	Yes	No
PQ 3	Census Tract 114.01	Male	55 - 69	Yes	Resident	Divorced	Highschool/ GED	$40,000 - $79,999	Jail	No	Retired	No
PQ 4	Census Tract 114.01	Female	70 - 84	Yes	Resident	Married	Bachelors Degree	$80,000 or Above	Never Incar.	No	Retired - Work	No
PQ 5	Census Tract 114.01	Female	55 - 69	No	Resident	Married	Highschool/ GED	$5,000 - $39,999	Never Incar.	No	No	Yes
PQ 6	Census Tract 114.01	Female	25 - 39	No	Resident	Divorced	Associates Degree	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	Yes	No	Yes
PQ 7	Census Tract 114.01	Female	40 - 54	Yes	Resident	Single	Highschool/ GED	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	No	No	Yes
TV 8	Census Tract 41	Male	55 - 69	Yes	Leader	Married	Masters Degree	$80,000 or Above	Never Incar.	No	No	Yes
TV 9	Census Tract 41	Female	40 - 54	No	Leader	Single	Masters Degree	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	No	No	No
TV 10	Census Tract 41	Male	25 - 39	Yes	Business	Married	Bachelors Degree	$80,000 or Above	Jail	No	Yes	No
TV 11	Census Tract 41	Female	55 - 69	Yes	Resident	Divorced	License/ Certificate	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	No	No	No
TV 12	Census Tract 41	Male	25 - 39	Yes	Resident	Married	Associates Degree	$5,000 - $39,999	Prison	Yes	Yes	Yes
TV 13	Census Tract 41	Female	40 - 54	Yes	Resident	Married	Highschool/ GED	$5,000 - $39,999	Never Incar.	No	No	Yes
TV 14	Census Tract 41	Female	55 - 69	Yes	Resident	Divorced	Highschool/ GED	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	No	Yes	No
ED 15	Census Tract 27.01	Female	40 - 54	Yes	Leader	Married	Some College	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	No	No	No
ED 16	Census Tract 27.01	Female	70 - 84	Yes	Leader	Married	Some College	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	No	Retired - Work	No
ED 17	Census Tract 27.01	Female	70 - 84	Yes	Business	Widowed	License/ Certificate	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	No	No	Yes
ED 18	Census Tract 27.01	Male	25 - 39	Yes	Business	Divorced	License/ Certificate	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	No	No	Yes
ED 19	Census Tract 27.01	Female	25 - 39	No	Resident	Single	Bachelors Degree	$5,000 - $39,999	Jail	No	No	No
ED 20	Census Tract 27.01	Female	70 - 84	No	Resident	Widowed	Highschool/ GED	$5,000 - $39,999	Never Incar.	No	Retired	No
ED 21	Census Tract 27.01	Male	25 - 39	No	Resident	Single	Masters Degree	$40,000 - $79,999	Never Incar.	No	No	No

People

Social disorganization is a multifaceted theory based on physical attributes and personal experience. Many times the idea of social disorganization is not a universal phenomenon, but rather a depiction that is often subconsciously determined based on individual belief systems. Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) notes, "social disorganization refers to the inability of a community to realize common goals and solve chronic problems" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 374). In communities recognized as socially disorganized residents may be unaware that their community is socially disorganized or why it has been deemed such. Many people associate slums and ghettos with minority (specifically black) residents, which often lead to a disenfranchisement of investment and resources within the community.

Within the three census tract areas most participants (residents, business owners, and leaders), seventy-one percent (n=15) identified their communities as being socially disorganized, typically based only on physical appearance. Only twenty-nine percent of individuals (which were residents only), did not view their community as socially disorganized. "Ghetto residents who live in substandard conditions and experience daily discrimination show resilience" (Currie, Goddard, & Myers, 2015, p. 13-14). However, one hundred percent of the leaders (n=6) that were included in this study from each census tract identified both the community as being disorganized as well as expressed an array of traits and pitfalls to support their view of the communities being disorganized. One of the residents, who also serves as a leader in one of the three areas feel there are other areas that are seen as better but have worst traits and more crime than her community. PQ 1 further asserts, "people look down, that is just the nature of humans, they may look down a little bit because of where you're from or whatever" (PQ 1). However, though more than half of the community identified their community as socially disorganized. Most people (n=19; 90%) were adamant about staying in their area, in the home they have built for themselves.

Contributor of Social Disorganization

Residents were keen in identifying physical attributes associated with social disorganization. However, beyond the physical appearance that aids in stigmatizing areas as socially disorganized, many residents did not have as strong of an opinion about other contributors that have perpetuated social disorder within the communities. Many of the participants were detached from the reality of economic or political downfalls that played a role beyond the need for jobs or government to provide funds to clean up the community. Dilapidated

houses, trash, graffiti, rundown buildings, and large potholes in the streets, were the dominant traits that were mentioned as physical contributors of social disorganization from all parties.

Leaders in the community and one resident emphasized each census tract being a food desert with minimal resources incapable of providing the basic needs of the community. Participant PQ 6 informed that the few stores they have in District 8, lacks fresh, quality food availability, and yet is comfortable with over charging patriots within the community because of the monopoly established as a result of limited food suppliers. District 4 leaders spoke of an even worst fate as they could not think of any stores within their community except a Shell gas station, and "makeshift" grocery stores that were not suitable for family meal preparation nor easily accessible from a transportation stance. Transportation did not seem to pose a problem, but the ability to have a communal grocery store, would allow for more comfort and the ability to reliably transport products for basic family needs.

Scholars have placed crime at the forefront of contributors of social disorganization for decades. However, though crime is real, out of the participants involved in this study, only one individual (4.8%) was a victim of assault against his person. Out of twenty participants remaining, forty-three percent experienced vandalism or burglary toward their property. Fear is real, however every one of these vandalisms and/or burglaries took place within the first 3 years of moving into their homes, ten or more years prior. None of them expressed having their home or property vandalized since then. This coincides with most participants stating that there could be danger within their community, but they were not afraid. Only four individuals (19%) expressed being afraid but emphasized it was not because of their area, but they simply do not get out late due to their age (ED 17).

Family Support

Family support was very important to individuals within each of my census tracts. In fact, the initial decision to move within specific areas for most residents was decided as a means of being close to aid their family. PQ 1 expressed that she did not drive initially and so transportation was one thing that enticed her to buy a home in her old neighborhood, within census tract 114.01. She stated:

> "Although I did work, I did not drive so I had to be in a place that was conducive to let me continue to work and go to and from work, make sure my kids could get to school and nurseries without me driving. Now my husband drove, but I was brought up by my dad to say if I'm going to have a home, and I'm going to be an adult, than as a woman I had to make sure that if I didn't have a man or a husband that I would be able to maintain my way of living on my own. So that was one of the driving forces to me moving, to be close to my grandparents and my mother and other family members that needed me."

Another resident (ED 20), indicated that as an adult married and thereafter, she had only lived in census tract 27.01. In fact, collectively she stated that she resided in the same community for 48 years. She stayed in her first home with her husband for twenty-five years and after his passing moved to another home, on the other end of the street that she has now been in for 23 years. She said that it was most important to be close to her family. She offered that for many years, she stayed across the street from her brother, two houses down from her sister, and had a few cousins that stayed within blocks of her home. ED 20 value system was rooted in her family and she said she wanted to ensure that she was always close to them.

Adolescent Behavior

Most residents within my study were parents of adult children or did not have any children. Only two participants were parents to grade school children ranging from age 13 to 9 months old. Similarly these parents expressed the same sentiments for aid they received by way of family support to help rear their children. During the time of this study, participants with children expressed the inability to create some new experiences due to the current state of the country during this pandemic. They further addressed the pitfalls of having children that were not allowed to visit family or having to take certain precautions for health reasons. They acknowledged the absence, stress, and anxiety their family feels, not having easy physical access to family members that were very present for the rearing and support of their children. "Decent families play an important role in shaping the behaviors of their children and encouraging them to be future oriented" (Stewart & Simons, 2006, p. 25).

This study highlighted the emergent need for adolescent children entertainment. Many residents expressed their belief that COVID 19 had exacerbated an already difficult time for kids reaching their adolescent phase. Though they also showed concern of neither areas having the resources to provide programs to creatively engage these members of society, it was noted that in census tract 41, the magnet school (which consist of six separate schools) provide some form of creative expression during school hours and after school programs. However the other two areas did not have this form of structured resources. The adolescent resources in census tract 41 were for students that attended one of the schools, yet the other areas did not have facilities that could provide structured affordable recreational activities to monitor the children time. "The lack of internal resources inhibits the maintenance of community organizations that promote overlapping networks of mutual affiliation and undermines the stability of local institutions (e.g., families and schools) that play a critical role in fostering conventional values and school bonds" (McNulty &

Bellair, 2003, p. 4). Also, as mentioned above, the COVID 19 pandemic has diminished the few

facilities ability to congregate in an attempt to provide activities for the community. Participant

ED 16 expressed the need for outside facilities within the area to allow kids to practice social

skills and occupy their free time in a manner that would not encourage unwarranted police

interaction.
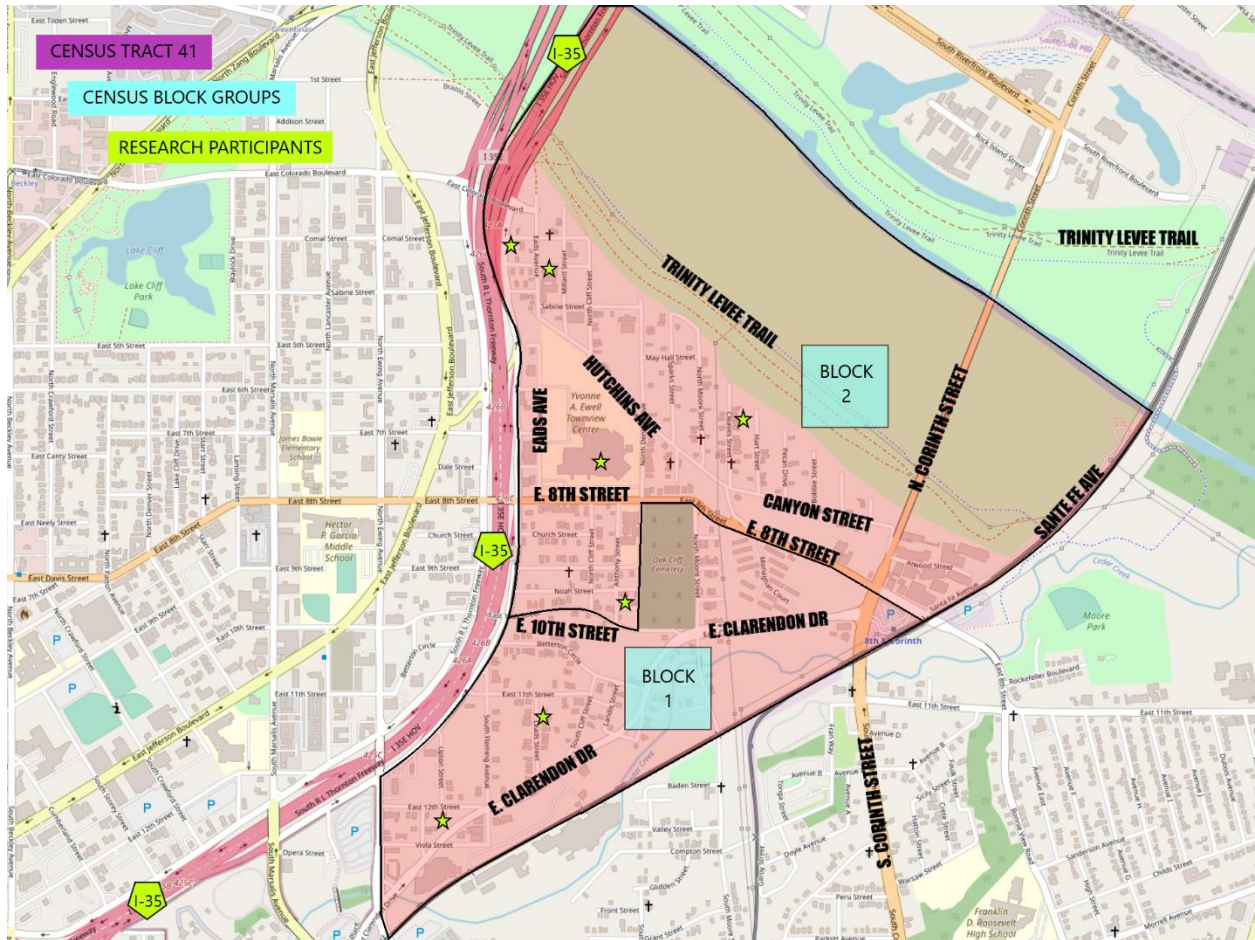
Social Capital

Social capital has been the driving force that creates any form of stability and/or

economic survival within communities deemed socially disorganized. "As a result of limited

access to gainful employment, African Americans continue to face substantial social and

economic hardships in the US" (Bruce, Roscigno, & McCall, 1998). Residents within these areas were confident in their ability to depend on their neighbors if needed. They further asserted that the community culture established was one that encouraged each other to "look out for" one another as the norm within each of these areas. Outside of looking out for people and their property, many residents were proud of the relationships they had built within their community among their neighbors. Economically the community appeared to be failing, however among each other, each community participants provided a wealth of resources that is not necessarily monetary but delivers the need.

Participants such as ED 21 articulated the use of the bartering system. He expressed when people do not have access to actual financial capital, they are able to trade goods, services, and information. He also noted that sometimes when you are from a lower socio-economic community, people don't have as much access to information that could better their situation, such as the process to obtain employment or even the ability to get to possible employment. He noted that often times people would carpool to avoid the extended lengthy bus ride that is not always reliable. However by carpooling, the car provider cuts the travel time and the passenger aids with gas. Residents ED 20 and PQ 5 both identified times when they stepped in to aid residents who were "short on their bill" or needed a ride in order to gather basic needs. Both explained the importance of helping each other and strongly felt that many of their blessings came from the aid they rendered to others freely, with no guaranteed or expected return. PQ 5 stated, "Mr. W. just asked me if I would take him to the bank next week. I take him all the time when he wants to go somewhere" (PQ 5). Her kindness toward her neighbors did not just begin as a result of COVID 19, but a series of interactions that helped to establish long-standing relationship within the community.

The aid provided by PQ 6 mother went over and beyond to ensure the health and well-being of other residents. Many of the neighbors within census tract 114.01 are elderly and unable to maneuver as they once could, so PQ 6 mother consistently supplied an array of support in many different forms to her community. The transfer of service and goods, similar to other socially disorganized areas, provide mutual support among neighbors. PQ 6 stated, it was comforting to know that they would look out for you if you were out of town or not around. She further stated that her mom regularly helped people get groceries, cleaned up their yards if they were elderly and in return one neighbor in specific would watch out for her house. The irony was, if his trees were overgrown, he could not see past the other neighbor next to him, so she would go and trim the trees back so he could sit in his garage and see down the street to watch her property. He was getting the yard cleaned up and she was able to have neighboring surveillance of her home. This pillar of the community also accepted food from a store that her sister worked in (that would be disregarded) to share with others in the community. In order to ensure the people she knew was ok, often times she cooked too much food for herself and she was proud that she could render aid by sharing her food with her neighbors. These forms of service represent socially disorganized communities combining their efforts to provide needs within the community that would otherwise go unmet.
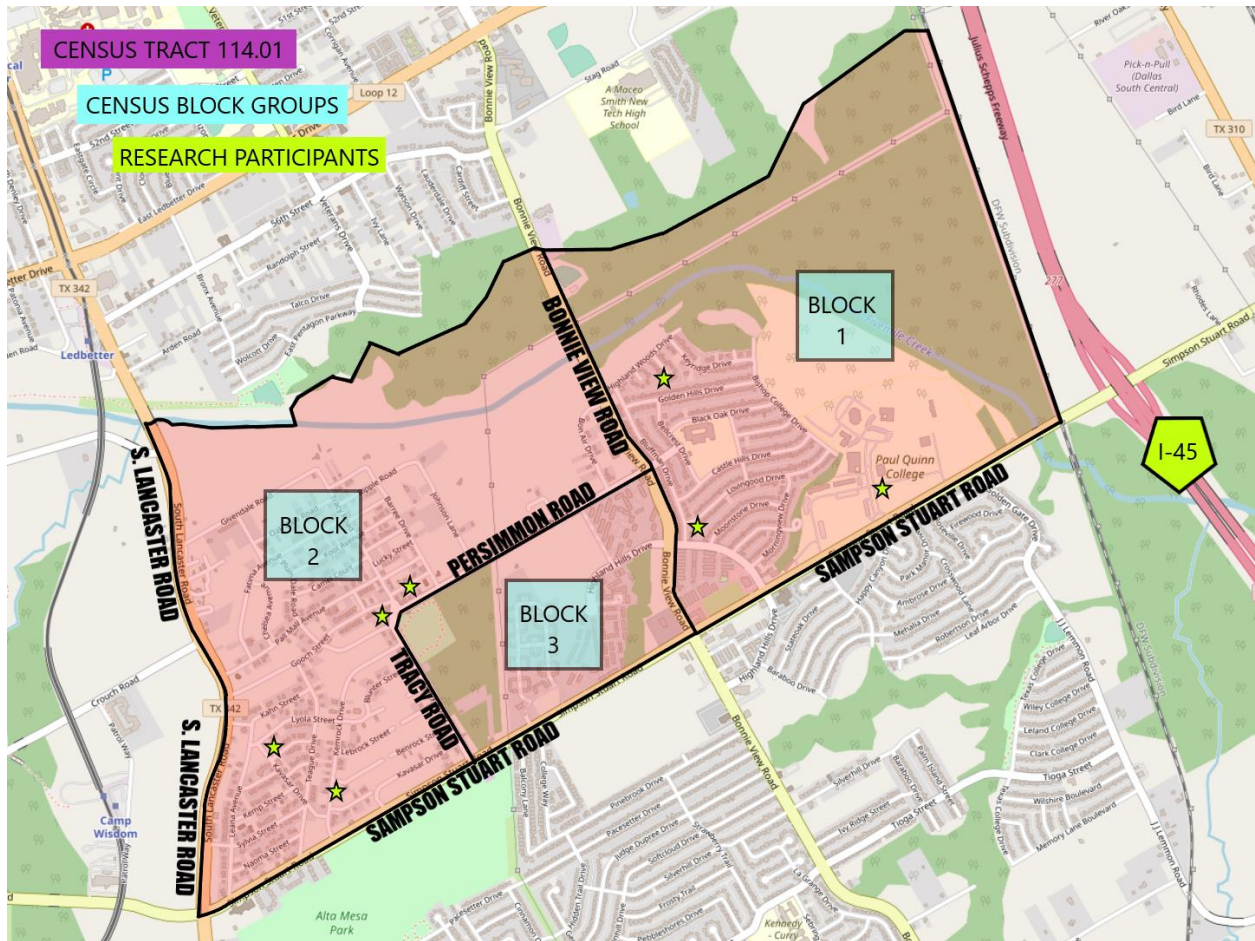
Structural

Areas identified as socially disorganized are plagued with specific traits that form the basis for higher socio-economic residents, resources, and policies to ignore and discount them. These traits are often immediately determined based on the physical structures that determine the built design and navigation route of the community. The built environment within these communities are typically worn, ragged, dilapidated, and overcrowded. "Housing surveys revealed that thousands of African American homes in Dallas contained multiple families living together due to lack of available tenant housing. Additionally these homes were often unsanitary and unsafe for occupants" (Parker, 2018, p. 48). Many of the homes in these areas are abandoned and in desperate need of structural upgrades. Businesses and streets often face the same

detriment as many of the streets leading to residential homes in socially disorganized communities are damaged causing further disfigurement to the community and destroying individual's vehicular property. Businesses in these communities are scarce due to fleeting resources, leaving behind buildings that typically become broken window sites, encouraging further destruction of the property. "In 1944 Bartholomew found conditions in the black community to be "one of the most serious challenges facing the city"" (Parker, 2018, p. 53).

Convenience

The areas within my study, have all experienced the fate of being stigmatized due to resources drained from the community. These areas, historically being drop zones for the African American community, now have become ideal areas for investors at the expense of current residents. Historically, "regardless of their socio-economic status, African Americans suffered because white leaders blocked attempts to improve their neighborhoods" (Parker, 2018, p. 48). In many instances in Dallas, policies implemented under Jim Crow created segregation within the city forcing African Americans to slum areas. "Dallas's segregation ordinances effectively created four distinct residential areas within the city" (Parker, 2018, p. 47). Construction ran through many of these African American sectors to create highways. This was appropriate practice and implemented through each of the three census tract areas in this study.

In alignment with Parker (2018) research of the early 20th century, Dallas is still facing the fate of heavy segregation both racially and economically. "The City of Dallas has a long-established and documented legacy of segregation (Huyn & Kent, 2015; McCormick, 2017; Opportunity Dallas, 2017). The compounding barriers of segregation faced by communities in Dallas are multiple. A study conducted by the Pew Research Center (2015) found that Dallas is

not only segregated along racial lines but also economically" (University of Texas Arlington, 2018).

These actions of disregard by city government inherently allowed these communities to now be areas of convenience due to their easy access to the highways. Each resident, rather it be leader, business owner, or resident stressed the convenience of the highway to their homes, making it easy to physically navigate, though residents such as PQ 7 showed a detest for the potholes which has caused unnecessary damage to her vehicle. She asserts,

> "we have potholes, the big potholes and bumps and the roads are not smooth, but you got people that's been in this community for years, decades, and they pay their taxes just like individuals in Rockwall or Highland Park, but they are not treating this area the same as they would another area. So, the city officials and all of them don't put as much into this area. That make the people themselves just say forget it. It's like you (they) don't care about us, so why should we care about making sure everything looks good, seeing that you have these other areas where a lot of Caucasian people are, their making sure that their roads are smooth. They make sure that their yard, parks and everything is clean, and that their buildings are up to date. But if you come in these areas, you will get it every blue moon, which is not right" (PQ 7).

Outside of the neglected physical appearance of the streets in which several participance commented on, they seen value in being located by the highways and having adequate sources of transportation like the dart rail and the dart bus.

One of the leaders (TV 9) in census tract 41 did emphasize the inconvenience posed within the community, due to lacking retail stores. Another leader (PQ 2) from census tract

114.01 stated the inconvenience of trying to transport groceries from a totally different community creates barriers for within the community transportation structure. The transportation system did not seem to pose a problem as much as the inconvenience of not having resources readily available within the community. "Over time, African Americans not only lived in segregated communities, but they also witnessed the decline of their neighborhoods due to disparity in city funding for proper maintenance and growth, the practice of redlining, and the city's devaluation of their property values. As a result of these policies, housing complexes and neighborhoods that were zoned for African Americans were poorly constructed, unkempt, and insufficiently connected to essential utilities" (Parker, 2018, p. 47-48)

Community Clean Up

The political method used by city government, parallels the experiences of residents in "The Bottom" and "10th Street historic district" according to one of the leaders (TV 8) within Census tract 41. He adamantly spoke of residents not being able to expand their property or remodel their property during the period in which the city was trying to cease properties in the area to provide land for Townview Magnet Center. He candidly spoke of the city creating zoning ordinances that only allowed residents at most to take the house down as far as the foundation level and rebuild on the same site plan. He emphasized that the zoning ordinance restricted any add on and/or movement of the property. He then stated that the city, used these tactics which forbid homeowner from improving their properties at will, toward homeowners who homes were paid off. It could be suggested that due to the nature of their home being paid for, they had the physical means to now upgrade their property. However in alignment with the intentions of the city government unless the property was released, "housing options for African American city dwellers consisted of slums and nothing more" (Parker, 2018, p. 48).

Each census tract within this study (114.01, 41, 27.01) has been charged with an inability to provide a standard level of cleanliness on the streets, buildings, and even in pertaining to resident's behavior within the community. Business owners and residents alike have spoken of the disregard the city has maintained for city cleanup within areas of social disorganization. Residents dominantly speak of trash and dilapidated residential and commercial buildings. Out of the seventy-one percent (n=15) of participants who viewed their area as socially disorganized, the leaders and business owners were most vocal about the need for a mental paradigm shift within the community. These participants believed that the physical appearance of the area was a direct reflection of the mindset of the inhabitants in each area. They maintained that residents did not take care of their community because they were not vested in the community, nor were they taught to value their community, which resulted in generations of people not taking care of their areas.

A business owner (ED 18) located in census tract 27.01 spoke of a lady that was changing her child's diaper and threw the diaper out of the window onto the parking lot of his shop. The business owner spoke to the lady proclaiming that she should get it up, and at the bare minimum bring it to the trash in his shop and he would properly discard it. He stated that he has had to have conversations with people within the community several times about taking pride and keeping the community clean. He asserted the lady felt like the problem was solved because the diaper was out of her car, but she did not consider other elements that would contribute to the community being deemed socially disorganized because of her actions, such as the diaper being smeared across the parking lot. He stated basic care for the community was lacking in this area. This sentiment was similar among all participants that felt their community was disorganized.
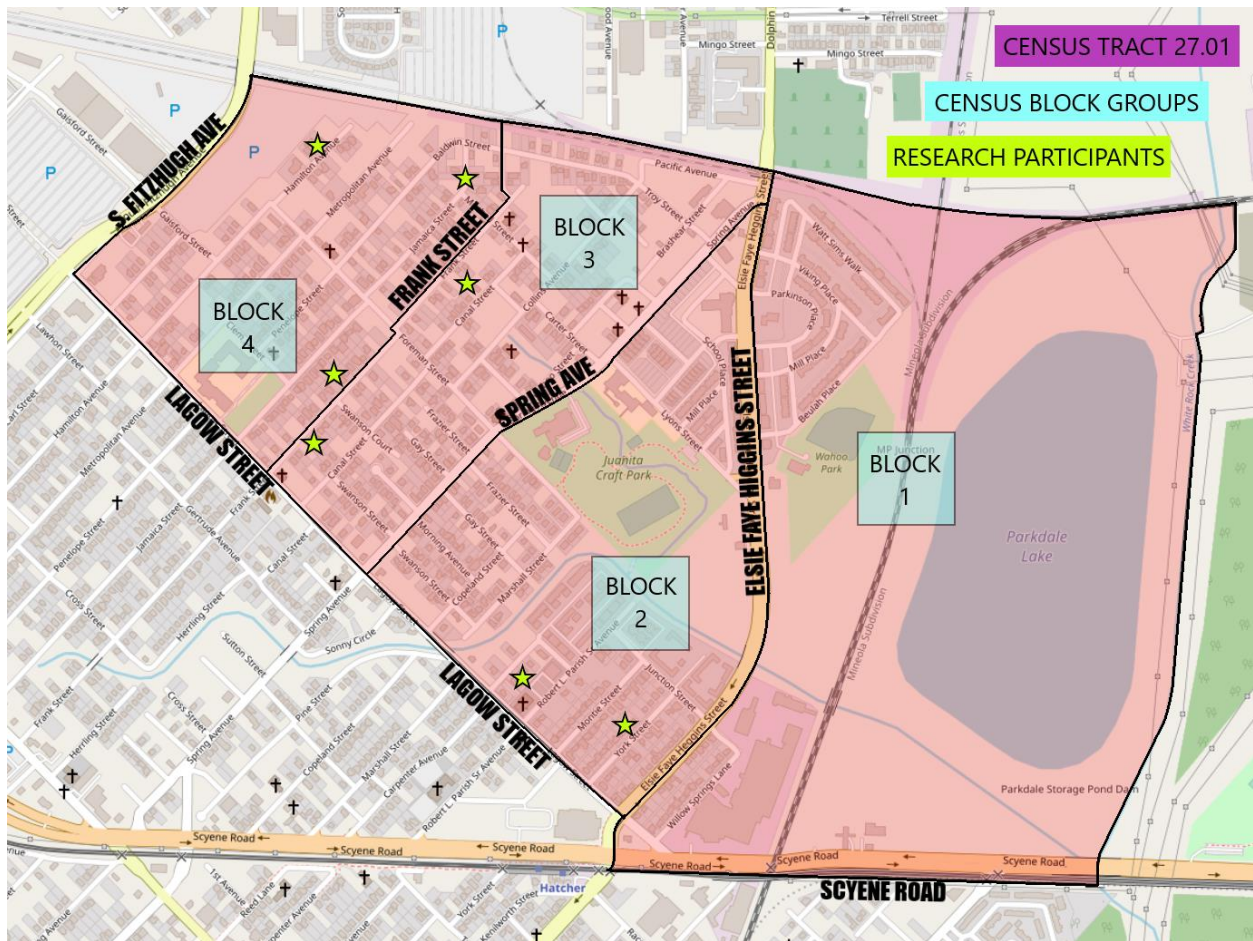
Work and Live in Same Area

The stigma associated with social disorganization can be viewed as a two-edged sword. Communities labeled as such typically lack funding, resources, proper policy, and adequate built structure. Contrarily, those attributes provide leverage for investors to purchase property within these communities for low value to gain maximum profit. Residents that are attached to these communities usually are proud of their homes that more often than not are paid for or close to being paid off. There was a strong sense of accomplishment expressed by individuals in this area that had paid off their homes. They were proud. It was no surprise due to the limited resources within each community that most people did not work and/or live in the same area. Out of 21

participants, there was a total of four people (19%) that lived and worked in the same area and among those four, only one leader lived in the area in which she served.

In these communities, the politicians as a whole, have been able to reap the benefit of being viewed as a leader in formal settings, while having the luxury of being able to "lay their (the community) burdens down" after serving their job tour for the day. Many politicians do not or have not experienced the inadequacies on a constant basis that prevents residents from experiencing basic human needs. When speaking with residents from each area, it was evident that there was a disconnect between politicians and the community. Though politicians served as representatives for the community, most participants did not value their position, as they did not trust that they knew the needs of the community. Many of the residents had a more prominent respect for people in the community that acted on their behalf, rather than those that was seen as a figure head solely. One leader (PQ 2) expressed, " they (pillars of the community) provide a history in knowledge of the community. I believe that there are powerful organizers and leaders within the community who can reach more people within their neighborhood structures, than politicians can or than outside organization could and I believe that they also are essential workers. COVID has proven to us how valuable the essential worker is."

Economic

The ability to establish economic stability by means of employment, spending, and obtaining companies that will provide resources within a community are vital to the success of any neighborhood. Community leaders, businesses, and residents in areas identified as socially disorganized lack the capacity to consistently provide these assets within the community. Instead of ensuring resources are provided for tax paying citizens, government officials drain resources

in an attempt to gentrify communities while pitching the idea as revitalization. As a consequence of resources being depleted in these minority areas, community organizations (church's in specific) have assumed the financial responsibility of the community that government officials refuse to accommodate.

Finances

Residents in areas of social demise often have a negative relationship with money, which leads to a series of poor spending habits on an already stretched budget. Though most participant (n=19; 90%) in my study did not claim money as an issue, their savvy financial decisions have created a certain level of financial freedom. This is not universal for the majority of residents that dwell in communities facing residential, economic, structural, and political barriers. Business owner ED 17, notes that she chose to maintain her business within this community because "people in the area homes are paid for and other places they are still working and can't come to the shop regularly." She offered that rather their inability to come regularly is due to financial shortfalls or because of lack of time, the area that she serves does not present those same challenges.

PQ 1 emphasized the importance of teaching young people financial literacy and the importance of owning land. "I had to get almost halfway to the retirement age to understand that I don't need everything I was going out there buying" (PQ 1). She stated that she taught her children you got to own a piece of land if you desire to have anything in the future. She was adamant in informing me "they'll give you a Cadillac, a Lexis, a Benz, a Rolls-Royce, but they won't give you a piece of land." She, like many other older participants in this study expressed the significance of having money, knowing how to make money, and understanding how to

invest money. Without understanding these vital money habits and the need to own land, many minority residents end up losing property, money, and time due to an ignorance toward money. As a result of these shortcomings, PQ 2 believe the black churches have started to create their own financial structures to support their community. "There has been more grant funding from - those black churches to support people, more charitable giving, more food pantries have been created, and more housing assistance has been given. It is confirmed that residents themselves have created tighter community coalition's and bonds with one another to galvanize their power when asking the city for certain things" (PQ 2).

Long standing residents are pivotal to the economic dynamic of a community. They are not bound to jobs within the community and has achieved a certain level of independence to not be paralyzed by economics. However not all tenured citizens experience this fate. "As of 2000, no racial group was more physically isolated from jobs than Blacks, and those metropolitan areas with higher levels of Black – White housing segregation were those that exhibited higher levels of spatial mismatch between the residential location of Blacks and the location of jobs (Raphael and Stoll, 2002)" (Squires & Kubrin, 2005, p. 53). While recruiting participants it became evident there were a group of residents not represented within the community. These were the inhabitants that had been within the community for ten or more years but had not achieved the financial capital needed to purchase permanent homes. Even with grants funds in place, many people could not meet the criteria to gain enough capital to finance a home of their own. PQ 2 expressed, "I also believe that there is a wage cap that is placed on those that live within the community that I reside in. The median income is less than $50,000 a year for the community and I believe that those (median income) and property taxes for the community, because there

are so many vacant properties that have been taken over by the city, we're missing out on a lot of property tax money, just from not having people to pay it" (PQ 2).

Ability to Relocate

People do not have the desire to relocate, but this study highlight people ability to do so, if they choose. One participant (PQ 4) stated, even if she had a whole heap of money, she would not move because she and her husband love their home, their neighbors, and their areas (census tract 114.01). She, like many other residents valued the communal repour developed among her neighbors, while dismissing the idea of her community being stigmatized as socially disorganized. Another resident (ED 21) in a different area (census tract 27.01) stated, tv So, I just think that everybody's idea of a great Community isn't necessarily a beautiful structure with buildings and things is" (ED 21).

A total of fifteen residents (71%) were interviewed. Out of the fifteen residents, only two expressed a desire to relocate to a different community. One of the two residents (PQ 6) stated she had the financial stability to relocate into a different area and was a landowner of a property that she obtained prior to marriage and still had that was currently available. However, she adamantly expressed her need for family support during a period in which, though she stated she was relieved to have ended her marriage, she compared divorce to the feeling of death. In her situation, the need for family support outweighed the fear and anxiety she faced being in the community in which she grew up.

The other resident (TV 12) stated that he would like to relocate but was financially incapable. He stated he loved the people in the community and enjoyed his investment of time with them, however he did not desire to remain in his current home. He did not like being easily

accessible to people from his teenage years, as he felt they only identified him from that period

and did not recognize his growth. He stated, "some people will never see you as grown past the

period in which they knew you, and have a tendency to interact with you based on that period of

time, even if you have changed" (TV 12). TV 12's home was inherited as a result of the

unexpected death of his mother. He initially desired to move into the home for emotional support

as he stated to me informally that he could feel her spirit and he needed that during that time.

However, though he stated that he desired to relocate, he also expressed that as a result of that

unfortunate event, he had the means to buy a house via cash, yet he did not. He communicated

that he valued the spiritual and emotional connection to the home in which he and his mother

lived, more-so than the desire to abandon the location.

In essence, many of the residents, business owners, and leaders within this study has the

ability to relocate if they so choose. However, it is those emotional ties that does not have a price

on it that they seem to value. Many chose their community because it was located close to the

things they value most, rather it be family, work, school, or access to convenient travel

(highways). Society has deemed these census areas as socially disorganized, yet those in which

inhabit the space have proven to have a different viewpoint of their community.

Business Ability to Provide Basic Needs

Neither census tract examined in this study provides the bare minimum basic needs of the

community. "Not only are ghetto residents, as before, dependent on the will and decisions of

outside forces that rule the field of power – the mostly white dominant class, corporations,

realtors, politicians, and welfare agencies – they have no control over and are forced to rely on

services and institutions that are massively inferior to those of the wider society" (Wacquant &

Wilson, 1989, p.15). Each community lacked basic resources that would allow people to maintain their basic health needs, such as drug stores and quality physicians. In fact, residents brought to my attention that neither location within my study possessed a Walmart (not even a neighborhood Walmart) to address the communal needs. Walmart has stereotypically been associated with poor people however these areas seem to be too poor for Walmart to patronize, leaving residents at the mercy of overpriced makeshift stores, that sell limited food options.

These areas are the epitome of food deserts that does not allow for quality nourishment to families. As a community with residents it is community detriment to allow a community to operate without some form of retail chain grocery store and drugstore. The increased price difference discourages residents from utilizing the available food resources, as it does not provide neither quality nor affordable products per residents of each area. However, limited options encourage a monopoly in which many residents that do not have easy access to transportation are forced to be exploited with overpriced limited resources. Available quality physicians and drugstores parallel these limitations experienced within these areas. This causes further distress economically within a community that has been deemed poverty stricken by HUD standards.

Professionalism

Lack of professionalism usually deters consumers from frequenting shops in which they feel mistreated. However, when limited resources encourage a culture of subpar professionalism and quality service among locals, unprofessional behavior becomes the norm and acceptable in communities by default. Residents emphasized, though workers are usually nice, their behavior within the confines of a job does not coincide with professional. The culture of

unprofessionalism spurred within the community reflects the feelings residents have toward

business owner and government officials. They practice quality customer service, so they may be

viewed and accepted as courteous when businesses are trying boost sales or during periods of

elections. Resident PQ 6 confirms, "most people are nice like if I run into the gas station or go in

the store or something most people are pretty nice, but it's not always professional. For instance,

one gas station if you go in there, they'll have music playing but it's not like the radio. It's rap

music and if you were anywhere else and you went in the store and you expect families or older

shoppers to be there, you don't expect to hear cursing rap when you go running to the store for a

minute, that's not professional" (PQ 6). Yet, this is the normal for people in each of the census

tract studies, but predominantly census tract 114.01.

<div align="center">Political</div>

In many instances, residents spoke candidly about community leader (council members

and other government members) unavailability to address the needs of the community. They

further, showed diminished confidence of politician's ability to serve the community in which

they have chosen to hold office within. Residents that chose to voice their concerns, formally and

informally, equally vocalized their feelings of being used by politicians to be re-elected. They

expressed detest for politician's practice of frequenting the neighborhood for electoral support, to

not revisit or be accessible until the next election period. Business owner, ED 18 emphasized,

during elections people that were running for a position would visit his barbershop and would

ask him if they could come in and have a town hall meeting, in which he would be fine with.

However, he declared "it would be for show because then I would never see him again, or it

would be three or four weeks after the fact when they would be doing the town-hall meeting"

(ED 18). He attested he really wished that the connection was better between political officials in the neighborhood and the people of the neighborhood itself (ED 18).

Many members of these socially disorganized communities harbored a strong distrust for politicians but not for leaders. When they spoke of people that led their community, it typically was people who were active participants in the development and well-being of the community, but not usually affiliated officially with the government. These communities dominantly and consistently sited churches as the entity to aid with basic needs that were not being provided by local government. The current COVID 19 Pandemic and Black Lives Matter Movement, has reminded and highlighted the pivotal position black churches hold in black communities. They (the church) in many ways take the responsibility of the spiritual, physical, emotional, and mental well-being of black communities that cannot be understood by outside spectators. ED 15 acknowledges, "I value the church's because for me not having grown up in church, I didn't understand the significance of the church. But the church is the heartbeat of the community, the church knows The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly and when all else fail, whether you are on top of the world or you hit rock bottom, you gone be at that church. And a lot of times you don't know what people need unless you go through the church" ED 15. The church is secure as a pillar in the Black community, whereas local government was viewed as being both inaccessible and detached from the needs of the community. Their lacking physical presence and involvement within the community supports their fleeting behavior when community challenges arrive.

Leadership Presence

In areas deemed socially disorganized, society's ideas of leaders are not the same as resident's depiction of who represents them. Society identifies leaders as people who have been

elected or appointed to represent a specific area. However, within each of my census tracts there was a clear distinction between parties the residents viewed as leader's verses government officials or politicians. In these communities, government appointed leaders as a whole have been able to reap the benefit of being viewed as a leader, while having the luxury of being able to "lay their (the community) burdens down" after serving their job tour for the day. Many of the leaders have not experienced the inadequacies on a constant basis that prevents residents from experiencing basic human needs, like grocery shopping, obtaining medical care, or having access to drugstores that are not accessible within your community.

In these areas lacking resources, contrary to the norm, people (typically those unwilling to be formally documented) expected government or outside entities to advocate on their behalf. However, they do not own responsibility of the communal contributions that could be done within the community to add value to the community such as keeping their yards groomed, painting the siding on their homes, or picking up the trash that may have been discarded close to or around their property. Within each of these areas, there was not clear expectations of what residents desired from government agencies other than cleaning up the area. However what they expected was for the government to come in and make the area look gentrified without displacement. Census tract 27.01 seemed to be the most evident example of the breakdown of communication of needs to government entities. In this area, residents contributed to social disorganization by expecting others to gather information about the community, tell them what needs to be done, and make the changes for the residents as well.

On the other hand, in other areas, though some of the same issues as census tract 27.01 prevailed in the desire for the government to provide certain services such as cleaning up the trash, they took responsibility in actions they could take. For example, some residents spoke of

helping clean up yards, while other spoke about ensuring trash was picked up or property was secured by way of building fences. The participants included in this study identified some of the issues, but overall recognized that community as a functioning community, with needs that should be fulfilled by government seeing that they are hired by taxpayers (PQ 2). They showed evidence of social disorganization by way of their inability to be of one accord. However, each participant took pride in the ownership of their property and the community in which they have been apart of developing, even without the support of government leadership.

Participation in Local Politics

Residents within census tract 114.01 were not active participants in vocalizing their concerns nor desires to city officials. Three out of the seven participant (43%) within this area acknowledged speaking directly to city officials to address community needs. "It is the cumulative structural entrapment and forcible socioeconomic marginalization resulting from the historically evolving interplay of class, racial, and gender domination, together with sea changes in the organization of American capitalism and failed urban and social policies, not a "welfare ethos," that explain the plight of today's ghetto blacks" (Wacquant & Wilson, 1989, p. 25). Other participants were adamant that it was the sole responsibility of city officials and local government to improve specific structural features that contributed to the demise of the community. Yet, these participants did not find it necessary to actually take their concerns to city officials so they could at least vocalize their position.

One participant, though a homeowner spoke of reciprocating the lack of care the local government had for the community by mirroring the abandonment and physical disregard toward the community in which she was vested. She said, "if they do not care about our community,

why should we put forth an effort to clean up the community" (PQ 7). This attitude that would surely contribute to heightened physical traits of social disorganization was an isolated viewpoint among the participants. However based on the state of the community and the views other participants voiced, that mentality is one of mutual agreement among other residents, including those that have no vested interest within the community. Therefore it exacerbates social, economic, structural, and political disorder in an already fragile community.

She later proudly expressed that she would take care of her property because she is responsible for it and it belongs to her. This suggested that she was uninterested in maintaining property outside of that she had vested interest within. She did not accept the mentality that an unkempt neighborhood would indirectly diminish her property value. This would destroy the physical appearance, encouraging others to mirror the lack of communal efforts, which would support the broken windows theory within this community. When people are looking to invest in property rather it be business or residential, people are not only looking to invest based on the one property, but also of the neighborhood. A mindset that only encourages one to take responsibility for their own property, does not nourish a community's ability to stabilize, obtain, or maintain social organization.

Skepticism

Many residents were eager to convey their experience living within an area with limited resources, their views of the challenges, and who they felt were responsible for them. They eagerly spoke about their tenure within the community, both the good and bad qualities of their area. However, within my second wave of inquiries to obtain participant, I realized a commonality of people being excited to be heard but non receptive to their statements being

formally documented, though it was confirmed that it was completely anonymous. One of the residents explained the city tried to have her sign something that they told them that would help to have her house remodeled to improve the area. She said she had planned to do it, but it just so happen that she was talking to someone about it and found out that it was a release of her property, which would have signed her property back over to the bank (her house was close to being paid off). Several people within each the census tract had similar experiences, which made since why they were skeptical. There was a deep-rooted skepticism that created a barrier provoked by experience induced fear. ""A white doctor at a Dallas health conference in 1915 accused black servants of infecting their employees with dangerous diseases like tuberculosis." City leaders used these unfounded proclamations to support new housing ordinances, requiring the segregation of white and African American neighborhoods" (Parker, 2018, p. 47).

This fear to be documented was not an isolated event, but rather universal in each census tract included in this study. A total of 34 participants were approached to participate within this study. Out of the 34 inquiries 21 participants were included in the final analysis. Among the thirteen that was not included, eight (62%) wanted to speak of their experiences but refused to be formally recorded. Business owner, ED 18 spoke in detail about his skepticism of politicians, in fact one of the biggest concerns he had was his feeling that politicians hid things within the ballot with the way the ballot is worded. He stated, a reporter came to his busines, "then he started talking about voting, which that's another thing that politicians do, they hide stuff in these ballots and I really wish they didn't word these ballots the way they did because a lot of times it confuses elders and even young people." This is not an isolated event and, in many ways, falls in line with Jim Crow, in which different tactics (one being a reading test) were put in place to prevent Blacks from voting. Many of the issues that trigger anxiety and skepticism within

residents in these lower socio-economic areas are similar to the fears and discontent many of these residents have been carrying for decades.

The culture of the area brewed possible participants that valued the unspoken rule of "not speaking up aka snitching," even at the detriment of expressing concerns and desires that would be beneficial to them individually and their community. The belief that no relief would be obtained, similar to the issues that are being faced during this "COVID1619" epidemic at the hands of police, supports the silence that prevents people in these socially disorganized areas from potentially gaining access to more quality service and upgrades by way of government funding. The City of Dallas (University of Texas Arlington, 2018, p. 97), cited three main contributors of segregation:

1. "The most frequently cited contributing factor to segregation was discrimination. The issue of discrimination manifests itself in many compounding ways: through community opposition, source of income discrimination, lending discrimination and private discrimination. Participants reported that the issue of segregation is notably due to community opposition and the stereotyping of the black and Hispanic communities."

2. "The loss of affordable housing, the displacement of residents due to economic pressures, and the location and type of affordable housing."

3. "The institutional factors contributing to segregation, including the location of proficient schools and school assignment policies, as well as land use and zoning laws and the lack of public investments and revitalization strategies."

Individuals in each census tract highlighted a fear of endless possibilities of government retaliation. These residents, specifically in census tract 27.01 and census tract 41 spoke of people

who had taken a stance against local government and had lost their property by way of fines and liens being placed on their homes by city officials for issues that they did not know was a problem. They expressed most people that had spoken up against the city were no longer in the area or had been bombarded with fines that they could not pay due to an already stressed budget. This coincides with one of the leaders (TV 8) in the "The Bottom" (census tract 41) who emphasized the issues that continual zone changes posed for residents seeking to improve their home. He further highlighted that though his non-profit purchased several properties to help aid current residents in keeping their home and attract new residents, the city owned many of the homes and/or lots in this census tract area. Many of these homes were taken both by policy mishaps and emanant domain. Historian Fairbanks explains, "In 1944, the city announced proudly that it had turned a tidy profit on several of the properties it had taken from blacks and resold to whites." (Parker, 2018, p. 50).

Crime

Individuals have proven to be more fearful of the idea of crime, rather than the physical experience of crime against them. As scholars Porter, Rader, & Cossman (2012) notes, the fear of crime derives through the lens of spectators who perpetuate the idea of crime, rather than the physical act of crime (Porter et al., 2012). PQ 1 provided that she believes her area is now socially disorganized only because unwanted residents have now been over saturated within the community. She stated, "over the last year or two, at least 75 houses at one particular time was purchased that are halfway houses, so it is not as many homeowners here anymore as there are halfway houses" (PQ 1). She suggests, "a lot of dysfunction we are seeing around here (census tract 114.01) with vagrants and things like that are just because they are not homeowners, but halfway houses for people with violent backgrounds" (PQ 1). Her concerns are not unwarranted

as that complaint paralleled within each of the three census tract areas. There has been a clear

saturation of halfway houses in these areas. In fact, one of the places I stopped by to interview

during the period of gathering participants was associated with a long-term resident, but he was

using his property as a halfway house within a different census tract than PQ 1.

The quick turnover that is associated with halfway houses could easily pose a problem.

However within my study, out of twenty-one participants, four (19%) (three of the four were

petty crimes, parking tickets, marijuana) had been incarcerated, but only one (4.8%) had been

imprisoned twelve years prior as a teenager. It is evident that there should be a partnership

throughout Dallas (not just in low income areas) to encourage residents, leaders, businesses, and

government officials to aid in rehabilitating residents rather than further criminalizing them.

History has shown that minorities (blacks in specific) are criminalized at a higher rate than

whites that commit the same crime. "Ironically, the communities most in need of police

protection – disadvantaged Black communities – are also those in which many residents view the

police with the most ambivalence" (Squires & Kubrin, 2005, p. 54).

Communities that are predominantly minority (Black occupants) have experienced a

consistent breakdown of the family dynamic due to many crimes that are considered petty in the

white community. It further breaks down resident's financial ability to provide economic support

due to accepted behavior of discrimination within minority communities. In many ways the

alignment of authority abuse coincides with the temperature of current events that have

spearheaded movements such as Black Lives Matter (which highlights the harassment and

blatant abuse experienced within the Black community). "As historian Jacquelyn Dowd Hall

reminds her readers, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was correct when he stated, "The African

American revolution [was] much more than a struggle for the rights of Negroes. It [was] forcing

[society] to face all its interrelated flaws – racism, poverty, militarism, and materialism. It [was] exposing evils that [were] deeply rooted in the whole structure of our society… and suggests that radical reconstruction of society [was] the real issue to be faced"" (Parker, 2018, p. 55). These actions parallel decades of mistreatment that has contributed to the residential, structural, economical, and political breakdown of communities stigmatized as socially disorganized.

The ability to witness or be a victim of a crime should be a concern for everyone during this day and age. The participants included in this study acknowledged crime as being possible but consistently spoke of not being afraid. The reason most of them did not have a strong fear about crime is because some had experienced theft and/or vandalism decades ago when they 1st moved into their homes, but since then most had not been victim to it. One party expressed that someone was attempting to break into her home, in which she called the police and they did not make it a priority to get to her home. In fact she said they came over two hours later. PQ 1 noted, when the police finally arrived, she said "I probably should have gotten my husband's gun and handled it myself, since it took you all so long" (PQ 1) She said the Dallas Police Department replied, "no don't do that because then we would have to take you to jail and that would be too much paperwork" (PQ 1). ""The systemic catalyst of inaction on the part of the police department encouraged the continuation of violent hate crimes and the bombings of African American homes until 1951. The African American-owned newspaper, Dallas Express, was accurate in its assessment that Dallas had become a powder keg, "requiring just one small spark to set off a race war"" (Parker, 2018, p. 51). Crime is everywhere, however the lack of support by law enforcement within minority community's have placed them at an unfair disadvantage. They cannot defend themselves, yet the police do not find it necessary to defend them either, so

many people are forced to attempt to pick the lesser of two evils if the situation arises promoting the continuous cycle of criminalization.

<center>Weakness</center>

The demographics included in this research identified participants with a varying range of education and residents with a predominantly middle-class income. As the below US Census tract demographic table highlight (table 2), the number of residents earning higher income decreases as earnings increase. This reality does not coincide with the demographics within my findings, as many households would be identified as earning a middle-class salary. This appears to be contradicting, however the participants within my study were all tenured residents, business owners, and/or leaders that became members of their community prior to it being stigmatized as socially disorganized. The age progression as well as career progression could have influenced the current financial state of their household.

Also, education within my study (table 1) showed leaders, residents, and business owners having attained some form of education ranging from a GED to a master's degree. As table 2 highlights, though the majority of people according to the US Census had less than a high school diploma, there were still people who had achieved some level of education, that would coincide with community members being identified economically as middle-class. The US Census does not provide how long a resident has lived specifically within their home, so it created a weakness because my study aimed to identify why long-term residents chose to remain in these areas of social demise. This also weakens the ability to identify how tenured residents are represented within the US Census. Within a future study, in order to gain better knowledge of who is in these communities and why they have chosen communities in social duress, a study should be

performed to identify why new participants chose to inhabit areas socially disorganized. This would allow a larger percentage of the census tract to be represented. My discoveries both coincide and contrast with the US Census demographics.

Table 2

Label	CENSUS TRACT 27.01		CENSUS TRACT 41		CENSUS TRACT 114.01	
	TOTAL		TOTAL		TOTAL	
	Estimate	Margin of Error	Estimate	Margin of Error	Estimate	Margin of Error
Total population	3466	557	1377	234	5217	653
AGE						
Under 5 years	9	3	14.1	6.3	9.1	2.8
5 to 17 years	25.4	6.4	27.5	4.5	23.9	4.6
18 to 24 years	7.8	4.1	6.8	3.4	12.7	3.5
25 to 44 years	28	5.9	23.2	3.5	24.6	2.8
45 to 54 years	11.1	3.7	12.2	3.9	12.4	2.8
55 to 64 years	10.7	4.3	8.4	3.4	8.6	3.1
65 to 74 years	4.8	2	5.7	2.3	5.4	2.1
75 years and over	3.2	2	2	1.9	3.2	1.6
Median age (years)	29.3	5.9	25.6	6.4	28.3	4.9
SEX						
Male	48.5	4.6	51.1	5	43.6	5.2
Female	51.5	4.6	48.9	5	56.4	5.2
RACE AND HISPANIC OR LATINO ORIGIN						
One race	100	1.1	99	1.8	94.9	2.9
White	28.9	8.7	49.1	13.3	14.2	7.2
Black or African American	70.4	8.7	43.1	12.9	78.1	7.4
Some other race	0.7	0.7	6.8	5.2	2.1	1.7
Two or more races	0	1.1	1	1.8	5.1	2.9
Hispanic or Latino origin (of any race)	30	8.8	54.8	12.7	15.7	8
White alone, not Hispanic or Latino	0.3	0.6	1.7	1.6	3.4	1.9
MARITAL STATUS						
Population 15 years and over	2462	380	976	134	3660	396
Never married	53.5	7.8	53.8	8.3	52.7	5.8
Now married, except separated	26.3	9.1	28.6	10.5	19	5.1
Divorced or separated	14.6	5.1	15.9	6.5	24.1	4.5
Widowed	5.6	3.5	1.7	1.8	4.2	1.9
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT						
Population 25 years and over	2003	287	710	106	2830	251
Less than high school graduate	42.7	8.9	40	10	24.9	5.5
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	32	8.5	32	11.4	42.5	6
Some college or associate's degree	18.7	6.6	20.8	10.1	26.1	5.6
Bachelor's degree	4.5	3.2	7.2	5.8	5.6	2.1
Graduate or professional degree	2.1	3.3	0	5.5	0.9	1.1
INDIVIDUALS' INCOME IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS (IN 2018 INFLATION-ADJUSTED DOLLARS)						
Population 15 years and over	2462	380	976	134	3660	396
$1 to $9,999 or loss	21.8	7	17.8	5.8	30.1	6.2
$10,000 to $14,999	13	6.6	8.4	4.1	10.1	3.6
$15,000 to $24,999	11.9	4.9	13.2	5.7	16.3	3.8
$25,000 to $34,999	9.3	4.5	7.9	3.3	6.8	3.1
$35,000 to $49,999	10.8	5.4	7.3	5.1	6	2.9
$50,000 to $64,999	4.9	3.2	7.6	4.2	4.5	2.3
$65,000 to $74,999	0.6	1	0	4	0.3	0.4
$75,000 or more	0	1.6	4.1	3.4	2.8	2
Median income (dollars)	18523	7825	19923	5306	14244	2541
POVERTY STATUS IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS						
Population for whom poverty status is determined	3466	557	1377	234	4997	642
Below 100 percent of the poverty level	40.2	10.8	41.8	13.1	46.1	10
100 to 149 percent of the poverty level	20.5	10.9	29.7	13.6	15.2	6.8
At or above 150 percent of the poverty level	39.3	12.3	28.5	11.7	38.7	10.5

Overview

Social disorganization is not universal as many people can identify specific traits but have no clue on what it means for a community to be socially disorganized. Each of the themes that have contributed to their desire to stay within the community is based on each participant's individual lived experiences. They do not proclaim that either of the three census tract areas go without fault, however, are aware they should be aware that the responsibility to improve their community is just as much on them as it is on government entities. It is evident that each participant desires for their community to flourish socially, economically, structurally, and politically. However in order to do so, they need the willing participation of officials they have placed in office. There must further be mutual trust established so tenured residents can express the needs of their community to city planners and officials.

CHAPTER VI

Discussion, Implications, and Recommendations

The purpose of this qualitative research study was to answer the research question: "Why do people choose to remain in communities identified as socially disorganized, when the theory suggests if given the opportunity they would leave?" Exploring the lived experiences of 21 minority (black) individuals of different position within the community allowed specific themes to emerge about their value system, which ironically became directly related to their stance to stay. Prior research has dominantly examined social disorganization in relation to crime. Yet more recent scholars have found necessity in identifying norms that contribute to areas being stigmatized based on outsiders' assumptions of social demise within the community. This study highlights the needed necessities verses norms that are evident in the community that directly contributes to the area being seen as socially disorganized. It further provides understanding of why people choose to stay.

The Need for the Study

Residents of socially disorganized communities are typically identified as people who have been unwillingly forced into a community and incapable of providing for themselves due to lack of resources. However, my study specifically targeted people that were long-term residents and vested in the community, rather it be from inception or an area that was already established before they accepted residency in their location. Research in the field of social disorganization have unwaveringly been compared to a singular issue (usually crime) that is deemed responsible for the demise of a community. It is suggested that one would only stay in an area with stigmas, such as those attached to social disorganization as a result of poor decisions and an inability to

provide better. However this research made it clear that there was a distinct disconnect of Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) depiction of social disorganization compared to how people within the community identified social disorganization.

Most people within the study did not view their community as socially disorganized in alignment with the definition posed by scholars Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) nor Thomas and Znaniecki (1920). In fact, when characterizing the community as socially disorganized, residents predominantly spoke of the physical pitfalls associated with beautifying the neighborhood, rather than attributes that contribute to the functions and perception of the community. The findings from this study revealed the need for certain relationships and policies to be implemented to protect residents and their property. It also offered insight on how recruiting quality resources to help with the social, economic, structural, and political pitfalls would contribute to the overall growth and the community's ability to stabilize residents and resources in stigmatized areas.

Private developers and government officials assume it is appropriate to withdraw funds and completely drain the community of resources in order to clean out the community to redevelop it for their gainful economic agenda.

> "Renewal by demolition responded to claims of economic survival and Schumpeterian notions of creative destruction that the Housing Act of 1949 expanded into an urban gentrification machine writ large. It aimed to replace minority and black working-class neighborhoods "with middle-class voters whose shopping dollars might reinvigorate nearby downtown retail districts" and help fiscally struggling municipalities compete with the suburbs for tax dollars" (Audirac, 2018).

Past and recent history has shown that these actions results in the displacement of residents, typically by force, that leaves communities stripped of residents to occupy dwellings and aid in compensating tax expenses in the area. One of the leaders in the community stated "there are so many vacant properties that have been taken over by the city. We are missing out on a lot of property tax money, just from not having people to pay it" (PQ 2). Many participants highlighted their fear of the government keeping the poor, poor and gentrifying their community.

People (outside and within the community) assume that capital is the missing resource needed to upgrade or maintain their community. Yet in actuality an abundance of resources would be inefficient without a shift in the mindset of residents, business owners and politicians. A paradigm shift within the mindset of the community would change the trajectory of both non vested and vested residents. A business owner within one of the census tract areas stated, "we teach people how to treat our community, and when they are taught they will do what you do to make it better" (ED 18). My research is imperative because it encourage the investigation of multiple facets to be examined in order to determine the culture of the community and to identify what is needed for that community to stabilize and sustain. This study supports the need for a holistic approach to understand the community dynamic and aid in creating support economically, physically, structurally, and politically to improve social disorganization within stigmatized communities.

<div align="center">Why Do People Stay</div>

Study Findings

It is evident that there are cultural barriers of values appreciated by Black residents, business owners, and leaders opposed to those of other ethnic background. Though

predominantly external, cultural value lines are often blurred internally when blacks obtain

certain economic influence. One of the leader participants highlighted the viewpoints projected

by ethnicities during the pandemic, that showed complaints toward other ethnicities based on

value system, rather than systemic behavior throughout the country. As we spoke uncandidly

post interview, she stated that each ethnicity complaint of the other was rooted within their value

system. For example, it was not understood why Blacks would gather at grandmothers' house

after church to spend time with family and enjoy the usual family dinner, nor was it understood

why Whites were adamant about gathering on the Beach during a Pandemic. The reason was,

both groups of people valued these spaces as their safe haven, or sanctuary as one might say.

In many instances, the emphasis on value was a constant reoccurrence among residents.

People within these communities invested their time in those things that they valued and felt they

had control over. Their values were prerequisites for the culture of the community. Kornhauser

describes, "social disorganization exists in the first instance when the structure and culture of a

community are incapable of implementing and expressing the value of its own residents"

(Kubrin & Wo, 2016, p. 122). The value system within each area was different as each

community included in this study encompassed both long term residents, short term resident, and

residents with questionable backgrounds living within these areas. These minority communities

had a diverse plethora of long term, short term and visiting (halfway house) residents who were

able to provide input on the desires and needs of the community; not necessarily in alignment

with vested residents. Those not vested in the community are less prone to aid in cleaning up and

providing specific services that would build comradery and enhance the overall look and

functions within the community. However, those vested in the community are very clear of the

culture in which their value system lies.

This study supported evidence that areas deemed socially disorganized are typically located in areas that are easily accessible and in close proximity to centralized highways. The findings further confirmed allegations that many of the communities are close to the highway as a consequence of city planners strategically allowing black communities to be divided (similar to black families) at the will of the designer. Historically, these communities were devalued, minority, and viewed as high risk which allowed acceptance of city planners to create highways, even to the detriment of further destroying communities that were already experiencing social demise. As a result many families were displaced because their homes were destroyed, due to the city's forced removal of residents, to replace the land their home was on with city highways.

Though unfortunate for the residents who were displaced from their homes, these areas were deemed ideal for potential investors and developers. Burgess concentric zone model noted that those who were financially thriving could move further, leaving the poor near the central ring in the areas plagued with poor environmental and structural conditions. The white flight allowed many minority families to move in close proximity to each other, which adversely created social capital among stigmatized communities. Residents and business owners value the ability to live in areas close to family as it allows family and community members to aid each other when needed (PQ 1, TV 8, ED 21).

The location of these areas allows members of the community to reap the benefits of surrounding areas that are now being gentrified. One participant from census tract 27.01 noted that though she loves her area and familiarity of the community, the new development and new homes being built or remodeled is bringing up her property value. She further stated that she is enjoying the new facilities and entertainment districts that now border her community, because now people are less judgmental and more excited about the location in which she lives because it provides easier access to entertainment, pre Covid 19. Members within each of the census tracts explored in this study value the easy access their community provides for their daily activities. They further have hope that the location and progression of the surrounding communities will inevitably attract basic resources back into their community.

Family

In minority (Black) communities, there is a greater risk of the family dynamic being divided. According to Sampson (1987), "42% of black families with children are headed by females, compared with 11% of white families (Wilson and Neckerman, 1985, p. 50). Further, the rate of black families with female heads has increased approximately 100 % from 1960 to 1980 (Wilson and Aponte 1985, p. 240)" (Sampson, 1987). The removal of a family member (rather voluntary or involuntary) not only has a great impact on the immediate family, but also on the community when the family is one that is vested within the community. This is precisely the reason why minority residents find it imperative to be located in close proximity to family. The community/ family steps in to help fill the void of the missing party.

Family provides spiritual, mental, emotional, and physical leverage that may not be easily attained by traditional neighbors. The familiarity of living close to family acts as a form of

neighborhood watch, as well as help to provide specific parallels to the neighborhood dynamic. The majority of participants in this study, highlighted the benefits and gratitude they felt being in such close quarters among each other. They further asserted that having the ability to live close to their family was a deciding factor, due to some family members being older and having health problems. By living in the same community, they were able to better assist their family that may not have been as mobile or choose to participate in social capital among each other. Many people in these homes that served as generational dwellings in many instances enjoyed the aid, protection, and sociability of living close to family members. PQ 1 stated, "I bought in this area, mainly so I could be close to my mother, my father, my grandmother, great-grandmother, our elderly people, my mother-in-law, so we could be within a five-mile radius or a mile or two to be able and available to get everybody that needed our help because I didn't drive. But I want to be sure that I could get to them when they needed me, because they were older and some had health issues so they couldn't move like they used to" (PQ 1). ED 20 was also one of many that expressed, "I always wanted to be kind of close to my family because I didn't like to move way out away from my family, and really to tell you the truth, my family is the reason that I always had wanted to stay right around in this neighborhood. I love my family, some have passed now but we always looked out for each other and if one of us need something we help one another" (ED 20).

Sentimental Values

The mere essence that people have chosen to remain in an area that have been both stigmatized and, in many ways, drained of its resources, support the notion that these vested participants desire to stay. This decision is dominantly rooted in an emotional attachment, rather than finances. In fact census tract 41, the area in which Yvonne A. Ewell, Townview Magnet

Center now sits, is a testament of an opposing desire to become disenfranchised from resident's home and community. One leader within this community, spoke of a heroic tale of people giving up their homes to aid in providing better educational opportunities for minority students. She expressed, the goal of Townview was to allow minority (Blacks in specific) students throughout Dallas, from different socioeconomic backgrounds the opportunity to get quality education. However another leader, within this area, spoke of a far different scenario that took place that physically forced long standing residents out of their home, with limited resources. He spoke of the last living resident that lived in the original community "The Bottom" fighting to stay in her home on her lot. The city, per this leader eventually literally picked her physical home up and moved it to another open lot of her choosing (which was also in "The Bottom") and stationing her home there.

The male leader highlighted tactics, such as changing zoning guidelines, that were implemented to either force people to stay in subpar living scenarios or allow them to move. The tactics applied, at most, allowed residents to rip the house down stopping at the frame and for them to rebuild on the same floor plan. They were not allowed to expand the home even within the lot boundaries. The city in many ways acted as an unwarranted, unsolicited HOA. These community members who were once driven to this area due to redlining and discrimination, were forced away from their homes, memories, and community in order to accommodate the city planners or stripped of their right to live in improved dwellings. "Regardless of whether they desire to relocate or were forced out of their homes, African Americans in Dallas were continuously the target of white violence" (Parker, 2018, p. 51). People value homes in which they have invested their time and energy building relationships and attempting to maintain their property. The community might not have been the idea space for some, but those who inhabited

these communities bought property because they wanted to obtain ownership and was proud to have done so in their area. As one resident stated, "we have kind of blocked their (kids) heads like, we in the ghetto and all they want to do is get out of the ghetto work, but this is still a community and these are still homes" (PQ 1). Though others do not necessarily see the value of homes in areas deemed socially disorganized, residents, business owners, and leaders take pride in the phases they have witnessed in the community and desire support not the repercussions of gentrification.

Finance

Implications of unavailable finances have been the leading reason that people suggest residents, business owners, and leaders are incapable of abandoning communities deemed socially disorganized. It is true to an extent; these areas are inhabited by many people (usually short-term tenants and business owners) who are not financially stable and have limited living options due to economic hardship. However, the people who embody this study are residents, business owners, and leaders who are tenured and have a vested interest in the community. My study provides evidence that funds typically do not pose a problem for residents that meet the criteria to be a participant in my research. Many of these individuals who are long standing residents reap the benefits of having little to no expenses which allows them to make decisions based on wants rather than necessity and to live the life that they desire.

Residents throughout my study proudly contended that their homes were paid for and they would not leave their homes even if offered to by city officials (which many had been) to pay them market value. They assert that it is more than the home, but the relationships created, which cannot be bought when buying a home. They spoke honestly about time being needed to

establish the relationships they had acquired in their current area and did not assume that it would be easily achieved if they decided to relocate. Furthermore, long standing residents admired the ability to achieve generational wealth as a result of financial planning that created security for their family dynamic. Business owners in this area equally benefited from being present, as they gained loyal consumers that were both immersed in consistently patronizing the business and gainfully active in social relation among community producers and consumers. Long term participants, rather resident, business owners, or leaders were not victims of the financial ills of areas categorized as socially disorganized, but rather supportive neighbors who loved their community and actively participated in redeveloping and showing others how to proudly improve their dwellings.

Neighborly Support

There is a partnership that exist among community leaders, residents, and business owners in areas stigmatized as socially disorganized. This partnership has proven to be vital to maintaining any form of structure and/or policy within these communities as many have experienced the pitfalls of government sanctity destroying communities at will for economic and social gain. Neither party of the community has the political stance to operate solely on behalf of the community, therefore it is imperative for each entity to have a united front in order to maintain resources. There must further be a recorded plan in place for future development that is beneficial rather than detrimental to community growth, that will give guidance on the community's vision of the area.

The idea of leadership has caused controversy, as many residents and business owners view of leadership does not necessarily coincide with city official, politicians, or public figures.

In areas such as the three census tracts (tract 27.04, tract 41, tract 114.01) identified in this study, the residents dominantly viewed the active participants that visibly aided their community as leaders, rather than those that held political or city positions. Residents mentioned above had a strong skepticism due to previous and current practices from government aid that destroyed any trust that may have been developed if they were visible participants within the community. Residents spoke of government officials harshly, depicting them as absent politicians in the midst of turmoil and issues faced within the community, but present only to be recognized in public settings. They felt political and city officials were disconnected from issues that were plaguing communities that were socially incompetent. Each community identified the government as an entity that had the power to make changes, yet lacked the desire due to not having to partake in the subpar circumstances and their ignorance of true problems that needed to be addressed at a higher than communal level. Residents in these community unwaveringly recognized pillars of the community and church officials as leaders that had the knowledge to speak on behalf of their community for its betterment and the willingness to help.

As a result of the warranted skepticism embodied within socially disorganized communities, residents, business owners and leaders have found solace in utilizing social capital to encourage neighborhood support. "The systemic catalyst of inaction on the part of the police department encouraged the continuation of violent hate crimes and the bombings of African American homes until 1951. The African American-owned newspaper, Dallas Express, was accurate in its assessment that Dallas had become a powder keg, "requiring just one small spark to set off a race war" (Parker, 2018, p. 51). During this study, it was evident that many of the quarrels that has plagued minority communities throughout the 20th century is once again being highlighted showing the fragility to the spark of racism. This has inevitably perpetuated a race

war and a war on government policy and enforcers. The strength of neighborhood support is at a vital state as many communities do not trust law enforcers but rather enforce communal policing detached from government.

The current temperature of the country has dismantled confidence within the justice system, leaving neighborhood responsible for supporting themselves and each other. "Ironically, the communities most in need of police protection – disadvantaged Black communities – are also those in which many residents view the police with the most ambivalence" (Squires & Kubrin, 2005, p. 54). The practice of neighborhood support has been the only survival mechanism that has withstood the test of time within these communities.

Limitations of the Study

There were several limitations that influenced the process and results for this study. The current global pandemic, COVID 19 proved to cause most limitations as the social distancing orders prevented face to face interaction. Another limitation that altered my study was the endemic, labeled COVID 1619, which addressed systemic racism, police brutality, and excess police force in minority (Black in specific) communities. These limitations effected the world globally, as they brought light to malpractice in professions (law enforcement, political officers, medical workers, etc.) sworn by oath to serve. They further highlighted the continued mistreatment, harassment, and abuse of minorities by physical professionals and policy. It shed light that minority (Blacks in specific) were least protected medically with COVID 19 and politically with COVID 1619.

The stress of the Pandemic and Endemic, caused for a deliberate question of mental capacity and anxiety dominantly within the African American community, as America was again

forced to bear witness to the vile mistreatment experienced by Blacks. "A clear theoretical limitation of much contemporary structural research is that it neglects processes involved in the disadvantaged status and the day-to-day experiences of African Americans and other subordinated groups in a race-stratified society" (Bruce, Roscigno, & McCall, 1998). The breakdown in policy and humanity was a limitation in itself as many people were fearful and simply unequipped to consciously portray their experiences of the past ten years without dominantly including the current pitfalls of American policy and health disparities.

The current Pandemic and Endemic prevented me from having open access to more city officials as they were not charged with the task of being physically available due to health dangers associated with COVID 19. However, common to complaints of residents within the census tract that they serve, many city officials (councilmen/women in specific) were no longer available telephonic, nor responded to e-mail since the Pandemic. Also, during the mist of what is being referred to as COVID 1619, many city advocators/leaders have been in arms to fight racial and systemic inequalities that encourage consistent abuse to the point of death in minority (blacks in specific) communities. This display of harassment and excessive force by law enforcement has revealed to the world the validity of the complaints of black and brown people being routinely harassed, mistreated, and contained with unwarranted excessive force. It further showed the perpetuated encouragement of violence against blacks systemically being a part of the training system as well as being promoted by those in leadership. "When they (black people) start looting, we start shooting" President Donald Trump, 2020.

Diversity of participants of minorities within the designated census tracts, also proved to be a limitation. Though two of the three census tract areas had a healthy Hispanic/ Mexican population, they did not meet the qualifications to be apart of the study. I found a large

Hispanic/Mexican, minority population within census tract 27.01 and census tract 114.01. However, none of the residents that were Hispanic/Mexican resided in their homes long enough to be considered a vested member of the community. Many of these residents had purchase lots and, in many ways, orchestrated a form of gentrification within blocks of communities that were previously black owned, however they were fairly new (five years or less) to the community. Even in the midst of adversity, this study and the participants provided a substantial amount of evidence that identified the culture that is valued among these communities and why people have chosen to stay.

<div align="center">Recommendations for Future Research</div>

Social disorganization is defined as the inability of local communities to realize the common values of their residents or solve commonly experienced problems (Bursik, 1988; Kornhauser, 1978; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1920). Due to the research of Shaw and McKay (1942), many scholars disregarded social disorganization as a sociology theory to heavily associate it with crime under the umbrella of criminology. In fact, for decades many factors that did not align social disorganization with crime was discredited. In its initial inception from a human ecology stance, the theory of social disorganization explored resources or lack thereof, within communities to identify the culture and/or experience within areas identified as socially dismantled. Davidson (1981) argues that social disorganization "should be seen as a descriptive convenience rather than a model of criminogenic behavior" (Bursik Jr., 1988, p. 519). In many ways the current identity of social disorganization does not align with the definition posed by these 20th century scholars.

The data was used to determine recommendations for potential future research. It is recommended that the definition of social disorganization be redeveloped to be inclusive of traits that depict the nature and functions used within the community to identify the area as socially disorganized. This research suggests that many people's concept of social disorganization does not align with the physical, economic, structural, or political quarrels that is used by those in power to stigmatize these communities by labeling them socially disorganized. Many residents did not identify their area as disorganized based on the current definition, but rather the physical appearance associated with the broken windows theory. The current definition of social disorganization is one faceted and does not provide a true depiction of the characteristics nor expectations of the theory.

The description of the current definition would assert that many areas not perceived as socially disorganized economically, should still fall into the category of social disorganization based on their inability to agree on common goals. There are not many communities that agree on all goals for the community, it would not support basic human nature and their ability to be independent thinkers. However, these communities (typically more financially stable) are more prone to have government officials make decisions that are ideal for the community residents and economic makeup. Lower socio-economic minority communities typically do not have the luxury of having government officials to unwaveringly act on their behalf to accommodate the physical, structural, economic, and political needs of the community. This definition is subjective and unfairly charted to stigmatize minority communities. Under the current definition, many communities that were more financially independent would qualify as socially disorganized communities. Therefore a true definition that embodies the ills of social disorganization should be realized in order to both determine the issue and the prescription needed to stabilize these

communities. Social Disorganization could be defined as a state of society characterized by the demise of residential, structural, and economic stability, resulting in the inability of a community to provide basic needs to support conflicting social attitudes and neighborhood structural and economic functions.

Another recommendation based on the findings of this research is to detach crime as the main factor of social disorganization to provide a more distinct model of what classifies a space as lacking social organization. "According to the theory, poverty, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, and weak social networks decrease a neighborhood's capacity to control the behavior of people in public, and hence increase the likelihood of crime" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 374). Crime as the controlling force of social disorganization allows minority community to be further stigmatized based on the perception of crime, rather than the physical act of crime. This study showed that these communities lacked resources, and these communities were recipients of communal housing purchased and funded by government entities to steer those with criminal backgrounds into areas of low economic resources. However, even among those circumstances, most people that had been long term residents had not been burdened with crime. Out of 21 participants only one had been a victim of physical assault within one of the census tracts (while at his business), four claimed to have experienced burglary of their property, one participant home was burglarized ten years ago, and the other three homes had been burglarized more than two decades prior. All of them claim to not have had to deal with their homes being burglarized since. The act of crime was not sufficient enough to describe these areas as being socially disorganized based on an emphasis of crime.

The research study was developed to understand why people remain in areas stigmatized as socially disorganized. The current method utilizes a singular factor (typically crime) and

attaches it to traits to apply the stigma of social disorganization to communities of disadvantage. A recommendation to incorporate a holistic approach to both identify communities of social disorder and to develop policy to combat these ills is imperative in an attempt to revitalize verses gentrify areas of less social, structural, economic, and political leverage. It is imperative to investigate social disorder in this manner as it will allow for resources to be funneled into these communities to aid in establishing a community capable of sustaining and maintaining itself without continuous outside aid that does not necessarily know the needs of the community. Planners, developers, and leaders should utilize a bottom up approach that incorporates the communal parties to participate in developing communities that provide the needs of those that inhabit the area. The reported data of the lived experience of tenured residents in areas classified as socially disorganized is a telltale sign of the need for multiple areas to be addressed in order to provide the necessities of residents and the community. The current ideology of social disorganization does not allow residents to be assessed properly due to the vague definition associated with the theory.

Conclusion

The idea of social disorganization gives insight to the problems plaguing communities that are socially, structurally, economically, and politically unstable. However the definition needs to reflect the paradigm of these areas that are culturally non-traditional and that lack resources, in order to obtain a true assessment that can be deemed universal in categorizing these stigmatized areas. The research study answered the question: "Why people choose to remain in blighted areas, when the theory suggests they would depart?" This critique of the theory of social disorganization guided the development of the research design, implementation of research procedure, collection of data, and data analysis components of the study. This study revealed that

long-term residents, business owners, and leaders had the means and ability to move from areas classified as socially disorganized, despite the theory suggesting they were there due to financial lack. It further asserts that people stay within areas deemed socially disorganized because of their family/ neighborly dynamic, sentimental values, and location. They are vested participants of the community and they are proud to be residents in an area that they have established social capital, neighborly support, and can live comfortably financially.

The residents targeted in this study support the idea that within the inner circle of the neighborhood the community that is viewed externally as having disorganized traits do not see their community as being socially disorganized as a whole. Many people tend to look at these communities as less than, however the people from these communities' value them as their home in which they have been a part of making it feel homely. There is a comfort in being familiar with your neighborhood and vise versa. The sentimental values expressed both formally and informally presents the community as priceless to those that inhabit it. When speaking to one participant she thoroughly acknowledged that many people view her community as the ghetto, however she often reminded younger residents that regardless of how others view the community, it is "still a community and these are still homes." She like many others vested participants in my study candidly spoke of the need to teach people how to value themselves and their homes. These community members were more than just residents, they were friends, mentors, family, and filled the gap in so many ways within their neighborhood.

In analyzing communities, we as city planners, developers, and investors must consider the value and cultural system embedded in these communities before we decide to attempt to "correct them." The designs that make a community beautiful to architects, planners, developers, etc. have consistently not been in alignment with the traits that deems a community beautiful to

long standing residents. Their value system is not grounded in new structures or physical design, but rather ignited by the experiences and people that they are able to interact with and help. America standards of traits that make a city beautiful, is often not functional for the community, as it may not be what the community needs for their daily task. It is imperative to plan and redevelop communities in ways that are useful to those that will be in the area to utilize them. It is irresponsible for a planner to disregard the needs of a community simply to accommodate their vision of design. There is an eminent need to build repour and relationship within the community you serve. As one participant stated, "this is a community full of prideful individual who despite what the media or even those who do not live in the community and work in the community have to say about it; they are individuals who care deeply and greatly about what the community looks like what resources we have. They are proud whether they work a minimum wage job, or they have their PHD. They have the same equal pride of being from that Community" (PQ 2).

APPENDIX A

Initial Contact Letter/ Telephone Script

Initial Invitation Letter/Telephone Script

Good Afternoon (Community Leader, Business Owner, or Resident),

My name is LaSheyla Jones and I am a passionate and highly motivated urban planning and public policy PhD candidate, committed to improving the neighborhood dynamic in dominant minority communities afflicted by negative stigmas. I am currently in the final stage of my dissertation and I was wondering if you would be available to share your insight about this area. My dissertation is a critique of social disorganization and explores why people choose to stay in areas stigmatized as socially disorganized. I am attempting to debunk the idea that people have no choice, but rather choose to stay and/or work for many reasons.

District (#) embodies one of three areas that I have chosen that meet the criteria needed to be a part of this study. You have been personally selected to be interviewed via telephone and/or Zoom because of your leadership and influence over community residents, businesses, and policy. In knowing that you are one of few tenured (community leader, business owner, or resident), I feel your insight would be priceless for my research. If you so choose to be a part of my research your participation would be totally anonymous, and I will send you both the interview questions and consent form prior to allot time for your review. You may discontinue the interview at any time, in which no information received from you would be incorporated into the study. I know you are busy during this current COVID19 Pandemic, but please consider being a part of my research

Thank you for your time and consideration in participating in my study. I look forward to setting up a meeting to speak with you regarding my research and any additional questions you may have. Please feel free to contact me by phone at (469) 984-9039 or e-mail at LaSheyla.Jones@mavs.uta.edu.

Sincerely,

LaSheyla Jones, M.Arch

PhD Candidate

University of Texas – Arlington

Urban Planning and Public Policy

<u>Initial Invitation Letter/ Telephone Script – Business Owners and/or Residents</u>

Dear (Business Owner or Resident),

My name is LaSheyla Jones and I am a passionate and highly motivated doctoral candidate, committed to improving the neighborhood dynamic in dominant minority communities afflicted by negative stigmas. As a researcher at the University of Texas – Arlington, my dissertation explores why people and/or businesses choose to stay in areas stigmatized as socially disorganized. You have been personally selected because of your leadership and influence over community residents, businesses, and/or policy.

This (e-mail/ phone call) is an invitation for you to participate in this study by sharing your experience as a (business owner and/or Resident) and guiding me to other participants that are vested pillars of the community. Your input as a (business owner and/or resident) will give insight to needs, advantages and pitfalls of the community. If you so choose to be a part of my research, your participation would be totally anonymous, and I would send you both the questionnaire and consent form for your completion via e-mail. The completion of the questionnaire and consent form takes about one hour to complete. You have the right to omit any question you do not want to answer. You may also discontinue the questionnaire at any time, in which no information received from you would be incorporated into the study.

Thank you for your time and consideration in participating in my study. I look forward to setting up a meeting to speak with you regarding my research and any additional questions you may have. Please feel free to contact me by phone at (469) 984-9039 or e-mail at LaSheyla.Jones@mavs.uta.edu.

Sincerely,

LaSheyla Jones, M.Arch

PhD Candidate

University of Texas – Arlington

Urban Planning and Public Policy

APPENDIX B

Invitation and Acknowledgment Letter

Invitation Letter

Dear (Business Owner or Resident),

I am a passionate and highly motivated doctoral student, committed to improving the neighborhood dynamic in dominant minority communities afflicted by negative stigmas. You have been personally selected because of your leadership and influence over community residents, businesses, and policy. As a researcher at The University of Texas – Arlington, my dissertation explores why people and/or businesses choose to stay in areas stigmatized as socially disorganized.

The questions I hope to answer in this study are:

5. Why have the participants (residents, business owners, public figures) chosen to stay in a community that is reported by HUD as underserved physically, economically, structurally and residentially leaving it classified as socially disorganized?

6. What are participants' (residents, business owners, public figures) perceptions of the relationship between residential, economic, and political attributes within the community.

7. How do the participants (residents, business owners, public figures) view the community resources, residents, businesses, and public figures?

8. How can we identify and recover communities with a need for social improvement, without invoking harm with labels that stigmatize the community?

The goal of this letter is to ask for your help in this study by sharing your experience as a business owner and guiding me to other participants that are vested pillars of the community. Your input as a business owner will give insight to needs, advantages and pitfalls of the community. Attached you will find a survey, questionnaire, and consent form, as mentioned in our initial contact, that I am asking you to complete and return to me via the e-mail address listed

below. The survey, questionnaire, and consent form should take about an hour to complete. Please return both documents within the next three days. I further ask for your help in finding participants that are willing to share their experiences and their reason for staying within this community.

I am asking you to supply me with the names of 1-3 tenured business owners and/or residents in the community who I could contact as potential participants in my research study. You may submit their contact information in any format including e-mail. The information I am requesting for 1-3 business owners and/or residents includes:

- Business owner and/or resident full name

- Business owner and/or resident e-mail and/or phone number(s)

Thank you in advance for your time and participation in my study and providing business owners and/or residential information. I look forward to working with you. If you have any questions or suggestions please contact me by phone at (469) 984-9039 or e-mail at LaSheyla.Jones@mavs.uta.edu.

Sincerely,

LaSheyla Jones

University of Texas – Arlington

Doctoral Student

APPENDIX C

Survey

SURVEY

Residential

1. Are you female?	Yes	No
2. Are you married?	Yes	No
3. Do you have children?	Yes	No
4. If so, how many children?		
5. What ages are your children?		
6. Did you raise your children in your current home?	Yes	No
7. Was your family available to help with activities and rearing of your child/children?	Yes	No
8. Is there currently more than one family in your home?	Yes	No
9. Have you housed more than your immediate family in your home at any time or than currently?	Yes	No
10. If more than one family, do the children go to the same school?	Yes	No
11. Do you often see kids hanging our when they should be in school?	Yes	No
12. Would you do something if you saw unattained kids misbehaving?	Yes	No
13. Do you frequently (weekly) associate with your neighbors or residents in close proximity to your home?	Yes	No

Economic

14. Do you work in the same community you live in?	Yes	No
15. Are you a 1st generation business owner in this community?	Yes	No
16. Was your business passed down to you?	Yes	No
17. Are you self-employed or do you work for someone else?	Self-employed	Someone else
18. How many people residing in your home are self-employed or work outside of the home?		
19. Do you feel your community provides any form of social capital (daycare, social events, networking, policing)?	Yes	No
20. Has your business been burglarized?	Yes	No
21. Has your property been vandalized while in your community?	Yes	No

Structural

22. Are you a 1st generational resident of this community?	Yes	No
23. Did you purchase a home standing or was your home built?	Yes	No
24. Have your home been remodeled under any government assistance program?	Yes	No
25. Are you a 1st generational homeowner?	Yes	No
26. Was your property passed down to you (generational wealth)?	Yes	No
27. Do you have relatives that live within this community?	Yes	No

28. If so, about how many miles/ blocks do they live from your residence or business?		
29. Has your home or property been burglarized?	Yes	No
30. Do you believe the building structure provides safe travel for pedestrian residents?	Yes	No
31. Is your home location convenient for your professional travel needs (work, school, church, organization)?	Yes	No

Political

32. Are you a 1st generational political figure or leader in this community?	Yes	No
33. Do you participate in local politics within you community?	Yes	No
34. Do you fear being harmed in your community?	Yes	No
35. Do you fear being out any time during the day within your community?	Yes	No
36. Do you fear being out any time during the night within your community?	Yes	No
37. Do a lot of people hangout with nothing to do (loitering)?	Yes	No
38. Are you afraid to walk alone in your neighborhood during the day or early night (7pm to 9pm) because you are afraid of being victimized?	Yes	No
39. Do you feel your community is socially disorganized?	Yes	No
40. Have you been physically assaulted in your community?	Yes	No
41. Do you know anyone in your community that has been a victim of physical assault while in your community?	Yes	No

APPENDIX D

Interview Questions

1. How old are you?
2. What is your Race?
   a. White
   b. African American or Black
   c. Asian
   d. Other
3. What is your relationship status?
   a. Married
   b. Single
   c. Separated
   d. Divorced
4. Do you have children?
   a. If so, what are the ages of your children?
5. What is your highest level of Education?
6. Do you live or have you ever lived within the community (the chosen census tract) you serve?
   a. If so, how long have you lived within that community?
   b. If you no longer live in the community, why did you move from the community you serve?
7. Do you feel the facilities in this community has the ability to provide basic needs for this community?
8. Do you or your immediate family utilize facilities (church, healthcare, schools, grocery stores, etc.) within this community?
9. Have you or your family ever utilized facilities (church, healthcare, schools, grocery stores, etc.) within this community?
10. Are you a 1st generational political figure or leader in this community?
11. Do you participate in local politics within this community?
12. Do you think finance prevents you as a leader from making specific communal decisions?
13. Why have you chosen to be a community leader in this community?
14. Do you feel you are treated courteous by businesses, residents, and other leaders within this community?
15. Do you fear being harmed in this community?
16. Would you be open to performing the same leadership position in a different area?
    a. If so, why do you choose to continue a leadership role within this community?
17. Do you feel political leaders incorporate the needs residents suggest within the community physical and residential structure?
18. Within this community, how much control do you think you have over jobs and/or employment?

19. Is your interaction with other people or society as a whole compromised or enhanced because of the community you serve?
20. Do you participate in the recreational or fun activities within this community?
21. Do you attend local government meetings?
    a. Why or why not?
    b. Do you feel you try to incorporate residential input into action within the community?
22. Do you feel your community shows evidence of social disorganization (high crime, run-down residential and business structures, loitering, trash, etc)?
    a. If so, what traits do you identify that contribute to the community being socially disorganized.
    b. If so, do you feel the social disorganization in this community has improved, gotten worse, or stayed the same over the past ten years?
23. What type of social capital do you feel your community provide, if any?
24. What individual or organization do you feel has the greatest impact on the residents of the community?
25. What interventions are currently being implemented in an attempt to improve the community?
26. What type of events would you like to see implemented in an attempt to improve the community?
27. What do you value within the community you serve?
28. Do you feel the physical structure of the community provide easy access for your day to day needs?
29. Do you think community support, economic leverage, and improved built structure within this neighborhood could be fixed or has social, economic, political, and structural mishaps increased to a detrimental state?
30. Is there anything you would like for me to know about this community in which you serve that has not been covered?

Thank you for your time.

Business Owners and Residents Interview Question

1. How old are you?
2. What is your Race?
   a. White
   b. African American or Black
   c. Asian
   d. Other
3. Are you Hispanic?
4. What is your relationship status?
   a. Single
   b. Married
   c. Separated
   d. Divorced
5. Did you meet your spouse/mate in your community?
6. Do you have children?
   a. If so, what are the ages of your children?
7. What is your highest level of education?
8. How long have you resided in your community?
9. Do you feel the facilities in your community has the ability to provide your basic needs?
10. Do you utilize facilities in your community (church healthcare, schools, grocery stores, etc.)?
11. Is finance an issue for your business?
12. Would you relocate your business to another area if finances were not an issue?
13. Why have you chosen to maintain your business in this community?
14. Do you feel you are treated professionally or courteous by businesses in your community?
15. Do you feel you are treated professionally or courteous by leaders in your community?
16. Do you feel political leaders incorporate the needs residents suggest within the community physical and residential structure?
17. How much money do you typically make in a year?
    a. Under $5,000
    b. $5,000 - $24,999
    c. $25,000 - $39,999
    d. $40,000 - $59,999
    e. $60,000 - $79,999
    f. $80,000 - $100,000
    g. Over $100,000
18. In your community, how much control do you think yo8u have over job/employment?
19. Is your interaction with other people or society as a whole compromised or enhanced because of your community?
20. In your community, do you participate in recreational or fun activities?
21. Do you attend local government meetings?

      a. Why or why not?

      b. Do you feel you help make decisions at the meetings?

22. Would your finances allow you to relocate to another area?

23. Do you feel your community shows evidence of social disorganization (crime, high pregnancy rate, run-down homes, trash)?

      a. If so, what traits do you identify that contribute to the community being socially disorganized?

24. Do you feel the social disorganization in your community has improved, gotten worse or stayed the same over the past 10 years?

25. Why have you chosen to stay in this community?

26. What type of social capital do you feel your community provide if any?

27. What individual or organization do you feel has the greatest impact on the residents of the community?

28. What interventions are currently being implemented in an attempt to improve the community?

29. What type of events would you like to see implemented in an attempt to improve the community?

30. Would you stay in your current house if you could afford to move?

31. What do you value in your community?

32. Do you feel the physical structure of the community provide easy access for your day to day needs?

33. Have you ever been incarcerated?

      a. If so, were you incarcerated for an aggravated crime?

      b. If so, how was it like being re-introduced into the community?

      c. Did you reside in this community prior to incarceration?

34. Has anyone in your immediate family been incarcerated?

35. Do you think community support, economic leverage, and improved built structure within this neighborhood could be fixed or has social, economic, political, and structural mishaps increased to a detrimental state?

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