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SUMMARY

This article discusses several ideas on the socio-technical coevolution process that is characterized by the illegal exploitation of digital revolution technologies such as mobile telecommunications, the internet, robotics, big data, etc. It is organized in five sections: after having examined how the economic context makes cybercrime an extremely lucrative activity, the two following sections outline some of the main expressions of online offending, from a Canadian perspective. In a fourth section, the response of law enforcement institutions to this problem is analysed, as well as possible regulatory innovations in this field. Finally, the last section of this article adopts a forecasting approach partly inspired from the theory of breaches to try to identify emerging technologies that will generate criminal opportunities in the next decade.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente un certain nombre de réflexions sur le processus de coévolution socio-technique qui voit les technologies issues de la révolution numérique (téléphonie sans fil, internet, robotique, big data, etc.) faire l'objet d'exploitations systématiques à des fins délinquantes. Il est organisé en cinq sections : après avoir examiné le contexte économique permettant au cybercrime de devenir une activité extrêmement lucrative, on aborde dans les deux sections suivantes quelques-unes des principales manifestations de la délinquance numérique en s'appuyant sur une perspective canadienne. Dans une quatrième section, nous déplaçons notre regard vers la réponse que les institutions chargées du contrôle social, la police en l'occurrence, apportent à ce problème et sur les innovations possibles en matière de régulation des déviations numériques. Finalement, la dernière partie de cet article adopte une approche prospective inspirée de la théorie des brèches afin d'essayer d'identifier les technologies émergentes de la prochaine décennie qui offriront des opportunités attractives aux délinquants.

RESUMEN

En este artículo se presenta una serie de reflexiones sobre el proceso co-evolución socio-técnico que ve las tecnologías de revolución digital (inalámbrica, internet, la robótica, Big Data, etc.) ser utilizadas sistemáticamente para delincuentes. Está organizado en cinco secciones: para empezar, después de haber presentado el contexto económico que convierte la cyber-criminalidad en un actividad extremadamente lucrativa, se abordan en las dos secciones siguientes algunas de las principales manifestaciones de la crimen digital basada en una perspectiva canadiense. En un cuarto apartado, vamos a estudiar la respuesta de las instituciones de control social, la policía en particular. En este caso, abordaremos la cuestión de las posibles innovaciones en la regulación de la desviación digital. Por último, la última parte de este artículo adopta un enfoque pro-activo inspirado en la teoría de las "brechas" en un intento de identificar tecnologías emergentes de la próxima década que crearan oportunidades atractivas para los delincuentes.

NEIGHBORHOOD STRUCTURE AND FEAR OF CRIME IN URBAN CHINA: DISORDER AS A NEIGHBORHOOD PROCESS

JIANHONG LIU ⁽¹⁾

I. INTRODUCTION

Fear of crime has always been a major topic in the popular media and for public policy. Consequences of fear of crime are salient for citizens' and the community's quality of life. Earlier studies have mostly focused on the effects of individual characteristics on fear of crime (Gates and Rohe 1987; Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo 1978; Liska, Sanchirico and Reed 1988; Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Callanan and Teasdale 2009; Gover, Tomsich, Jennings and Higgins 2011; Cops and Pleysier 2011; Franklin and Franklin 2009). Three theoretical models have received the most attention: vulnerability model, victimization model, and disorder model. Vulnerability models generally use age and gender as indicators of physical vulnerability; and income, education, and minority status as indicators of social vulnerability. Generally, vulnerable groups are found to have higher levels of fear. Victimization models hypothesize that past victimization experiences increase fear, the findings largely support the hypothesis, but mixed results are also often found (Braungart, Braungart, and Hoyer 1980; Clemente and Kleiman 1977; Kennedy and Silverman, 1985; Will and McGrath, 1995; Taylor and Hale 1986; Rader, Cossman and Porter 2012; Franklin and Franklin 2008; Alper and Chappell 2012; Tseloni and Zafonitou 2008; Gaine, et al. 2011; Nalla, et al. 2011; Cook and Fox 2011).

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Since the late 1970s, there has been a much scholarly attention paid to the role of disorder in producing fear of crime and further producing adverse community consequences. Particularly influential works were Wilson and Kelling's paper (1982) and Skogan's work (1990); these works greatly influenced public policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Greene and Taylor 1988; Ferraro 1994). The salient feature of this research is its emphasis on the role of community context, analyzing how disorder generates fear of crime and leads to community decline at the street block and neighborhood level. The impact of fear of crime extends beyond the victims of the crimes, and indicates the salience of the social aspect of fear of crime. Therefore, neighborhood effects are highly relevant to the understanding of fear of crime. Scholars have recognized that individuals' fear is better understood within a neighborhood or community context (Dubow and Emmons 1981; Hale et al. 1994; McPherson 1978; Maxfield 1984, 1987; Smith 1987, 1988; Taub et al. 1981, 1984; Lewis and Salem 1986:p22; Taylor and Covington 1993; Perkins and Taylor 1996; Robinson et al. 2003; Wittebrood 2002; Scarborough et al. 2010; Smith and Sturgis 2011; Franklin and Franklin 2008; Gainey, et al. 2011; Kohm 2009).

Besides all that, relationships between other factors and fear of crime have been tested, for instance, interracial contact (Mears and Stewart 2010), impact of media (Kohm, et al. 2012), and diffuse anxiety – economic insecurity (Britto 2013). And Lane and Fox (2012) examined adult offenders' fear of crime; Doran and Lees (2005) investigated the spatiotemporal links between disorder, crime, and the fear of crime.

The purpose of the present study is to build upon prior work to address critical questions yet to be answered in the literature regarding contemporary urban China. China has experienced profound social changes since economic reforms were implemented in the late 1970s. These social changes have led to an increase in recorded crimes (Liu and Messner 2001; Liu, 2005; Liu 2004) and growing public concern with crime (Broadhurst and Liu 2004), similar to the situation in highly industrialized Western societies. We examine the effects of classical neighborhood structural variables on fear of crime in urban China. We further examine the neighborhood process that mediates these effects on fear of crime. We investigate effects and processes of unique Chinese structural contextual variables. We accomplish these objectives by conducting multi-level analyses of fear of crime using data from a recently conducted survey in the city of Tianjin.

II. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

1. *Research on individual correlates of crime and the disorder thesis*

Earlier research on fear of crime largely focused on individual characteristics' effect on fear of crime. Research on fear of crime has traditionally examined the distribution of fear along demographic characteristics. Three theoretical models have been researched the most: vulnerability model, victimization model, and disorder model. Vulnerability models generally use age and gender as indicators of physical vulnerability; and income, education and minority status as indicators of social vulnerability. It has been well established that women and the elderly tend to report higher levels of fear compared with men and the younger population. (Braungart, Braungart, and Hoyer 1980; Clemente and Kleiman 1997; Kennedy and Silverman 1985; Will and McGrath 1995; Gates and Rohe 1987; Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garaofalo 1978; Liska, Sanchirico and Reed 1988; Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Taylor and Hale 1986; Callanan and Teasdale 2009; Gover, Tomstich, Jennings and Higgins 2011; Cops and Pleysier 2011; Franklin and Franklin 2009). But in a recent research about Chinese immigrants, it was revealed that the effect of age on fear of crime was negative, which might prove that that vulnerability model may not be applicable to populations of different culture and ethnic backgrounds (Yun et al. 2010). It is generally hypothesized that similar to physical vulnerability, social vulnerability is related to greater fear of crime. Some studies have examined the effects of income and education (Taylor and Hale 1986; Will and McGrath 1995; Rader, Cossman and Porter 2012; Franklin and Franklin 2008); others have examined race and ethnicity (Braungart et al. 1980; Clemente and Klie-man 1977; Covington and Taylor 1991; Liska et al. 1988; Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Rader, Cossman and Porter 2012). The research findings on social vulnerability have been generally mixed, with most studies finding some support for the hypothesis that those with low income, less education, and minorities are more socially vulnerable and thus tend to report higher levels of fear (Gibson et al. 2002; Rader, Cossman and Porter 2012; Alper and Chappell 2012). Victimization models hypothesize that past victimization experiences increase fear, the findings largely support the hypothesis (Braungart et al. 1980; Garofalo 1979; Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Tseloni and Zafalonitou 2008; Sookram, Saridakis and Mohammed 2011; Gainey, et al. 2011; Nalla, et al. 2011), but mixed

results are also often found (Baumer 1985; Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo 1978; McGarrell et al. 1997; Gates and Rohe 1987; Liska et al. 1988; Garofalo and Laub 1978; Cook and Fox 2011; Roccato, Russo, and Vieno 2011).

In the late 1970s, an important development in research on fear of crime was the formulation of the incivilities thesis. Analyses from the newly developed National Crime Survey showed that many more citizens are afraid of being victimized than there are real crime victims (Dubow, McCabe, and Kaplan 1979; Cook and Skogan 1984). James Q. Wilson suggested that the source of fear of crime was disorderly social and physical conditions in urban communities (1975). The disorderly social conditions included a variety of types of disorderly conduct in public spaces such as public drinking, drunkenness, rowdy and unsupervised teen groups, neighbors fighting or arguing, prostitutes, drug dealing, etc. Physical disorder included graffiti, litter, trash-filled vacant lots, abandoned cars, abandoned housing, shuttered stores, etc. Hunter (1978) and Lewis and Maxfield (1980) were the first to propose the concepts of social incivilities and physical incivilities to refer to these unfavorable urban community conditions. Later Skogan used the word disorder to refer to the same phenomena (Skogan 1990). Social and physical incivilities/disorder were proposed as major causes of fear of crime (LaGrange and Ferraro, 1989; Dubow, McCabe, and Kaplan 1979; Taylor and Hale 1986; Ferraro 1994; Scarborough et al. 2010; Smith and Sturgis 2011; Franklin and Franklin 2008; Gaaney, et al. 2011; Kohm 2009).

A landmark work on the incivilities/disorder thesis was Wilson and Kelling's paper (1982) published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Their thesis has been famously labeled as the "broken window thesis" following the title of the paper. Wilson and Kelling proposed that consequences of incivilities are beyond merely negative appearances, but that unrepaired physical deterioration on a street block actually erodes residents' trust in one another, and erodes neighborhood informal social control, encouraging delinquency, and causing fear of crime.

Continuing this line of research, another influential work was Skogan's (1990). Skogan focused on how social and physical disorder in neighborhoods can lead to urban decline. Skogan proposed that "Disorder, both directly and as a precursor to crime, played an important role in neighborhood decline" (1990: 12). He describes neighborhood social and physical disorder as causes of fear of crime, weakening informal social control, reducing community morale, and adversely impacting the local housing

market (1990:65). Since Americans associate disorder with higher levels of risk of victimization (1990:47), residents infer from widespread disorder that "the mechanisms by which healthy neighborhoods maintain themselves have broken down" (1990:48). This process further feeds on itself and becomes a worsening cycle leading to a decline in the neighborhood. Wilson and Kelling's work and Skogan's work on the incivilities/disorder thesis have led to much research on fear of crime and disorder, greatly impacting public policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Greene and Taylor 1988; Ferraro 1994).

A most important feature of Wilson and Kelling's work and Skogan's work is that their theses emphasize the role of the community context. Wilson and Kelling's analyses take street blocks as the unit of analysis; Skogan's takes the neighborhood as the unit of analysis. Different from earlier research, their theories describe how disorder as a characteristic of the community influences fear of crime and causes an unfavorable dynamic process of neighborhood change. Physical and social disorders are not individual perceptions, but are adverse neighborhood conditions. This new focus on neighborhood conditions brought the research on fear of crime to a new stage.

Several studies tested the disorder thesis with aggregated data at the street block level (Wilson and Kelling 1982; Kurtz et al. 1998; Perkins et al. 1992). Other studies tested the thesis with neighborhood level data (Skogan 1990; Taylor 1996; Taylor et al. 1985; Franklin and Franklin 2008; Smith and Sturgis 2011). Two studies used multiple waves of data to test the thesis longitudinally. One was by Markowitz et al. (2001), which used three waves of British Crime Survey data to examine reciprocal relationships among social cohesion, disorder, and fear of crime. Another was a study by Taylor (2001), who used two waves of data collected from 30 Baltimore neighborhoods. The evidence from these studies largely supports the association between disorder and fear.

In the mean time, others have tested the disorder theses with individual level data. Some studies measure disorder as individually perceived disorder (Lewis and Maxfield 1980; Covington and Taylor 1991; Taylor 1997; Gibson et al. 2002). Some other studies conducted contextual analyses (Taylor and Covington 1993; Covington and Taylor 1991; Taylor 1997). A major shortcoming with these individual level analyses is that disorder as a community condition is measured as an individual level characteristic rather than as an emergent property of neighborhoods, while the studies make inferences about variations in neighborhood dis-

order. This approach may yield an unreliable neighborhood measure with considerable measurement errors (Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002).

In comparison with the shortcomings of measuring and testing the disorder thesis with individual level analyses, aggregate level analyses are much improved. However, aggregate level analyses measure fear as a neighborhood condition, rather than an individual's emotional reaction to crimes. The resulting findings address only aggregate "macro" or "sub macro" level relationships, answering the question of how the average level of fear in a neighborhood is influenced by disorder. The theoretically critical question of how individuals' fear of crime is influenced by neighborhood was addressed and answered.

Advances in Hierarchical linear models provide appropriate techniques for addressing this question. Three studies have employed hierarchical linear modeling to model fear of crime. One was conducted by Perkins and Taylor (1996). The study collected data from a survey of 412 residents in 50 Baltimore neighborhoods, in combination with systematic observations and archival data and census data. The study constructed three neighborhood level indices of disorder and found that generally disorder positively influences fear of crime after controlling for neighborhood level proportions of nonwhite, mean age, and proportion of females.

Another multi-level study is by Rountree (1998). Her study addresses the multi-dimensional nature of the fear. Past research has distinguished the emotional dimension of fear which is more closely tapping psychological or physiological reactions of the respondents from the cognitive dimension of fear which tapping perceptions of victimization risk (Ferraro 1995; Ferraro and LaGrange 1987). Rountree's study focuses on emotional dimension of the fear of burglary and fear of violence and study effects of crime on fear. However, her study includes measure of disorder and her findings indicate significant effects of disorder on both fear of burglary and fear of violence.

The third multi-level study is that conducted by Robinson et al. (2003). The study used two wave survey data of 305 residents from 50 street blocks, each from one of the 50 neighborhoods surveyed in the city of Baltimore. The two wave data allowed the researcher to test lagged effects of disorder on fear of crimes. The study controlled for demographic characteristics at the individual level, race, house value, percent of homeowners at the street block level, as well as initial wave incivility and found a significant lagged effect of individual level perceived dis-

order on fear of crime, but no lagged effect of block level measure of disorder on fear of crime. The significant contribution of HLM studies is the establishment of the effects of disorder as a neighborhood condition on individual respondents' fear of crime after controlling for certain neighborhood structural variables such as percent nonwhite, percent with high school education, percent of homeowners, and change in property value.

More and more studies have adopted the multi-level approach in recent years which included both macro and micro factors to demonstrate that disorder in the community level had important impact on fear of crime (Franklin and Franklin 2008; Smith and Sturgis 2011; Visser, Scholte and Scheepers 2013; Wyant 2008).

However, there are questions the research did not address. Why do some neighborhoods have more disorder than others? The research seems to conventionally assume that poor, minority and unstable neighborhoods are places with higher levels of disorder, where crime and fear are high, and thus are candidates for further decline. Are structural variables linked to fear of crime, and how?

2. *Neighborhood structure and process*

The importance of neighborhood structure has gained much attention in social science. The recent neighborhood effects research emphasized the influence of community structural variables on a variety of community outcomes (Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002), particularly crime related outcomes. The question of what explains variation of disorder across neighborhoods leads our attention to community level structural variables. Little direct literature answers this question. However, we argue that classical disorganization theory provide good clues to our thinking of the problems. Classical disorganization theory (Shaw and McKay 1969) argued that three structural factors – low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential stability – led to the disruption of community social organization; which, in turn, explains the variations in crime and delinquency. Fear of crime, in essence, is an indication of residents' unease with their local environment. What makes the local environment of the neighborhood different from each other could be reasonably attributed to their structural differences: poverty level, residential stability, and ethnic heterogeneity. Therefore, linking fear of crime in a neighborhood structure is a reasonable extension of disorganization theory.

social disorder can be understood as an indicator of lack of social control. Higher levels of disorderly social conduct indicate the weaker control of the community (Sampson and Groves 1989). Hale (1996) proposed that the ability of a community to supervise and control teenage peer groups is an intervening construct, and an indicator of social disorder. Taylor and Covington (1993) found that disorderly teen groups significantly mediated the effects of other variables on fear of crimes in all four models for both day time and night time fear in the neighborhoods.

A study by Markowitz et al (2001) used three waves of the British Crime survey with 151 political constituencies as the unit of analysis to study the reciprocal relationships between cohesion, disorder, and fear of crime. The study found that cohesion reduces disorder and disorder in turn reduces fear, thus establishing the mediating role of disorder at the neighborhood (political constituencies) level. Another study by Cohen et al. (2000), used New Orleans public health records as data sources, and studies the how poverty and neighborhood disorder influence teenagers' sexually risky behavior, more specifically gonorrhea. The study found that the effect of poverty on levels of gonorrhea is fully mediated by disorder. At last, there exists an approach of analyzing space. By putting fear of crime on the map, an obvious relationship between fear of crime and social disorder was presented (Kohm 2009; Doran and Burgess 2012).

In sum, examining the effects of structural variables on fear of crime is important, since much of the research on fear of crime describes their theoretical narrative with communities and neighborhoods as a background. As reviewed above, only a few studies have pursued this direction of research. Linking the tradition of social disorganization theory to disorder and fear of crime research, we suggest a model of fear of crime with neighborhood disorder as a neighborhood process variable mediating the effects of structural variables on fear of crime. Particularly, the limited existing research has been conducted in Western countries. Specific structural variables must have variations and applicability issues in different cultural contexts. What would be the most sensible structural variables for communities in a different culture? How are these structural variables related to fear of crime? We address these important questions in a culturally very different context, China. In the present study, we estimate the effects of structural variables on fear of crime controlling for established individual level correlates. Based on the analyses of a recent study (Liu et al. unpublished), we control for primary individual level variables from main theoretical models in the literature of fear of crime.

Some evidence exists in the literature regarding the link between structural variables and measures of fear of crime. Ward et al. (1986) constructed a data set combining census data with survey data of the elderly in New York State, and found urbanism and percent poverty to be statistically related to perceived safety. Taylor et al. (1986:p176) did a study in Chicago neighborhoods and suggested that fear of crime is related to lack of resources. Borrowing insights from disorganization theory, Taylor and Covington (1993) proposed a contextual social disorganization model of fear of crime. Based on a sixty-six randomly sampled Baltimore city neighborhoods, they conducted factor analyses to empirically determine ecological variables that predict fear of crime. Based on their data, changes in economic status, family status or stability, and minority and youth composition were identified as important contextual structural causes of fear of crime. The study found that the contextual effect of racial composition has significant contextual effects on fear of crime both during both the day and at night (1993). Hale et al (1994) combined area level variables from the 1981 U.D. census with data from the 1984 BCS data and found measures of residential mobility had a negative impact on fear of crime. They found that the higher the mobility the lower the fear. They speculate that this may be because the higher socio-economic communities in the U.K. have a greater rate of mobility, their greater economic and political resources reducing the potential negative consequences. When it came to the 21st Century, more successful researches have been done. Franklin et al. (2008) found that urbanism exhibited a strong positive effect on levels of perceived risk. Lee and Ulmer (2000) suggested that community-level factors, particularly those related to disorganization may lead to increased fear of crime. In Smith and Sturgis (2011)' study, socioeconomic disadvantage and urbanization were all associated with fear of crime and fear is greater in areas with a younger neighborhood age structure and more population mobility; And individual-level differences in fear of crime are negatively associated with cohesive neighborhood social and organizational structures.

Although little research has been done, some clues are suggested by disorganization theory and past research on the possible mediating process between neighborhood structural variables and fear of crime. Disorganization theory points to the neighborhoods' ability to maintain order and informal control in neighborhoods as the mediating variable for higher crime rates, suggesting indicators of social control are important social processes that lead to adverse neighborhood outcomes. Level of

III. THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY URBAN CHINA

China's economic reform over the course of the past two decades has been remarkably successful with respect to economic growth. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has increased by an average of over 9% annually from 1990 to 2003 (China Statistical Yearbooks 1990-2003). This impressive economic growth has apparently been accompanied by rising crime rates. Official statistics report that the total crime rate has increased from 55.9 incidences per 100,000 people in 1978 to 340 incidences per 100,000 people in 2003. During this period, homicide rates have more than doubled; rape has increased 30%; and assault has increased 7.5 times. Robbery grew by 4.5 times, and larceny increased 8 times (China Law Yearbook, 1989-2003). These official statistics, like all official crime statistics, must be interpreted with caution (Bakken 2005; Yu and Zhang 1999). Nevertheless, there is reasonably widespread consensus among Western and Chinese scholars that both violent and property crimes in China have increased appreciably over recent years (Rojek 1996; Xiao 1988; Dai 1995, 1997; Liu and Messner 2001; Parker 2013).

The economic reforms in China have also stimulated a major ecological restructuring of Chinese cities. Pre-reform China was one of the most egalitarian developing countries in the world (Whyte and Parish 1984:44). Mao's policies fostered a social structure with minimal socioeconomic inequality (Parish 1981, 1984). Under Mao's ideology of egalitarianism, urban residents, with the exception of the political elite, were expected to receive similar material resources. The ideology of "poor" socialism also dictated that people were to live in a working class style. Any pursuit of individual wealth was viewed as non-socialist or bourgeois. This fostered a common, rather low standard of living with little social differentiation. Most people lived in residential communities characterized by cheap, flat, single story "row houses." These houses were organized around a common courtyard, and the residents shared many basic facilities.

The situation has changed dramatically as China has advanced economically. Personal and family incomes have become much more stratified over the past two decades among urban residents. At the one end, entrepreneurs have been able to attain high levels of affluence, while "a new urban poverty stratum is emerging from laid off and retired labor" (Bian 2002:96). If everyone was poor before the reform, now some have become much poorer relative to others; marked social inequality has supplanted nearly universal poverty.

This new socioeconomic differentiation is reflected in a major transformation of the housing market. Chinese cities are experiencing a boom in housing construction. The recently emerging rich are able to purchase expensive houses with many amenities in neighborhoods that have been newly developed (Logan and Bian 1993; Logan 2001). People who are better off economically have been moving into new communities that often employ private security forces, while others remain in older housing in traditional neighborhoods. Thus, whereas housing conditions were highly similar in the pre-reform era regardless of location in the city, a sharp differentiation in housing across urban neighborhoods has emerged in recent years.

Another major social change in China has been the gradual relaxation of the rural and urban division of citizenship. In the past, rural citizens were usually unable to relocate to urban areas. The control mechanism was the resident registration system called *hukou*. This system mandated that each urban citizen register with a neighborhood police station (Cheng & Selden 1994; Solinger 1999). The *hukou* system of citizenship effectively limited population mobility from rural to urban areas, and contributed to stability and social control in urban neighborhoods. Economic growth has required an expanding labor pool in the cities. The result has been the migration of large numbers of rural residents to urban areas (Keister and Nee 2001; Ma 2001; China News Net 3/28/2006), which has created a growing migrant population referred to as the "floating population." These rural migrants face special problems of adjustment in their new communities, as well as various forms of discrimination. There is widespread suspicion among Chinese scholars and the general public that problems of crime and disorder are particularly acute in those urban neighborhoods where rural migrants have concentrated (see Solinger 1999).

In sum, economic reform has stimulated fundamental changes in the nature of urban life in China. Overall levels of crime have increased, as has public concern about crime and disorder. Chinese cities also exhibit much greater ecological differentiation than in the past with respect to dimensions that are central to classical social disorganization theory. Growing economic inequality has fostered appreciable variation between poor and well-to-do neighborhoods. The housing boom, combined with increased disposable income, has allowed for considerable movement of residents to new neighborhoods. As a result of these processes, three structural conditions highlighted by Western social disorganization theory – disorder, poverty, and residential instability – now characterize

neighborhoods in Chinese cities to varying degrees. At the same time, the ecology of Chinese cities continues to be distinctive in certain respects. The traditional form of housing coexists with more modern housing structures, and clusters of migrant communities dot the urban landscape. Urban China thus exhibits both similarities and differences in ecological structure in comparison with the West, and it provides an intriguing setting for the examination of the effects of theoretically relevant features of neighborhood context on fear of crime.

IV. RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

We consider two major structural dimensions that are analogous to those examined in Western research: poverty level, and residential stability. Drawing upon the theoretical arguments and empirical findings about disorder and fear of crime, we hypothesize that a high degree of disorder will be associated with high levels of fear. We further hypothesize that widespread poverty in a neighborhood is associated with high level of fear, whereas a high degree of residential stability will be associated with relatively low levels of fear. These effects of neighborhood characteristics are expected to emerge net of the individual characteristics.

We also consider two distinctive features of the ecological context of urban China: the degree of rural migrant concentration and the prevalence of traditional, the traditional flat single level housing structures. Given the close association between the "floating population" and crime in the public consciousness, we hypothesize that the degree of migrant concentration in the neighborhood will be positively associated with the feelings of fear.

The prevalence of traditional housing structures reflects important dimensions of neighborhood structure. The flat, single-story housing structure in traditional Chinese neighborhoods provides for "defensible space" (Newman 1972; Newman and Franck 1982). The shared yards and communal areas facilitate surveillance and guardianship, which might make residents feel more secure. Also, social cohesion is likely to be high in such neighborhoods. We thus hypothesize that high percentage of single-flat housing reduces fear of crime.

Our theoretical model emphasizes the mediating process of social disorder for the effects of neighborhood structure on fear of crime. We estimate both direct effects and indirect effects of structural variables on fear of crime.

V. DATA AND METHODS

A. Sampling and Data Collection

The data were collected from a multi-stage survey of residents in the city of Tianjin, China, in 2004. Tianjin is one of the four largest municipalities of the People's Republic of China.² As a municipality, Tianjin has provincial-level status and is directly under the central government. It is the third largest city in mainland China. Tianjin is located along the Hai He River. Its ports, some distance away, are located on the Bohai of the Pacific Ocean. The Tianjin municipality borders Heibei province to the north, south, and west, the municipality of Beijing to the northwest, and the Boahai Gulf to the east. At the end of 2004, the population of the Tianjin municipality was 10.24 million, of which 9.33 million were holders of Tianjin *hukou*. Among Tianjin permanent residents, 5.56 million were urban in origin, and 3.76 million were rural in origin.

We used multi-stage cluster sampling design that drew approximately 2,500 respondents who were 18 and over. Tianjin has 15 administrative districts and 3 counties. The sample was drawn from the 6 traditional districts located in the central urban area of the municipality. These districts include the Heping, Nankai, Hongxiao, Hexi, Hebei, and Hedong districts. Each district has approximately 6 to 10 City-Street Offices, which are the grass-roots organizations of the Tianjin government. At the first stage, we randomly selected two City-Street Offices from each of the selected districts, yielding a total of 12 City-Street Offices.

At the second stage, we draw two large offices that include a relatively large number of neighborhood committees among the 12 selected City-Street Offices. Five neighborhood committees were then randomly selected from each of these two large City Street Offices, while four neighborhood committees were randomly drawn from each of the remaining 10 City-Street Offices. A total of 50 neighborhood committees were thus obtained through a combination of purposive and random selection. Members of the research team met the supervisor in each of the selected neighborhood committees to explain the purpose and importance of the survey, the financial sources of the survey, and compensation for costs associated with administration. Upon securing agreements for assistance,

² The following description of Tianjin is taken from the online version of Wikipedia (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tianjin>).

the research team requested a complete list of households in that neighborhood.

Fifty-one households were selected for the survey in each of the 50 selected neighborhoods in hopes of reaching the target of 2,500 households. Using the household roster provided by the neighborhood committee in each selected neighborhood, the research team conducted systematic sampling. A starting point was randomly determined and every eighth household from each neighborhood was selected until the specified number of households was obtained. The research team defined a criterion of date to select a specific respondent from a selected household with more than member 18 years old or older. The individual with a birthday closest to the criterion date was chosen to be the respondent.

Data were collected through anonymous, self-administered questionnaires at convenient sites within the neighborhood (e.g., recreational areas). With the assistance of the neighborhood committees, the research team contacted the respondents to schedule the questionnaire administration. A total of 2,474 valid questionnaires were obtained, yielding an extremely high response rate -- 97%. Missing data on some variables results in a sample size of 2,450 for analyses of individual characteristics across the 50 neighborhoods.

B. Measures

The primary dependent variable for our analyses is self-reported fear of crime. Research has suggested necessity to distinguish the emotional dimension from cognitive dimension for fear. The former refers to the psychological or physiological reactions to the threat of victimization, while the latter refers to perception of victimization risk (Ferraro and LaGrange 1987; Rountree, 1998). In this study, we follow Rountree (1998) to focus on explaining the emotionally based fear. The specific measure is based on the response to the following question: "When you walk in the neighborhood that you live in at night, do you feel fear?"³ The response categories are "not at all" (1), "somewhat" (2), and "very much" (3).

³ Although the questionnaire item does not appear to mention crime specifically, respondents know that the purpose of the survey is to study criminal victimization, and they are expected to answer on their fear of crime. Similar measures of fear of crime have long been used in the Western literature (e.g. Hindelang et al. 1978: 176).

Neighborhood social disorder is measured by an aggregated index based on the following three items:

"In the past six months, have you seen or heard youth groups fighting in your neighborhood?"

"In the past six months, have you seen or heard young hooligans creating trouble in your neighborhood?"

"In the past six months, have you seen or heard neighbors quarreling?"

The response categories to these three questions are: "often" (4); "sometimes" (3); "rarely" (2); and "never" (1). We computed the mean for these items for each of the 50 neighborhoods. The disorder index is the sum of z-scores across the three items.

We examine four neighborhood structural variables: disorder, poverty level, residential stability, rural migrant concentration, and traditional housing structure. Poverty level is based on the item for household income, aggregated to the neighborhood level. It refers to the proportion of households with income below 500 yuan (the lowest category) and thus is analogous to the measure "percent poor" commonly used in the West. Residential stability is measured as the mean number of years respondents in a given neighborhood report having lived at their current address. Our measure of rural migrant concentration is based on responses to the following item: "Are there temporary rural laborers living in your neighborhood?" The original categories are: "none," "a few," "a fair amount," "many," and "don't know." Given the observed distribution, we created a dummy variable scored "1" for "a fair amount" or "many," and "0" for other responses.⁴ The mean of the dummy variable for each neighborhood serves as the measure of rural migrant concentration. Finally, traditional housing is based on an item that asks respondents to describe the style of their house ("row house," "dormitory," "apartment," "shared apartment," and "other"). The measure is the percent respondents who report living in a traditional, "row house."

We estimate neighborhood structural effects controlling for primary individual level variables. The measures of socio-demographic characteristics are as follows. Gender is a dummy variable scored in the direction of "female." Age is represented by two dummy variables for "young" (ages 18-34) and "middle aged" (ages 35-54). The 55 and over age group serves as the reference category. Education is an ordinal measure with 3

⁴ We interpret "don't know" responses as indicating that rural migrants are not very prominent in the neighborhood and thus assign the score of zero to these responses.

categories: "illiterate and elementary school" (0); "middle school" (1); or "college and above" (2). The measure of income refers to monthly income per person for members of the household living together. The categories for income are: "below 500 yuan" (1); "500-999 yuan" (2); "1,000-1,999 yuan" (3); "2,000-2,999 yuan" (4); "3,000-3,999 yuan" (5); "4,000 yuan and above" (6).

We include two indicators of vulnerability: ratings of physical strength and ratings of self-defense/alertness. The measure of physical strength is based on responses to the item: "How would you rate your health/strength?" The other indicator of vulnerability is based on responses to the item: "How do you rate your capability for self-defense and your alertness about personal safety?" These two measures are scored as: "poor" (1); "average" (2); "good" (3); and "very good" (4). Higher scores thus indicate lower vulnerability.

The measures of criminal victimization encompass both violent and personal victimization. They reflect reports of having been the victim of robbery, assault, personal theft, or having been "swindled" during the past five years. Personal violent victimization is a dummy variable scored "1" for respondents who report being the victim of either robbery or assault during the reference period, while personal property victimization is a dummy variable scored "1" for those reporting being a victim of either of the two property offenses.

Descriptive statistics for all measures are reported in the Appendix.

C. Analytic Strategy

Our primary analyses are based on hierarchical linear modeling. We initially estimate an intercept only model to assess whether there is significant variation in fear of crime across neighborhoods in the sample. Next, we examine the effects of the socio-demographic variables on fear of crime, followed by the direct measures of physical vulnerability, measures of personal victimization, and perceived disorder. The neighborhood-level variables are then added to the model to search for contextual effects. We use a generalized hierarchical linear ordered logit model for modeling fear of crime given the ordinal nature of the measure.

Our analysis then shifts to the aggregate level. We regress the measure of neighborhood disorder on the four structural variables – poverty, residential instability, rural migrant concentration, and traditional housing

structure – to search for possible indirect effects on fear of crime. Disorder is measured as a composite scale, and we accordingly use OLS in these analyses.

VI. RESULTS

The results of the HGLM ordered logit model analyses of fear of crime are reported in Table 1. Model 1 is an intercept only model. The variance component of the intercept is statistically significant ($\tau = .278$, $p < .01$), indicating that fear of crime varies across the neighborhoods in the sample.

Model 2 to model 7 estimates the effects of primary variables from past research. Effects of gender, income, vulnerability, victimization, and perceived disorder are similar to that found in the Western literature, while effects of age and education reflect the distinctive political and social context of China. These variables are served as control variables for the present study. For detailed elaboration on the interesting patterns found, please see Liu et. al. (unpublished).

Model 7 tests the hypothesis that neighborhood disorder increases fear of crime. The coefficient for the index of disorder is, as expected, significantly positive. Respondents who live in neighborhoods characterized by a high level of disorder are more fearful than others, controlling for their individual characteristics and personal experiences with criminal victimization. Neither of the two structural conditions presumably conducive to social disorganization – poverty and residential instability – has a direct effect on fear of crime. With respect to the indicators of distinctive features of urban ecology in China, the measure of rural migrant concentration and the measure of traditional housing structure do not show direct effect either.

Given the null results of direct effects of neighborhood structural effects on fear of crime, our attention now turns to the indirect effects of these variables on fear of crime through the hypothesized mediating variables, neighborhood disorder.

The OLS regression results in Table 2 provide an assessment of the effects of neighborhood structural conditions on the level of neighborhood disorder. The measure of poverty is related to disorder in the expected positive direction, and the coefficient just reaches statistical significance if a one-tailed test is applied. Disorder is more prevalent in

Table 1. HGLM Ordered Logistic Regression of Fear of Crime

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Intercept	-3.451** (0.113)	-4.852** (0.231)	-4.881** (0.256)	-3.775** (0.264)	-3.832** (0.272)	-3.794** (0.277)	-3.826** (0.280)	-3.788** (0.367)	-3.792** (0.388)
Individual Characteristics									
Female	---	1.688** (0.105)	1.685** (0.106)	1.684** (0.109)	1.686** (0.110)	1.768** (0.113)	1.775** (0.114)	1.788** (0.116)	1.788** (0.115)
Young	---	0.358* (0.157)	0.328* (0.154)	0.573** (0.166)	0.548** (0.165)	0.502** (0.155)	0.494** (0.155)	0.524** (0.155)	0.525** (0.156)
Middle age	---	0.124 (0.136)	0.108 (0.138)	0.197 (0.139)	0.193 (0.140)	0.145 (0.137)	0.144 (0.139)	0.159 (0.140)	0.159 (0.140)
Education	---	0.231* (0.105)	0.237* (0.102)	0.294** (0.103)	0.278** (0.102)	0.218* (0.103)	0.227* (0.103)	0.231* (0.104)	0.231* (0.103)
Income	---	-0.104* (0.047)	-0.095* (0.048)	-0.037 (0.052)	-0.042 (0.053)	-0.047 (0.057)	-0.040 (0.058)	-0.030 (0.059)	-0.030 (0.059)
Length of residence	---	---	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)	0.001 (0.005)	0.001 (0.005)
Rural migrant concentration	---	---	0.308 (0.208)	0.347* (0.210)	0.324 (0.210)	0.178 (0.208)	0.131 (0.208)	0.186 (0.208)	0.187 (0.208)
Row house	---	---	0.298 (0.260)	0.335 (0.250)	0.325 (0.256)	0.358 (0.247)	0.468* (0.241)	0.089 (0.345)	0.089 (0.345)
Strength	---	---	---	-0.172** (0.063)	-0.170** (0.063)	-0.162* (0.065)	-0.162* (0.065)	-0.165** (0.064)	-0.166* (0.064)
Self-defense/alertness	---	---	---	-0.407** (0.069)	-0.398** (0.068)	-0.419** (0.068)	-0.421** (0.068)	-0.422** (0.067)	-0.422** (0.068)
Personal violent victimization	---	---	---	---	0.459* (0.234)	0.275 (0.248)	0.268 (0.249)	0.290 (0.249)	0.289 (0.254)
Personal property victimization	---	---	---	---	0.255* (0.123)	0.184 (0.124)	0.191 (0.124)	0.197 (0.124)	0.196 (0.124)
Perceived disorder	---	---	---	---	---	0.189** (0.023)	0.190** (0.023)	0.189** (0.023)	0.189** (0.023)
Neighborhood Characteristics									
Neighborhood disorder	---	---	---	---	---	0.088** (0.027)	0.088** (0.022)	0.100** (0.026)	0.100** (0.027)
Average length of residence	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-0.017 (0.012)	-0.017 (0.012)
Poverty	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.324 (0.527)	0.324 (0.522)
Rural migrant concentration	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-1.381 (0.949)	-1.385 (0.964)
Traditional housing	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.008 (0.006)	0.008 (0.006)
Personal violent victimization in the neighborhood	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.001 (0.021)	0.001 (0.021)
Random Effects									
Intercept, τ_{00} s	0.278	0.341	0.320	0.323	0.322	0.328	0.252	0.238	0.246
c^2	88.896**	101.554**	93.787**	93.397**	92.998**	93.590**	72.806*	65.039*	65.035*

* $p < .05$ (one-tailed test) ** $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 2. Regression of Neighborhood Disorder Index on Neighborhood Structural Variables

	B	Std. error	t	p
Constant	-1.591	1.264	-1.259	0.215
Poverty	4.946	2.969	1.666	0.103
Temporary rural labor	16.879**	5.584	3.023	0.004
Percent of row houses	-0.042*	0.018	-2.376	0.022
Average length of residence	-0.081	0.063	-1.281	0.207
Percent of personal violent victimization in the neighborhood	-0.065	0.119	-0.543	0.590
R Square	0.239			

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

the poorer neighborhoods. This finding implies that while poverty has no direct effect on fear of crime, it does exert an indirect effect via neighborhood disorder.

The regression coefficient for residential stability is -.081, the t-value is -1.28. Although this effect is not statistically significant at the conventional .05 level, the t-value barely reaches the critical value of 1.28 for a one-tailed test at 0.10 level. The effect is in the expected direction – the longer the average length of the residence, the lower the level of fear of crime.

The measures of both rural migrant concentration and traditional housing are significantly associated with neighborhood disorder. In accord with much speculation in China, rural migrant concentration exhibits a significant positive effect. This finding indicates that, similar to poverty, rural migrant concentration has no direct effect on fear of crime, but rather it affects fear of crime indirectly via disorder. The concentration of rural migrant populations (as reported by the survey respondents) is associated with greater disorder, and disorder leads to higher levels of fear.

The effect of the measure of traditional housing structure in Table 2 is significantly negative. More traditional neighborhoods exhibit less disorder, which is consistent with the premise that these kinds of neighborhoods are likely to be socially cohesive. These findings, in combination with the results in Table 1, suggest that neighborhood structural variables

generally show indirect effect on fear of crime through neighborhood disorder, although their do not have direct effects.

Conclusion

Fear of crime is a prominent topic in criminology. Studies have addressed multiple factors contributing to the fear of crime. Disorder was among the most discussed factor of fear of crime. This paper confirms much of evidence found in the western studies of fear of crime. Further, it addressed an critical role of disorder as a mediating mechanism in producing fear of crime, revealing the process of fear production. Much work on fear of crime was discussed at individual level. This paper addressed structural factors in the production of fear, revealing particularly interesting structural factors under a very different cultural context: China, thus extending the research of fear of crime and structural effects of neighborhood to nonwestern culture, extended the literature to a broader scope.

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SUMMARY

Fear of crime has always been a major topic in the popular media and for public policy. Consequences of fear of crime are salient for citizens' and the community's quality of life. Since the late 1970s, there has been a much scholarly attention paid to the role of disorder in producing fear of crime and further producing adverse community consequences. Particularly influential works were Wilson and Kelling's paper (1982) and Skogan's work (1990); these works greatly influenced public policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Greene and Taylor 1988; Ferraro 1994). The salient feature of this research is its emphasis on the role of community context, analyzing how disorder generates fear of crime and leads to community decline at the street block and neighborhood level. The impact of fear of crime extends beyond the victims of the crimes, and indicates the salience of the social aspect of fear of crime. Therefore, neighborhood effects are highly relevant to the understanding of fear of crime. Scholars have recognized that individuals' fear is better understood within a neighborhood or community

context. The purpose of the present study is to build upon prior work to address critical questions of neighborhood effects on fear of crime under context of contemporary urban China. Using multilevel analyses of data from Tianjing, China, this paper found that neighborhood context variables have effect on fear of crime independent of individual characteristics.

Key words: Fear of Crime, China, Disorder, Multilevel Analyses, Neighborhood

RÉSUMÉ

La peur du crime a toujours été un thème dominant dans les médias populaires et les politiques publiques, et a une forte incidence sur la qualité de la vie des citoyens et de la communauté. Depuis la fin des années 1970, pas mal de travaux scientifiques, notamment ceux de Wilson et Kelling, ou ceux de Skogan, de Greene et Taylor, ou de Ferraro, se sont attachés à ces problèmes et ont influencé les politiques publiques. Ils ont montré que le désordre mène à un sentiment d'insécurité, qui n'est pas du tout propre aux victimes directes, mais mine la communauté par un déclin de la vie de quartier de la vie de voisinage. Le propos de la présente étude est, sur la base de ces travaux, de se poser des questions critiques dans le contexte de la Chine urbaine contemporaine. Au départ d'analyses multi-niveaux de données de Tianjing, en Chine, ce texte montre que des variables de contexte de voisinage interfèrent avec le sentiment d'insécurité indépendamment de caractéristiques individuelles.

RESUMEN

El miedo al delito ha sido siempre un tema dominante en los medios populares y en las políticas públicas y posee una fuerte incidencia sobre la calidad de vida de los ciudadanos y de la comunidad. Desde finales de la década de los 70, una gran cantidad de trabajos científicos han prestado atención a estos problemas y han influenciado las políticas públicas, principalmente los de Wilson y Kelling, o los de Skogan, de Greene y Taylor, o de Ferraro. Han mostrado que el desorden conduce a un sentimiento de inseguridad, que no es en absoluto exclusivo de las víctimas directas, sino que mina la comunidad por una disminución de la vida de barrio y de la vida de vecindad. Sobre la base de estos trabajos, el propósito del presente estudio es plantear cuestiones críticas en el contexto de la China urbana contemporánea. Utilizando análisis multinivel de datos de Tianjing, en China, este texto muestra que las variables de contexto del vecindario interfieren con el sentimiento de inseguridad independientemente de las características individuales.

Appendix Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Dependent Variable				
Fear of crime	1.34	0.54	1.00	3.00
Individual Characteristics				
Female	0.49	0.50	0.00	1.00
Young	0.32	0.46	0.00	1.00
Middle age	0.46	0.50	0.00	1.00
Education	1.14	0.54	0.00	2.00
Income	1.91	0.91	1.00	6.00
Strength	2.50	0.88	1.00	4.00
Self-defense/alertness	2.60	0.78	1.00	4.00
Length of residence	11.97	10.21	1.00	72.00
Traditional housing	0.09	0.28	0.00	1.00
Rural migrant concentration	0.08	0.26	0.00	1.00
Victimization Experience				
Personal violent victimization	0.03	0.18	0.00	1.00
Personal property victimization	0.15	0.36	0.00	1.00
Individual Perceived Disorder				
	0.01	2.39	-3.16	9.52
Neighborhood Characteristics				
Neighborhood Disorder	-0.00	2.52	-6.19	5.51
Average length of residence	11.93	5.81	2.00	26.94
Poverty	0.38	0.13	0.06	0.70
Rural migrant concentration	0.08	0.07	0.00	0.33
Traditional housing	8.76	23.62	0.00	95.65
Personal violent victimization in the neighborhood	3.76	2.80	0.00	8.33

REVENGE PORN BY TEENS IN THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA: A SOCIO-LEGAL ANALYSIS

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Introduction

Digital communication technology (DCT) and the internet have created a revolution in transforming human behaviour. Both DCT and the internet have helped human beings to express themselves in a better fashion than the pre-digital era. A person's speech and expression has become more easily accessible by others. Such speech and expression includes professional as well as personal speech and expression. Along with the adults, the children of web 2.0 era from the age group of 13 and even below have also started to use the internet and the digital communication medium to express themselves.³ Children own individual Facebook, MySpace profile, email ids and YouTube accounts.⁴ Apart from these

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³ Liz Thomas, "Quarter of under-13s signed up to social networking sites despite age restrictions," published on March 27, 2010 in Mail Online. Available @ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1260993/Quarter-13s-signed-social-networking-sites.html>. Accessed on 19.10.11

⁴ Id.