

COLLECTIVE EFFICACY AS IT RELATES TO PUBLIC SAFETY
IN THE OLINDER NEIGHBORHOOD

A Project Report

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by

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The Undersigned Graduate Committee Approves the Project Report Titled

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ABSTRACT

This project incorporates criminology and applied anthropology to assess collective efficacy in the Olinder neighborhood in San Jose, California. Collective efficacy is evaluated by measuring social cohesiveness, and residents' ability to exert informal social control to prevent crime in Olinder. The project is intended to inform the Olinder residents, CommUniverCity, and other stakeholders about issues that should be addressed and about potential opportunities for improving safety and preventing crime through collective efficacy. In addition, the report attempts to share the struggles that the Olinder residents face with the broader local community and to publicize ideas that participants have for bettering their community. The project is discussed in detail along with the responsibilities of anthropological practice in community, noting the opportunities and pitfalls that are salient to applying anthropology in areas of participatory research.

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Thank you to my family members who supported me: Gene, Jeff, Mike, and Judy Nero; Reece, Camille, and Evert Harden. I dedicate this work to the memory of my son Randy, who believed that my commitment to this research project would further our shared ideals of social justice and peace. I also owe a great deal to my mother Arlene, who taught me to respect and appreciate variety in people. Finally, and most importantly, I am especially grateful to the residents and stakeholders of the Olinder neighborhood who participated in this project; without them, I could do nothing.

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INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT

This project was conceived and conducted in order to provide insight into how public safety for the residents of the Olinder neighborhood may be improved by building their social capital in terms of collective efficacy. The participating neighborhood residents empowered through the process of self-determination and developing shared goals and skills are more likely to have a stake in helping their neighborhood achieve goals to improve public safety and build their social capital. The results are transferable to other communities. Thus, organizations that serve these groups may use the results of this project to inform policy, sustainability, and strategies for improvement that relate to preventing and lowering crime in the Five Wounds Brookwood Terrace community.

Determining how willing residents are to intervene for the common good depends greatly on conditions of mutual trust and solidarity among neighbors (cohesiveness). These conditions have been shown to lessen and prevent crime, especially in high-risk neighborhoods (Sampson 2004). This project was designed to qualitatively evaluate cohesiveness and the ability of family, friends, and neighbors to exert social control in the Olinder neighborhood by focusing on the informal processes through which the residents themselves achieve public order. The objectives of this project were to obtain detailed accounts of the interviewees' perceptions of their neighborhood's ability to exert social control, social cohesion, safety and crime in order to identify categories that can consequently reveal patterns that may be analyzed. The main goal of this project is to provide the Olinder neighborhood with tools and knowledge to improve its safety and crime prevention efforts through a deeper understanding of the role of social capital and their

community's ability to exert social control. This final report can be used for developing agendas, policies, and strategies for improvement relating to collective efficacy in the Five Wounds/Brookwood Terrace (FWBT) neighborhoods. The following map shows the geographical boundaries of the FWBT neighborhoods, including Olinger.

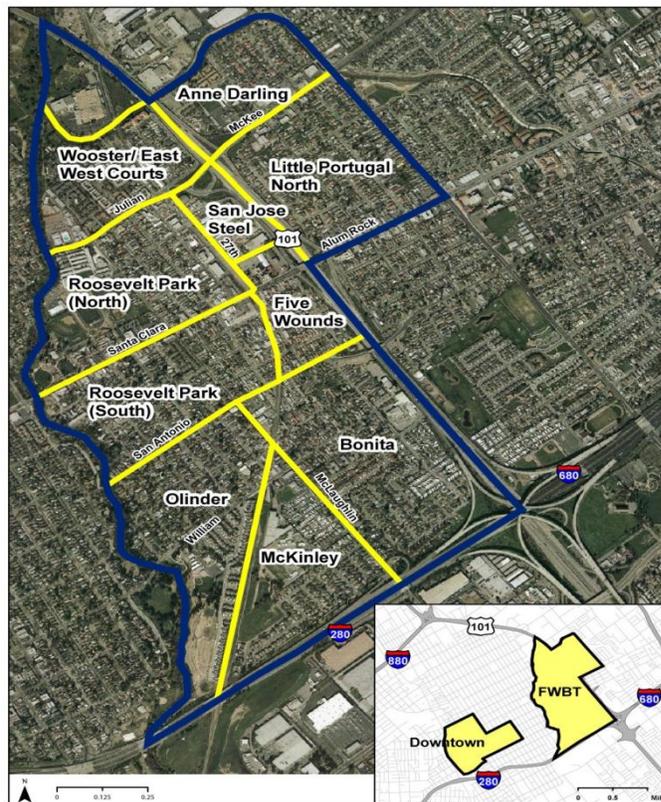


Figure 1. Map of Five Wounds/Brookwood Terrace
Source: www.communiversitysanjose.org

Through an extensive literature review, I learned about the criminological theoretical concept known as “collective efficacy,” (Sampson 1997) which is derived from the broader concept of social capital (Bourdieu 1986). I chose this theoretical framework because this study focused on topics best addressed by criminologists: people’s beliefs and behaviors associated with crime and

safety. The following sections cover the definitions of social capital and collective efficacy in more detail, and their applications to this project.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital is defined as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word” (Bourdieu 1986:248). Bourdieu’s (1977) original definition of social capital was as a source of resources mediated by non-family networks, exemplified by personal connections that facilitate things such as access to jobs, market tips, or loans. Bourdieu’s (1977) treatment of the concept was instrumental to the extent of asserting that people intentionally build their relations for the benefits they could later gain. This dealt with the interaction between money capital, social capital and cultural capital. Bourdieu’s key insight was that these three forms of capital can be traded for each other and actually *require* trades in order to develop. Therefore, social capital cannot really be acquired without investing some material resources and possessing some cultural knowledge which enables the individual to establish valued relationships (Portes 1998).

Bourdieu’s (1977) original concept of social capital has undergone numerous changes and interpretations. The subsequent literature has focused on the types of resources that persons receive through their social ties. In sociology, researchers defined social capital through three main sources: social control, family-mediated benefits, and non-family mediated networks.

James Coleman (1988) developed the concept of social capital further and used the example of Jewish diamond merchants in New York. They handed each other bags of diamonds and if any of their merchants was caught stealing, he would be cut off from the group. In other words, they used informal social control through severing social ties with offenders. The merchants' shared trust is *social*, but it takes shape as a type of *capital*, because like material capital, it facilitates the attainment of certain goals, the collaboration among merchants (Coleman 1990). Still, norms can also be seen as forms of social capital because, like trust, they also inhere in the relationship between two or more individuals and facilitate the ability to reach goals. Coleman (1990) observed that young children in Jerusalem were often allowed to stray beyond the constant supervision of their parents because of neighborhood social capital or normative prescriptions shared by the community, which ensured local children would be looked after (Portes 1998).

Norms represent an important attribute of social control, which facilitate the pursuits of some agents above others and create patterns of behavior, which are “appropriable by others as a resource” (Portes 1998:7). Robert Putnam (1993, 2000) recognized that norms are a type of social capital that communities build or “stock” and that this indicated how much civic-minded behavior that particular community could be expected to exhibit. Putnam admitted that “Social inequalities may be embedded in social capital... a recognition of the importance of social capital in sustaining community life does not exempt us from the need to worry about how that ‘community’ is defined” (Putnam 2000:358). Putnam (2000) focused on building strong democracies through civic engagement, and suggested that the overall benefits of social capital usually outweigh the negative outcomes, but there are other considerations.

Much has been written about the empowering potential of social capital. Seen as a better way to improve the resources of neighborhoods and communities, social capital is often portrayed as an unambiguous blessing. Implicit in these arguments is that those who have been unable to draw upon social capital are otherwise excluded and deprived of a resource that they need. Perhaps so, but social resources can be applied to any number of goals, and something that may appear beneficial to a community can in fact be detrimental and have unintended consequences for particular residents. One cannot simply assume that resources that are the result of social capital will affect all members equally. Social capital is just as likely to empower individuals and groups as it is to constrain (Portes 1998).

Modern literature on social capital has tended to emphasize its positive consequences and ignore negative outcomes such as exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members; restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward leveling norms, which prevent any single member from doing markedly better than the group (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). What we see from these latter outcomes is the so-called “dark-side” of social capital. Figures of authority develop and perpetuate norms out of self-interest, as Coleman (1993) explains; norms which negatively impose upon certain individuals are often in the common interest of certain others. Further, there is a degree of collusion involved in enforcing norms, as the costs incurred from doing so must be shared evenly. Regarding norms for small communities, Coleman (1993:10) states that they often constrain, coerce, and apply rules unevenly:

They are inegalitarian, giving those with most power in the community freedoms that are denied others. They discriminate, particularly against the young, enforcing norms that are in the interests of elders; they inhibit innovation and creativity; they bring a grayness to life that dampens hope and aspiration...

[and] the interests of different members of the community are weighted differently.

Strong Ties versus Weak Ties

There is a common tendency to confuse the *ability to gain* resources through networks with the resources themselves. This can easily lead to illogical conclusions, in which a positive outcome necessarily indicates the presence of social capital, and a negative one, its absence. In fact, a person's capacity to obtain resources through connections does not guarantee that he or she will obtain a positive outcome. Given the unequal distribution of wealth and resources in society, persons may have trustworthy and solid social ties and still have access to limited or poor-quality resources. Saying that only those who secure desirable goods from their associates have social capital is like saying that only the successful succeed (Portes 1998).

The strong ties that allow group members to gain privileged access to resources can bar others from securing those same resources. Particular preferences granted to some members of a group are commonly done at the expense of the rights of others and ultimately results in negative social capital. Under certain conditions, community closure may prevent the success of business initiatives by enforcing excessive claims on entrepreneurs (Geertz 1963). Granovetter (1973:1373) encourages an "examination of the network of ties comprising a community to see whether aspects of its structure might facilitate or block organization." We should distinguish between weak and strong ties. Strong ties require more investments of time and effort. Therefore, people are likely to have fewer strong ties, and those ties will probably be redundant. For example, the people you have strong ties to are likely to have strong ties to one another. Redundant ties produce clustering (Granovetter 1973). In some neighborhoods, strong ties may impede efforts to establish social control. William Julius Wilson (1987) argues,

Residents of very poor neighborhoods tend to be tightly interconnected through network ties, but without necessarily producing collective resources such as social control. He reasons that ties in the inner city are excessively personalistic and parochial in nature – socially isolated from public resources (Sampson 2001).

The demographics of the Five Wounds Brookwood Terrace (FWBT) area of San Jose, which includes the Olinder neighborhood, are listed in the table below.

Table 1: Demographics of FWBT and the City of San Jose

TABLE 3.1 DEMOGRAPHICS OF FIVE WOUNDS/BROOKWOOD TERRACE AND
THE CITY OF SAN JOSÉ

| | <i>FWBT</i> | <i>San José</i> |
|--|-------------|-----------------|
| Total population (2000 Census) | 18,284 | 893,899 |
| Percentage Latino | 66.3 | 30.2 |
| Percentage white | 16.2 | 36.0 |
| Percentage Asian | 12.1 | 26.2 |
| Percentage "other" | 2.1 | 7.2 |
| Percentage foreign born | 52.4 | 36.9 |
| Percentage only English spoken at home | 22.5 | 48.8 |
| Median household income | \$43,207 | \$70,243 |
| Percentage households below poverty level | 13.3 | 7.2 |
| Percentage households renting | 62.7 | 38.2 |
| Percentage high school education or higher | 48.4 | 78.3 |
| Percentage B.A. or higher | 8.1 | 31.6 |

Source: Civic Service, Eds. Redlawsk, Rice, Christensen et al 2010

This is a low-income community where the majority population is Latino. A majority of households speak a language other than English at home. Income is low relative to the rest of the city, where the cost of living is among the highest in the nation. In a city of home owners, renters are the majority in FWBT. In short, the demographics tell a tale of need as well as foreshadowing the challenges or serving – and engaging – such a community (Redlawsk, Rice, et al 2010).

Thus, the Olinder neighborhood qualifies as a poor, inner city community, and has characteristics that are similar to communities researched by Sampson (2001) and Wilson (1987), especially in terms of social ties. Weak ties are social ties that require less investment. They may not provide the benefits of strong ties, such as emotional or social support (Guest 2000), but they can be

useful in other ways. They can provide important bridges or ties between groups and organizations. These structural ties help spread resources and goal-oriented efforts from one neighborhood, group, or organization to another. Thus, weak ties can have an “instrumental-functional” purpose (Guest 2006). Further, weak ties play an important role in neighborhoods. As less intimate connections between people based on more infrequent social interaction, weak ties may be critical for establishing social resources because they integrate the community by bringing together otherwise disconnected subgroups (Granovetter 1973). Consistent with this view, there is evidence that weak ties among neighbors in middle range rather than either non-existent or intensive social interaction predict lower crime rates (Sampson 2001). Sampson (2004:109) argues that,

...a strong institutional infrastructure and working trust among organizations help sustain capacity for social action in a way that transcends traditional personal ties. In other words, organizations are ...able to foster collective efficacy, often through strategic networking of their own. Whether garbage removal, choosing the site of a fire station, school improvements, or police response; a continuous stream of challenges faces residents of modern communities. Challenges that can no longer be met by relying on strong ties among neighbors, for the evidence is clear that friends and social support networks are decreasingly organized in a parochial, local fashion.

One of my informants illustrated this especially well as we discussed the influence and nature of social networks in the Olinder neighborhood. This resident initially recommended developing close ties as a means to “building community”; in mid-sentence, she reconsidered and came to the following conclusions,

Let me back up. Because the – relationships are neighborhood – [pause] How would I call them? Their interests are different. I’m interested in knowing them as a neighbor, so that we can build community, and get to – so they can take care of my house, I can

take care of their house, that sort of thing. It's not a *superficial* relationship –but it's not a *close* relationship. And I think, it will be great to build it a little bit into more social. . . .*on the other hand*, I don't think we need to *know each other* that well. As long as I know that in a *given moment*, I can *call* on them, and they'll be there for me, for *whatever reason*, whether it's to a neighborhood meeting, or whatever, I'm *okay* with that. I'm not sure if I *really want to have that closeness*.

The latter is an example of how Olinder residents' perception and use of social ties is changing. This project examines social ties and how they affect social capital in this neighborhood.

COLLECTIVE EFFICACY

Collective efficacy is a concept which is derived from the broader concept of social capital. Dr. Robert Sampson, a criminologist and former Chair of the Harvard Sociology Department, developed this community-level theory to address problems in constructs of social capital, especially as it relates to understanding crime and safety. Sampson (2005) and his colleagues argue for a more comprehensive understanding of weak ties:

Moving away from a narrow focus on private ties and personal memberships, the concept of collective efficacy is meant to signify an emphasis on conjoint capability for action to achieve an intended effect, and hence an active sense of collective engagement on the part of residents to solve problems.

Collective efficacy is comprised of two important components: informal social control and community cohesiveness. Informal social control occurs when residents intervene to prevent a crime or activity that disrupts the safety of their neighborhood. Instead of formally or externally induced actions by institutions such as the police and courts, which use regulation or forced conformity, informal control is the capacity of a group to regulate its members to realize collective goals (Sampson 1997). Cohesion and working trust can be seen through items that

capture the extent of local trust, willingness to help neighbors, lack of conflict and shared values (Sampson 1997).

In this study, I focus on the effectiveness of informal mechanisms by which residents themselves achieve public order. Examples of informal social control include: the monitoring of spontaneous play groups among children, a willingness to intervene to prevent acts such as truancy and street-corner “hanging” by teenage peer groups, and the confrontation of persons who are exploiting or disturbing public space (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls 1997). The capacity of residents to control ... visible signs of social disorder is a key mechanism influencing opportunities for interpersonal crime in a neighborhood (Sampson et al, 1997). Informal social control also generalizes to broader issues of importance to the well-being of neighborhoods. In particular, the differing abilities of communities to obtain resources and respond to cuts in public services, such as police patrols, fire stations, garbage collection, and housing code enforcement (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls 1997:919). At the time of this writing, many such reductions in public services have materialized in Olinder. Almost every service or resource available to the Olinder neighborhood has been subject to either budget cuts or elimination. Therefore, the community’s ability to respond to these losses is critical.

A second implication for neighborhoods concerns visible symbols of public disorder and the viability of the so-called ‘broken windows’ strategy of policing. The theory of “broken windows” first brought out by James Wilson and George Kelling (1982) predicted that minor forms of public disorder could evolve into urban decay and crime.

This theory assumes that the visual cues of disorder are unambiguous and that residents’ perceptions of disorder can be mapped neatly with presence of garbage, graffiti, abandoned cars,

and drug paraphernalia (Sampson & Raudenbush 2005). The “broken windows” strategy is based on the idea that crime is prevented by reducing or eliminating visible disorder. The problem with this strategy is the fact that social structure strongly predicts disorder. People do not merely observe, they add their beliefs and assumptions to what they see...whether one is looking at residents or leaders, perceptions appear to be shaped by the racial composition of the community (Sampson & Raudenbush 2004). Recent research indicates that the relationship between public disorder and crime is largely spurious (Sampson and Raudenbush 2001). This undermines popular “zero tolerance” policing strategies because, not only is the effectiveness of disorder-based policing overstated, but it could well lead to a crisis of legitimacy in poor, minority communities, despite the fact that these communities are desperate for crime reduction (Sampson 2004). If concentrated disadvantage is the major predictor of disorder as the data clearly suggest, then policies to eradicate disorder are ultimately strategies of policing poor people (Sampson 2004).

Neighborhoods activate informal social control differently. On both the individual level and that of the neighborhood, processes of efficacy are activated to achieve an intended effect. At the neighborhood level, however, the willingness of local residents to intervene for the common good depends in large part on conditions of mutual trust and solidarity among neighbors (Sampson 1997), also known as social cohesion. A resident is unlikely to intervene in a neighborhood context in which the rules are unclear and people mistrust or fear one another. For example, residents of Olinder are unlikely to try to stop a neighbor who appears to be committing a crime or causing disorder if they fear the person. A resident explained,

You don't do anything; you just watch 'em. Because you don't know what they're up to... sometimes they want to do maybe a

bigger crime than [that] and then you go out there and you tell ‘em, ‘What are you doing?’ They come out with a gun and they *shoot you* with it! *Yeah!* It wouldn’t be safe. And then, just because you’re a *concerned neighbor*, you’re *gonna get hurt*? *No*, I don’t think that. [Italicized words indicate emphasis during interview]

Therefore, *socially cohesive* neighborhoods are more likely to be the most fertile contexts for informal social control. The history of mutual trust and willingness to intervene for the common good defines the neighborhood context of collective efficacy. Just as individuals vary in their capacity for effective action, neighborhoods also vary in their capacity to achieve common goals. And just as individual self-efficacy is situated rather than global -- one has self-efficacy relative to a particular task or type of task (Sampson 1997), neighborhood efficacy exists relative to the tasks of supervising children and maintaining public order. Therefore, the collective efficacy of residents is a “critical means by which urban neighborhoods inhibit personal violence, without regard to the demographic composition of the population” (Sampson, 1997:919). Arguably, levels of public safety are significant to the public health of communities. Social processes in neighborhoods include the following: mutual trust, shared expectations, density of acquaintanceship, reciprocated exchanges of information, social control, institutional resources, and participation in voluntary associations (Sampson 2004:56).

APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

It is important to point out that this is not a study of crime, but rather a study of a community’s capacity to *prevent* crime. I adopted a task-oriented and geographically bounded framework of collective efficacy (Sampson 2005) for this study. The research reported here can be characterized as ethnographic. I employed the traditional ethnographic techniques of observing and listening to people. The observations were verified through interviews. I

compiled secondary data such as CommUniverCity publications, literature on social capital and collective efficacy, local crime statistics, and other topics relevant to this study. Additionally, I observed the behavior of residents during events and meetings, looking for examples of social control and cohesion. I also examined networks of friends, family and organizations in Olinder to understand their roles and influences on collective efficacy in the neighborhood.

I adopted Dr. Sampson's frameworks for observation and ethnographic query and created a cross-disciplinary blend of sociological and anthropological methods for this project. Dr. Sampson employed Lickert-type scales to measure social behaviors, as is typical of sociological research. Since this study utilized an anthropological approach and did not attempt to measure behaviors or conditions, I designed a qualitative ethnographic instrument. I modeled my instrument after the series of questions designed by Dr. Sampson (1997) to measure social control and cohesion. I investigated informal social control by asking my participants questions about how willing their neighbors are to intervene in various situations such as truancy (see appendix). I investigated social cohesion by asking questions about mutual trust and how willing participants' neighbors are to help one another (see appendix).

The goal of this community study was to gain a "depth in view" (Arensberg & Kimball 1965:32). This is done through what Arensberg and Kimball (1965:31) call a "multifactorial" approach, which means one does not use only one research tool, but as many as possible, even inventing new ones if they are appropriate in the community being studied (Arensberg & Kimball 1965:31). I created a semi-structured interview instrument to elicit information regarding collective efficacy in a qualitative way. I conducted twelve semi-structured interviews and over twenty informal interviews with residents and stakeholders at the events in which I

attended and with several law enforcement officers working in the Olinder district. The following table is a breakdown of the techniques used and time spent in the field.

Table 2. Summary of Hours

| Semi-Structured Interviews | Informal Interviews | Volunteer (Food Bank) | Direct Observation | Events | Meetings | Total Hours |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------|----------|-------------|
| 36 | 27 | 54 | 38 | 16 | 25 | 196 |

A community is defined in terms of communication and interaction; it is the agency of enculturation and socialization through which children and newcomers are taught their statuses and roles as members of a social system. In this study, it is important to think of the community as a *process*, not as a “thing” (Arensberg & Kimball 1965:1). Thus, it is incorrect to ask, “What is the community?” Rather, one should ask, “What does the community *do*?” Therefore, I looked for regularities in the relationships among individuals in Olinder that are shown through their activities with each other and with the physical items in their community (Arensberg & Kimball 1965:2).

Participant Observation

Learning about culture doesn’t require becoming an insider, but it does require being accepted as teachable. I was able to cross the boundaries of who is an insider or outsider in the neighborhood by beginning a period of participant observation in a setting where I could be accepted as one who could be taught (Rubin 2005). Participant observation is field research in which the ethnographer is not just a detached observer of the lives and activities of the people being studied, but is also a participant in their activities.

I conducted many hours of participant observation in which I immersed myself in activities in the neighborhood, including attending community events; sitting in meetings with residents and stakeholders, and helping within the community through volunteer work. Participant observation is more a state of mind, a framework for living in the community, than a specific plan of action. Although I was not able to live for an extended period in the community, I was able to spend chunks of time in a particular role within Olinder. By becoming an active member of the community, I eventually was no longer a “scientific” stranger, but became more of a trusted friend. By doing, as much as was feasible, whatever the residents were doing, I was able to get a first-hand experience of what those activities meant to the people themselves. This lessened my own ethnocentric biases as I was gradually immersed in some of the daily circumstances of life with the residents.

I conducted participant observation as a volunteer in the Olinder Food Program from September 2008 to November 2009. I had gone to the Olinder community center one night in September, expecting to attend a neighborhood association meeting. There was instead, a small group of residents who informed me that they were meeting to plan for the Olinder Food Program. I was warmly invited to sit in on their short meeting and, at the end, was invited to attend the program that week. I agreed to participate as a volunteer that Friday at 7:30 a.m. I had not originally planned on becoming a permanent volunteer. Later I decided that it was the right thing to do because my help was needed and wanted, and I felt this would be a good way to get acquainted with the residents and be part of an important community activity.

I participated in other activities from January 2008 to February 2010, mostly events and meetings. The events included the following: SAFE Halloween/Dia de los Muertos, National

Night Out, and the O.N.A. Annual Award Night 2009. The meetings included: the Neighborhood Action Coalition (N.A.C.) meetings, Olinder Neighborhood Association (O.N.A.) Meetings, Roosevelt Neighborhood Association Meetings, and the Olinder Food Program meetings. I also attended a few event planning meetings, such as those for the Olinder Food Program, the SAFE Halloween, and the Giving Tree events.

Direct Observation

I collected physical and social data of the neighborhood through direct observation. Direct observation is done in a way that is not obtrusive. The ethnographer does not participate in what is happening; he or she stays back and watches. According to Shensul (1999:96),

When they first enter the field, ethnographers will not know exactly what they are observing, especially if the setting is unfamiliar. During the early stages, it is very important to document observations accurately and in concrete detail without prematurely imposing categories derived from a preestablished external theory or conceptual framework external to the community or cultural context being studied.

Making sense of the visual, sensory and social stimuli in the field is done through observing settings and events and also through qualitative activities such as counting, enumerating, and mapping (Shensul 1999). I carried out all of these tasks throughout this project, beginning with observation of the various settings that I was able to observe. “Settings are locations identified as potentially important in a study, where behaviors and activities relevant to understanding the context of the study may occur...[they] may be identified either through discussions with key informants or by working with local research partners who know the research community well” (Shensul 1999:97). In my case, it was through talking with key informants that I learned which settings were more relevant to this research. I made public observations of people’s behavior

within the neighborhood in informal and more formal settings, at every opportunity, whenever I was physically in the neighborhood. Sometimes I attended events and did not participate in the activities; at those times, I made direct observations. A fundamental aim of the process was to simply observe and document behavior in real time. During each meeting, I documented the quantity and types of interactions that occurred during the observation, noting where, who, what happened, with whom. I also tracked the sequences of activities so that I could later see patterns.

Photography

I photographed buildings, lots, signs and streets in the neighborhood in order to assess the physical aspects within the community such as blight, graffiti, abandoned lots, etc. I used a digital camera and uploaded a total of sixty photographs onto my home computer into a private, secure file. The criteria for the photographs were: 1) they must be taken within the geographic boundaries of the Olinder neighborhood; 2) they must be taken during the approved research timeframe; 3) they must be taken of places, buildings, or architecture that exhibit aspects of blight or the lack thereof; 4) they must not identify any persons or include any identifiers of residents' home addresses.

Semi-Structured Interviews

I conducted twelve semi-structured interviews of persons between the ages of 25-75 who lived or worked in the Olinder neighborhood. In order to investigate informal social control, I asked my participants to evaluate how willing their neighbors are to intervene in several scenarios (see appendix). An important component of social cohesion is mutual trust (Sampson 1997). I elicited perceptions of social cohesion in Olinder by asking participants to evaluate how willing they thought their neighbors are to help one another. I also asked them to give examples

of how they and their neighbors had helped one another. I obtained detailed accounts of my interviewees' perceptions of their community's safety, crime, social cohesion, and ability to exert informal social control. I evaluated informal social control by asking questions about neighbors' willingness to intervene to prevent truancy, graffiti, fighting, and disrespect to adults by minors. I conducted twelve tape-recorded interviews, each one open-ended but semi-structured (see the appendix) to learn about each person's experience in the Olinder neighborhood and/or the Five Wounds/Brookwood Terrace neighborhood, and his or her social connections and activities, particularly as they related to the Olinder neighborhood. I framed the questions to elicit general statements about relationships and activities and additional stories that would later support, expand, or contradict the generalities. I designed questions that elicited descriptive material and followed these up with more complex questions, or probes. These brought out what defines a positive outcome from the perspective of each particular stakeholder. Therefore, the stakeholders perceived organizations, events, and efforts differently: as positive, negative, or neutral. The twelve interviewees were selected to represent different points of view. Some interviewees live in the neighborhood, and some work there.

My data is language, the language of my informants. Rather than overwriting or erasing their language, I wanted their voices to tell the fieldwork story along with mine. I was able to do this because I documented original conversations in the transcripts and field notes. I did my best to mimic what I heard on tape onto paper. I had to make choices about how best to represent their language on the page. I chose to include my participants' talk in this report by quoting directly from my transcripts, using excerpts to illustrate a specific point. At other times, I carefully summarized dialogue with the goal to preserve and respect participants' original responses. I

transcribed all of the interviews using a common training module for ethnographic transcription and modified them to remove identifiers and added interviewer comments on those exclamations or conditions which would not ordinarily be communicated in written form.

Thematic Analysis

My observations of everyday life in Olinder gradually revealed patterns. Some emerged as part of the issues and analyses focused on by community organizations in the neighborhood, and by local opinion. These seemed to differ from people involved in social movements or in “organizing” just as they differed from newspaper accounts or the reports of elected officials. Many of the orderly features of neighborhood life may seem obvious to the readers, but I have listed those relevant to the salience, because their utter familiarity makes them easy to overlook.

Finally, I carefully reviewed my field notes and interview transcripts to reveal any thematic patterns of activities and words and ideas that characterized collective efficacy. I categorized these themes using frameworks and descriptions derived from my literature review of articles by Dr. Robert Sampson who conceptualized the theory of collective efficacy. I adapted these categories to the words and descriptions that were used by the interviewees. In this way, I think I was able to better represent the Olinder residents’ own points of view instead of artificially imposed meanings. I categorized these themes using frameworks and descriptions derived from my interview instrument (see appendix).

The following table lists the key words which I used for thematic analysis.

Table 3. Key Words

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Live/Reside | How long lived (or worked) in Olinder |
| Friends | Has friends who live or work in Olinder |
| Family | Has family who live or work in Olinder |
| Neighborhood/Olinder/Community | References to networks in Olinder |
| Change/Changed | How Olinder has changed |
| Help/Helped/Assisted | Help from neighbors; helping neighbors |
| Meet/Meetings | Meetings of any kind in Olinder |
| Activities/Events | Activities or Events relevant to Olinder |
| Organizations/Groups | Organizations which help Olinder's C.E. |
| Trust | Trust between neighbors in Olinder |
| Fight | Witnessing; knowledge of fights in Olinder |
| Stop | Stopping fights, truancy, graffiti, etc. |
| Crime | References to any crime in Olinder |
| Gangs | References to gangs in Olinder |
| Resources | References to any resources in Olinder |

Reporting and Presenting Findings

This report will be made widely available through the venues of the Olinder Neighborhood Association, CommUniverCity, and the City of San Jose Strong Neighborhood Initiative. I also will be presenting the findings of this project in an upcoming Olinder Neighborhood Association meeting this year. These reports should not be mistaken as formal policy recommendations.

Rather, they will take be characterized by the following description,

Here the goal is not research that drives policy recommendations, but rather the production of insights whose practical implications can be delineated and debated. The result is a change in civic discourse, of topics of conversation, that ultimately contributes to a shift in policy agendas... The means are less access to the supposed levers of power than to documenting the lives of real people, providing them with a context that is broadly meaningful, and disseminating the results. The hope is to enter the public arena in order to affect discourse, but also the myriad of smaller and fragmented arenas in which policy is formulated, including the

practices of individual families, the policies of employers, and those of local government units, such as municipalities, counties and states (Darrah 2002:4-5).

FINDINGS

My analysis of the interviews can be organized around the following themes: residents typically believe that collective efficacy involves strong ties with their neighbors. There was strong consensus among interviewees that mutual trust is linked to feeling safe in the neighborhood (in general) and preventing crime (in particular). Some residents interviewed also said that developing a relationship of trust with one's neighbor generally included "reaching out" through informal get-togethers (i.e. block parties) and through attending community meetings and events, such as the Olinder Neighborhood Association (O.N.A.) meetings and the SAFE Halloween event. Factors that are detrimental to collective efficacy are home-ownership status (high number of rentals); concentration of poverty (socio-economic status); length of residence in the neighborhood (transience), and high numbers of single parent families. From this perspective, much of the effort and thought that residents invest into feeling safe in the neighborhood is about avoidance of people, places and things that they consider risky or unsafe, and not about developing weak ties that can contribute to effective social networks or resources, in other words, collective efficacy. A key informant said that reciprocity and repetition are critical elements of any plan to improve collective efficacy in the Olinder neighborhood. For example,

We'll come in, and we'll actively pursue people, and we noted that one time of mentioning that we are gathering is not enough, that repetition is very important; you actually have to repeat it *many, many, many*, many times, and actually, then later on, do something nice for them. Like if I – reciprocate a little bit...and they're *forever* thankful....

The following sections explain my findings relating to collective efficacy in more detail.

Assessing Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is a component of collective efficacy and is characterized by mutual trust between people. Baba (1999) provides an insightful analysis of trust. Trust is defined as “the subjective expression of one actor’s *expectations* regarding the behavior of another actor (or actors). Trust exists when one actor expects that another will behave in such a way that the safety and security of the first actor will be preserved, under conditions in which the first actor is both *dependent* upon and *vulnerable* to the actions of the second” (Baba 1999:333). “This type of trust involves expectations that are *specific* to particular context and vary greatly from place to place. Specific trust is of two kinds, which are independent of one another: a) trust related to the technical *competence* of role performance; and b) related to *fiduciary responsibility*” (Baba 1999:333). When I asked residents and stakeholders to define what trust means to them, they described five main types or examples of trust, all of which fall under what Baba (1999) characterized as ‘fiduciary’. First, they said that trust means that your neighbors will care for or protect your property. For example, knowing that you could leave valuable items outside and that your neighbors would hide or bring them to you. Almost every resident said that trust meant depending on their neighbors to watch their homes while they were away on vacations or trips; they gave each other keys to their houses. Second, they said they trusted their neighbors to watch or check on their children or family members. This was described as a “high trust”. A similar idea was trusting neighbors with intimate knowledge about your family, especially children. When asked to define trust, a community leader responded,

I trust my neighbor means I'm willing to let my neighbor know about me and my family in ways that might make me vulnerable, but also maybe helpful to me, in furthering our relationship and building a bond of trust.

The latter example is also called *goodwill* (Dodgson 1993), and is “based on the idea that fiduciary responsibility can extend beyond the call of duty, to inspire an actor to exploit opportunities that further another party’s interests, while at the same time refraining from taking unfair advantage of the other” (Baba 1999:333). Community members listed a third example of trust: being able to count on your neighbors to provide necessities, such as food, or to borrow money for rent. It appears that this type of trust combines reliance on competence *and* goodwill. Based on Baba’s (1993) explanation that “if we trust in the competence of another, we expect that he or she has the requisite knowledge, skill, and personal characteristics (e.g., dependability) needed to perform an action in a way that results in a positive outcome for us...” (1993:333). Residents listed a fourth example of trust: confidentiality – keeping sensitive or damaging information secret. Lastly, they listed a fifth example of trust: feeling safe because you can depend on a neighbor. As one resident explained,

I trust that my neighbor, if I'm in a situation, even in a life or death situation, they'll come and help me with it. *And I feel safe.* I feel that if my family or myself are in some way – being harmed, that they will come to my rescue.

When a vicious dog fight occurred years ago, neighbors came to the rescue of a recreation leader in Olinder Park. This incident was a particularly salient example of actions that inspired trust. Another time, a neighbor warned others of a stranger who had stolen appliances from her home after he knocked at her door. Another aspect that involves safety would be counting on one’s neighbors to watch and tell one another if they see something wrong, such as a suspicious person or vehicle on their block, and calling the police if you needed help. I was told that when a

neighbor does something for another to help make their environment safer, such as cutting down a tree that could fall on the power lines, or fixing a broken gate, it instills trust. One informant said that sharing common beliefs and values encourages trust. Several said that trusting means knowing the person well, and knowing that their neighbor would not take advantage of any situation.

These meanings, descriptions, and examples of trust provided by the residents can be further analyzed and understood through the following lens: ‘Competence and fiduciary responsibility, respectively, may be related to two distinctive human foundations for trust: the cognitive and the affective’ (Lewis and Wiegert 1985). Further along this vein of thought,

We consciously choose those in whom we trust based on our perceptions of evidence for their trustworthiness (e.g. credentials, reputation, and demographics). Cognition-based trust thus may be related to competence. Affect-based trust reflects emotional investments in a relationship. When individuals demonstrate their genuine caring and concern for one another over time, there emerges a feeling in one that the other will do no harm. This aspect of trust appears to be connected to the notion of fiduciary responsibility (Baba 1999:333).

Distrust among neighbors prevents or weakens a community’s collective efficacy (Sampson 1997). “Distrust is not only the absence of trust; it is the active expectation that other actors will behave in ways that do not ensure our safety and security” (Baba 1999:334). One informant gave several examples of things that have or would cause him to distrust others: 1) trying to gain one’s trust too fast; 2) acting too aggressively; 3) coming on too strong, 4) and another person “flirting” too much. A neighbor’s mental illness could cause distrust, but my informant explained that this was “a situation where you ...can’t blame them for the possibility of them doing something that would not be acceptable to you.”

Another example involved issues relating to honesty and dependability. When one neighbor hired another neighbor, and the work was not satisfactory, it caused him to distrust that particular neighbor. It also caused him to reevaluate his overall level of trust for his neighbors. He related,

I've been in a situation where I did trust somebody, and they betrayed that trust. I had a neighbor who said he painted houses. That's his profession. And we agreed that he would paint this house. My wife, she didn't feel good about it for some reason, and she told me. And I said, 'Well, he's a neighbor. Let's just give him the benefit of the doubt.' It turned out that he didn't know what he was doing, and we ended up having to [redo it] and he still maintains that he's a competent painter...I'm glad it was just money and nothing else [no one hurt].

Another neighbor was sued by a neighbor and felt unjustly targeted and greatly inconvenienced. This experience not only damaged the person's trust in the neighbor, but also in the local civil court system:

I'm beginning to understand the court system a little bit better, but I think both of the lawyers were kind of *talking to themselves*, they saw a little bit of money here and there and they thought, 'Hey, we can settle.' And, I ended up *doing* that, because I was advised that if this went to – I wanted it to go to court *so badly* – but my own lawyer said 'You know, if you go there, you're gonna have to pay...and that's gonna cost you even more money. So, it's better if you settle.' But it *angered me a lot*, because you'd see this woman out there, *raking leaves*, and washing her car --- I'm not kidding you...

Distrust is a social *alternative* to, or *equivalent* of trust (Luhmann 1988). Distrust acts to identify situations where we need to protect ourselves. In this sense, it is an alternative mechanism of social control because it alerts us to risks which we reduce by avoidance of the people or situations that we distrust (Barber 1983). Even though it may be an effective means of social control, distrust consumes enormous energy; makes it very difficult to explore outside one's immediate surroundings, and can work against adaptive behavior (Hosmer 1995).

Assessing Social Control

Social control can be an effective method for deterring crime and disruptive activities. It is a critical component of collective efficacy. There are several types of questions that can be used to evaluate a community's informal social control and to uncover the unspoken rules of conduct. For example, when I asked what their neighbors would do if they saw children skipping school and hanging out on the streets, most informants said that they thought their neighbors would do nothing; that they would let it go. When asked why, I was told that most people do not like confrontation. They think it's not their business. They say, 'Let the people that work there deal with it.' One important variable is whether the adult knows the child's parents. "It depends on their relationship – if they're friendly or if they know each other at all beyond their names."

Another possible variable is whether they are English speaking. According to one key informant,

I think a lot of folks who don't speak English feel somewhat isolated, socially from the rest of the community. They may be integrated in other ways, with each other, the Spanish speaking residents, in particular, may have formed communities, but for the most part, I feel as though it's more challenging for them.

The effect of these variables cannot be completely addressed or understood in this study because of their complexity, but the overall pattern seen here is that informal social control is quite weak in Olinder. Residents are reluctant to respond to truancy if they do not have close ties to the child or parent.

When asked what they thought their neighbors would do if they saw children spray painting graffiti on a local building, most residents responded that they thought their neighbors would call the police to handle this problem, rather than taking any action themselves. This response

indicates a lack of informal social control as understood through the theoretical lens of collective efficacy,

The meaning of efficacy is captured in expectation about the exercise of control, elevating the 'agentic' aspect of social life over a perspective centered on the accumulation of 'stocks' of social resources (or what some call 'social capital'). This conception of collective efficacy is consistent with a redefinition of social capital in terms of expectations for action within a collectivity (Sampson 2003).

Some community members *have* used informal social control when they have to deal with graffiti regularly in association with their work in the neighborhood. Their usual response is to call the graffiti hotline for cleanup. Sometimes they respond by making the offender clean up the mess. One community member said,

Our facility gets tagged at least once a month. Actually, three weeks ago, I caught an individual tagging. I confronted him. I told him that he can't be doing that here. I did not call the cops because I knew that kid and I knew the other two kids that were with him. I brought him...and I told him 'I'm not gonna call the cops.' I was *very angry*, I was not yelling, but I was in a different tone of voice. They knew I was very angry. I gave 'em a bucket, and a scrubber. I told 'em to wash it off, and to never come back to the park. That was the deal. They did wash it off. And they told me they'd never, *ever* come back here. Working here, I always have to call up the tagging company and they have to come.

This is an excellent example of informal social control. This individual intervened to correct what this person considered unacceptable behavior by teens. Instead of ignoring the tagging, or calling police, this person confronted the offenders and held them accountable. It is important to realize that this person knew the offenders fairly well. This and other similar stories could be evidence of a social rule among Latinos: if someone chooses to correct misbehavior, especially that of a child, he or she must know the offender, or his or her relatives. I observed patterns of

kinship in my interviews and observations of behavior associated with social control. If a person had close ties with the offender and his or her family, it was acceptable to exert some form of control. Stronger ties increase the likelihood that more control will be used. Weak ties have the opposite effect.

Citizenship and Difference

Most people in Olinder don't want to get into neighbors' business, especially if they are strangers. Some neighbors refuse to get involved or call the police. One resident explained,

They [those who refused to get involved] are the type of people that I don't think trust the police that much....because they're from Mexico; they're from a different country, and they have a distrust of policemen. Where, if there was somebody ...of a different race here, and the white people, I think they might call the police....I think they'd say to the kid, 'What are you doing?' or "Why are you doing that? Stop it. Don't do it.'

They prefer to not be involved; if they call the police, they prefer to do so anonymously. They say that they think it is unsafe to tell the police about someone who is causing trouble in the neighborhood; they say they will not "fink" or "snitch" on others. One important factor is whether the offenders are considered dangerous. I was told that sometimes residents fear retaliation. Residents gave examples,

Depends on how scary the kids looked. If they looked like they'd come and spray your house later. When they get to be in their teens, I don't know. I don't know if they'd call the cops. It would depend on the person. Some would, some wouldn't.

I think if they're teenagers, they prob'ly won't say nothing to them. Because they'll be afraid. They will not – they don't want any trouble. A lot of Hispanics are afraid to call – Latinos are afraid to call police because the police come to their home, and they're considered snitches and then the gangs will retaliate against their kids, or their neighborhood, or their cars. I have seen broken windows in a lot of cars.

There are distinct differences between non-Latino and Latino residents' attitudes towards civilian crime prevention. Anthropologist Catellino (2004) found in her study that,

Many civilian crime-prevention participants, disproportionately white and middle-to upper-class, discussed their participation in terms of citizenship and duty, referring to themselves and others as 'citizens' and characterizing their efforts as fulfilling 'civic duty' or 'civic responsibility.' The notion that their involvement constituted citizenship, in turn, led them to criticize uninvolved residents as undeserving of state resources. Thus, they created a social category of civilian crime fighters as good citizens, constructing social and moral difference in evaluations of who and what constitutes a proper citizen.

I saw and heard evidence that Olinder residents held similar attitudes. For example, a homeowner explained,

..I'm in the neighborhood for the long term... so, I have a *large* vested interest in the neighborhood. It's not just for financial reasons. I want [child] to grow up in a good environment, and that's why I believe the stakeholders in the neighborhood have to – they have to—they have certain responsibilities. They have to *take* certain things on themselves...”

This resident went on to say that he felt his neighbors perceived him more positively because they know he is “involved.” He also related his disappointment that other people in the neighborhood do not participate like he does at the neighborhood meetings or events. He said that if he could realistically change one thing to make Olinder safer,

I would change people's perception about community, what it means to be a part of a community, to have a vested interest. So that they'd really understand what the true value is, because I think you get what you put into something, right?

Those sentiments of civic responsibility are echoed by this resident's comments,

I think everybody's who here – if you live here, you have a role whether you have defined it or accepted it. I think if I see a problem, I should *at least* let people know...

Latino residents said that they got involved in community crime prevention efforts for reasons *other* than civic duty. The discourses of those few who *did* become proactive followed a recurring theme: that they felt that the local police and governmental organizations had not done an adequate job of controlling crime, or were unresponsive to their requests to deter crime. Several Latino residents had similar stories of how the police or city had not responded to their calls. For example, a resident complained, “There’s so many things that, you *call*, and “Sorry. Can’t call. You’re stuck.’ Just like that kid that was killed on Seventh and Margaret? That tree fell on him? Well, the City is not taking care of that....You *don’t know* how much I resent that!” The more serious issue of police brutality was raised by one resident. The following story emerged during the interview,

But, they were not threatening in any ways, and they were beaten up *so badly*. Like five guys on top of a girl – five cops...and then another five on the boy. It was *un-be-lieve-able*. I was shocked. I told two of the cops, and my sister did too – we were very angry. I don’t know if that’s their ratio they use, five to one. But it’s – it was *really excessive* [repeats]. We were shocked. And then they came in, and they wanted to take our testimony, and they were in a *very threatening voice*...

This informant related how the incident had affected her trust in the police,

...one of the cops was really upset with me, that I was questioning him on his techniques and ways of handcuffing the guy. He told me, ‘You should be happy that we’re here. You guys are always calling us about these two homes, and we *finally get ‘em*, and now you’re complaining about how we’re doing it.” And I said, “Well, next time I do it, I’m *really* gonna think about it, and it better be a *really good reason* for which I’m calling you, because if I call you, I should expect something like this [excessive force] to happen again, and I’m not sure I wanted it *done* this way.’

After witnessing that incident, this resident said “We usually give to the Police Association for fundraising and all that -- We’re never going to give any more, *ever*.” Narratives such as this have a chilling effect on community-police relations. Further, it is indicative of a larger, systemic problem. According to a recent report on policing in San Jose,

Latinos charged with those crimes [resisting arrest] is lopsided in a way not seen in other large cities around the state. Though San Jose’s population is less than one-third Latino, about 57 percent of those charged by San Jose police with resisting arrest and more than 70 percent of those charged with disturbing the peace are Hispanic, state figures show.

A wealth of literature exists on the topics of disparity and over representation of Latinos in the criminal justice system. Although an in-depth discourse on these subjects goes beyond the purposes of this study, it is worth noting because ethnicity and class do matter. The statistics shown below illustrate evidence of racial profiling by SJPD police.

San Jose arrest rate higher than state

The ratio of Hispanics arrested for resisting arrest and disturbing the peace, like the ratio for public drunkenness, is strikingly disproportionate compared with San Jose’s population. The arrest rate per capita for the city’s Hispanic population on those crimes far exceeds the arrest rate per capita for the population as a whole, or for the city’s white population. And that disproportion is far greater than in other metropolitan cities in California, or in statewide numbers. Note: 2007 figures

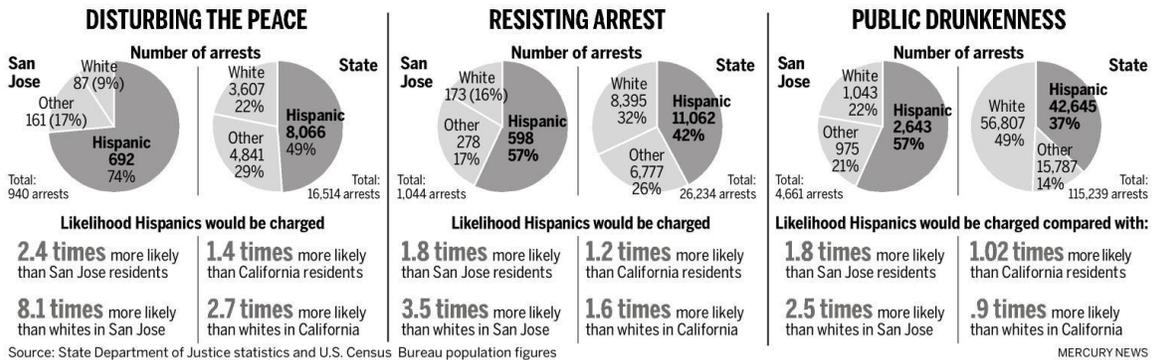


Figure 2. San Jose Arrest Rates
Sources: California State Department of Justice and U.S. Census Bureau
Mercury News

My observations and interviews indicate that Latinos in Olinder are much less likely to call police, especially when they fear retaliation. An informant related, “I consider myself *white*, and

the *white people*, I think they might call the police, yeah.” For example, a longtime Latino resident said, “Sometimes there are people who say, ‘Hey, you’re a snitch. We’re gonna get even with you.’” On the other hand, none of the non-Latino residents voiced such fears or concerns. They expressed confidence that their calls would receive prompt attention and response by police. They each stated that the local police department is the first resource they access to prevent crime and keep the neighborhood safe.

Discourses on participation in community meetings and events can explain why some, most often white, invoke an ideal of active participatory citizenship, while others, generally poor people of color, turn to a discourse of rights. Crime prevention can be understood as a “political economy of citizenship” (115) in which inequalities in the distribution of crime-fighting resources reproduces differential race-and class-inflected citizenship practices and ideals (Catellino 2004). Understanding these processes requires an analysis of crime prevention as spatialized; producing and reflecting localized modes of belonging and difference (Catellino 2004). A growing ethnographic literature connects crime prevention and urban space to the “promises and limitations of citizenship and democracy” (Cattelino 2004:115). Cattelino argues that the idea that citizens should participate, especially during times of government cutbacks in services,

...shifts responsibility for public welfare from government agencies to the people. Calls to citizenship that emphasize participation, when coupled with unequal access to state services may widen the gap between those who can partake of the moral good of active citizenship and those viewed as merely (and immorally) taking from the state” (Catellino 2004:129).

Brookwood Terrace is a ten year old development of tract homes somewhat set apart from the rest of the Olinder neighborhood. I found indications that the residents there lack social cohesion.

For example, a longtime resident of Olinder said that Brookwood residents didn't know each other, even though they've been there for about ten years now. A resident who lives in

Brookwood related,

This small community, Brookwood, doesn't have an active venue besides the O.N.A., but I don't think that's even necessary, as long as people know that it's there, and when and how to get through to them.

Residents living in the newer developments do not attend meetings. In my observations, I never saw or met anyone from the Autumn Terrace development at any community functions during the past three years. They tend to live apart from the rest of the Olinder neighborhood.

Interviewees noted,

I don't think they consider themselves a part of Olinder. And I don't think most people in Olinder necessarily say, 'They're part of us.' And they're awfully close...but that's Autumn Terrace, and some might say that's part of Olinder, and others wouldn't.

There's a new development ...condos in Olinder, and I think a lot of the people that live there don't go to these meetings. They have H.O.A. meetings, but those are different than the neighborhood association meetings.

Most of the people that I talked to thought there was not enough resident participation in Olinder, especially at the Olinder Neighborhood Association (O.N.A.) meetings. In discussing resident attendance at the O.N.A. meetings, one longtime resident said, "Nobody wants to participate in that, that I know of...they're the type of people that don't join. They refuse to. They don't say anything [why]." My observation is that the O.N.A. meetings are still poorly attended. There are a few new faces, but the attendees are mostly non-Latino homeowners. The poor, Spanish speaking renters are missing. Some leaders, on the other hand, think that resident participation at meetings and events is improving. There *has* been improvement. There are now

leaders and regularly held monthly meetings, whereas before there was not, but the leadership and attendance is characterized by the same people. A stakeholder commented about the situation,

There are four or five folks who are out there. They're busting their rear ends. And they're burned out. And some of them...just can't keep doing it, and the problem is, that burden is not widely shared.

A theme throughout my interviews was that residents thought that it would take some sort of "disaster" or "threat" to prompt more residents to participate in community events or meetings.

As one resident explained,

[people] got their cars broke into and houses broken into. I don't think we're still coming together as a community to stop things like that, and that's what I mean, something worse than that...imagine *how worse* it'd be to come home, and your house was broken into. *What would it take? Somebody getting killed?* But something really terrible had to happen before people say, 'We're not going to *stand* for it. This is enough.'

In several instances, some sort of threat *has* occurred and served as an impetus for participation. The result was that large numbers of residents attended community meetings and became proactive. For example, when developers threatened to build over the Olinder Park, neighbors organized to protest and enlisted their political representative's help to protect the park. More recently, neighbors united to protest when a valued advocate was being let go at the Selma Olinder Elementary School.

Changing Demographics

The Olinder neighborhood, like so many others today, is facing economic hardship. Up until a few years ago, new housing developments and construction were being built in the Olinder

neighborhood, such as the Autumn Terrace community on Williams Street. New apartments and condos were up for sale. The Brookwood Terrace was built about ten years ago. Some of the old bungalows were demolished and newly constructed homes replaced them until the real estate market collapsed about three years ago. According to economic anthropologist Anke Schwittay (2009), “It is now commonplace knowledge that subprime mortgages and irresponsible lenders provoked the economic crisis and its severity.” At the same time, growing income inequality persists and poverty has been rising as the recession has taken a huge toll on wages and employment rates among lower-income Americans. The poverty rate increased to 13.2 percent of households in 2008, up from 12.5 percent in 2007, and is expected to have climbed even higher in 2009 and up to the present. The tables below show that Santa Clara County, and especially the City of San Jose, have been adversely affected by the recession.

Table 4. Year-Over-Year Increase in Foreclosures (September)

| | Year over Year 06-07 | Year over Year 07-08 | Year over Year 08-09 |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Rest of California | 172 % | 29% | 18% |
| Santa Clara County | 147% | 70% | 43% |

Source: DQ News

Table 5. Average Annual Unemployment Rates

| | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| California | 5.4% | 7.2% | 11.5% |
| Santa Clara County | 4.7% | 6.1% | 11% |
| City of San Jose | 5.3% | 6.8% | 12.2% |

Source: Employment Development Department, *Data through September 2009

In addition, the percentage of people close to the federal poverty line, known as the “near poor,” has also increased significantly since 2007 (Peuquet and MacGuineas 2010). The economic downturn has caused changes in the demographics of Olinder. A resident related,

The demographics have changed as some of the older residents have moved out and you get this influx of younger ones. We have people who used to rent, or families who lost their homes – they’ve had to move out as well, and so, we see more vacancies, we also see interest from investors – all around – about ten percent of the neighborhood is for sale or in the process of being foreclosed.

Longtime residents have different attitudes about the Olinder neighborhood than residents who have lived in the neighborhood for shorter periods. “There is a socio- economic dichotomy between long time residents – ten years or more, versus newer ones – five years or less. The difference is perception.” Another difference is that some of the newer residents are renters, since foreclosed properties are bought up by investors. And, as new landlords take ownership of properties, they often charge higher rents. This leads to problems of overcrowding and the evils associated with it. Several residents complained,

When you have more than one family living in a small apartment, they’re bringing in four cars, and it’s a big issue...I think that’s why they bring in so many people, is because the rent is high.

Across the street, apparently, there’s a house that has undocumented people... she rents to them...I don’t know that neighbor. They all park in front of my house. And I resent that, and I said, ‘You know, there shouldn’t be so many cars parked here.’ [neighbor friend] said, ‘Well, you know, they’re not gonna do anything, so why should I call?’ Overcrowding creates not only parking problems, but also other issues, such as debris left in yards or the street, and poorly maintained yards and houses.

Landlord accountability

A common problem is landlords who rent a property, collect their money, and then are “absent.” In other words, they do not stay around to interact with the neighbors or participate in helping to make Olinder better or safer. Some residents blamed serious criminal activity on neglectful and absent landlords. An interviewee related,

It was a lot of stuff going on in the neighborhood that I didn't care for. Drugs. This guy had his laboratory next door [methamphetamine]. Also had a prostitution ring, so the police were always comin' in there, and so you'd see people with guns...two years ago, I guess. He moved out. But...they're the same type of people [renters] that had been in jail...there was a lady that rented out to ex-convicts, or whoever, "street people" and they would run out of money, and they'd ask for money. She kicked them out. And they were very mean, they got very upset... other homeless started coming in ...they house squatted...she would call the police; nothing. They can't do anything.

Residents related that keeping landlords accountable to the neighborhood is critical to make sure they are "present". Otherwise, rental homes often become sites for crime such as gang activities, drug sales, prostitution, domestic violence, etc.

Youth Enrichment and After School Programs:

Demographic changes in the Mexican American Community Services Association (MACSA) after school program reflect an exodus of some groups and an increase in immigrants to the neighborhood. A community worker explained,

Most of the kids...their parents are first year immigrants...and most of them are Latinos, primary language is Spanish. Whereas before, we'd get more Chicanos, more Mexican American kids, now all...are the first generation Mexicans. We used to get more, like a few African Americans in the program, a few Caucasians. And lately, it's been nothing but Latinos. I think they [other groups] moved out of the area, and new people came. I don't understand what happened.

Those residents involved with or who work with youth in Olinder expressed concern about recent cuts in youth programs and the desire that these be restored and enlarged. Several informants compared Olinder's resources for youth with those of the Roosevelt neighborhood, which has a new community center and several youth enrichment programs. Although there was

not a consensus that Olinder should replicate what Roosevelt has done, there was a general agreement that Olinder has much less available to its youth population.

Parental Supervision

Several of my informants told me that they felt that parents in Olinder should be involved with their children to provide guidance and supervision. They observed that the children who are left unattended get into trouble; they should not be left on their own to fend for themselves. A key informant who works with Olinder youth said that there are trends in Olinder,

...the kids, in this neighborhood can go one way...some of them have gotten into gangs, or think they're in gangs, or wanna be associated with gangs, but I think that a lot of those kids, it's because their family is not stable, or, if their family is – comes from that, so that's what they're used to. Or, that's what's accepted in their families...and what kind of expectations the family puts on the kids, and what their limitations are and what kind of discipline system they have.

Authoritative parents combine warmth and support with firm monitoring and control (Simons et al 2005). Criminological theory and research has established that this approach to parenting discourages conduct problems and delinquency (Gottfredson & Hirshi, 1990; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Simons, Simons, & Wallace, 2005). Nevertheless, there must be some remedy for the absence or lack of effective parenting or supervision. Collective efficacy is now recognized as an important community process that also deters child and adolescent antisocial behavior (Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001). Also, it can also mediate much of the structural problems such as high rates of poverty, unemployment, mother-headed families, and racial and ethnic heterogeneity (Sampson et al 1997). Willingness on the part of adults to monitor and correct misbehaving children who are not their own shows that residents care about the welfare of their

community and are motivated to engage in joint problem solving to address threats to the neighborhood such as criminal and other antisocial behavior (Sampson, Morenoff, & Earls 1999).

COMMUNITY MEETINGS

Olinder Neighborhood Association Meetings

I observed several Olinder Neighborhood Association (O.N.A.) meetings throughout the duration of this project. Before I attended an O.N.A. meeting for the first time, I arranged to spend some time talking with the director. The director explained the history of her involvement in this group and her commitment as its director. She described the events and reasons that brought her to devote large amounts of time and effort to the organization and community. During our discussion, I explained briefly about this project and how it could benefit the Olinder community. Her response was less than enthusiastic, and I learned much later that she and other community leaders had been disappointed with previous research projects.

I observed the dynamics and composition of the group. All of the attendees were homeowners. It was a *small* gathering. The director began the meeting with a review of the agenda and latest events and issues. Each topic was addressed according to the schedule, but discussion was allowed to some degree. When the participants spent too long discussing any one issue, event, or concern, the director firmly reminded them that they must stay on schedule. Guest speakers were invited to each of the meetings that I attended.

The first meeting I attended had a guest presenter from the San Jose Transportation Department. She discussed driving safety and the city's program for traffic safety awareness. Her presentation was well received and she took names of residents who were willing to distribute tapes and literature on the subject.

A subsequent meeting had a larger turnout and the guest presenter was from the City of San Jose Parks and Recreation Department. The presenter discussed what improvements the residents of Olinder could expect and when. She also explained what things would not be done by the city to enhance or change the physical environment of Olinder. By this time, the economy had declined significantly and so had the city's funds for improvements.

The last meeting I attended had attracted a somewhat larger, though still small, turnout. A homicide had occurred within two weeks before and residents were concerned that this could be a sign of future crime trends. Two policemen who were assigned to the Olinder district came to the meeting to address those concerns and explain more about the homicide. I was able to observe the attendants behavior towards and comments to the policemen. One resident sat in a back row and wore a frown while listening. There were two new couples, also new homeowners in Olinder. They had more questions regarding safety and crime prevention, and they listened attentively to the answers. The officers said that the offenders were from outside the community, and that they were gang members. They told the residents that this was an isolated incident and that things were under control. They said that crime was actually on the downturn and cited a few statistics. A city leader backed them up. They advised residents on safe practices and prevention. I had heard similar advice from police officers who had presented at the N.A.C. meetings.

N.A.C. Meetings

I observed two Neighborhood Association Committee (N.A.C.) meetings, and reviewed notes by other researchers covering more recent N.A.C. meetings. These meetings were held at the McKinley Community Center, which is located a few miles away from the Olinder. The NAC

Meeting on June 23, 2009 had the highest attendance of any meetings which I attended, and the room was rather crowded. I attribute this increased interest by residents to spikes in crime and new construction within the FWBT neighborhoods. They were worried and bothered by the thefts and gangs, and they were bothered by the noise from the construction projects. Quite a number of the faces I saw were new and I heard later from some leaders that this meeting had indeed drawn in residents who had not come to earlier NAC or ONA meetings. Several officers from the SJPd came to answer questions and advise residents on how to report and prevent crime. The residents appeared to be receptive to what the policemen had to say. The District Councilman, Sam Liccardo attended. He frequently attends FWBT community meetings and events; not necessarily to speak, but to show he cares about his constituency. The meeting had a serious, business-like tone, although refreshments were available. I noticed that a Spanish interpreter was present; this was something I had not seen at previous meetings. Since one of my informants had mentioned that his wife did not attend these meetings because she spoke only Spanish, this could be a positive way to attract more Latino residents.

Technology

Some residents use technology and social networks to meet and come together. The following were mentioned by two residents. One leader made this observation about the effect of technology on resident participation at meetings,

I don't know if it's the times that we're living in, or what, but maybe technology has changed our lives to where we don't do so many things that we used to do together, so maybe these meetings, or the typical events are an anachronism, where we just use message boards, or something else to stay in touch with each other. Everybody uses Facebook, or Twitter, and you don't need to have there face-to-face meetings anymore, a lot of people find them

unproductive, and so, that's something that we need to look into, as far as getting people to communicate and participate.

Technology is being used by residents of Olinder to communicate with one another, such as through an E-mail list serve in Brookwood and the Naglee Parents Group. A resident explained,

It's this whole area, like the whole downtown area – that's a Yahoo News Group. The parents of babies born in certain years can belong to. It's an online forum – we can share information. It's just whatever purpose you want to use it for, basically. It's like a message board. You just post things that you want to up there, and things to give away, yeah you could post pictures too. If there's a new baby, people can cook for the mother, families. I'd say I've met most of the ones in our group because we have a playgroup.

Still, the use of technology by residents is not widely used or available to all residents living in Olinder. There is no internet connection at the community center. Children do not have computers in the after school programs. I did not see computers in most of the residents' homes during my interviews; they were limited to the more affluent residents. In my observations and interviews, most residents did not mention technology as a means of communication. Any community strategy that assumes technological prowess and access might exacerbate the digital divide (English-Lueck 2010).

ORGANIZATIONS

I learned through my observations and interviews which organizations help the residents of Olinder to meet and work together. Some of these organizations are located physically in the Olinder neighborhood and some are not. The value of these groups hinges on the services and resources they bring to the residents. Of course, an organization cannot be all things to all residents. The most valued organizations are non profits that provide goods or services for residents.

The Olinder Food Program

A resident started the Olinder Food Program as a grass roots organization to fill a need where nothing existed. The need was so great that other volunteers came forward and the program grew. The founder moved out of the area, but the program continued under new leadership. On those days that I worked in the Olinder Food Program, about one hundred persons were given free food items. A majority of the recipients were Latino and spoke only Spanish. No one was turned away. I noticed that many of the recipients were women with small children. The food was donated by several stores and nonprofit agencies. Tortillas were a high demand item. When these were unavailable, patrons were very disappointed. They did not like the loaves of bread very much. I was told by a volunteer that tortillas were no longer being offered, and subsequently, the numbers of those coming to pick up food greatly decreased. She said that she thought this was a bad attitude and that people who need food should not be so “picky”.

It cannot be assumed that this program represents only the Olinder neighborhood. I was told by other volunteers that many of those who came to pick up food did not live in Olinder. Not only do the volunteers hail from outside geographic areas, but the recipients also come in from beyond the Olinder neighborhood. I was told by my informant that in the early days of its existence, the Olinder Food Program served mainly residents. Over time, news of the program spread and attracted residents from other areas. Thus, this is an example of a combination of both strong and weak ties. Strong ties operated in the formation of this organization, but it grew from a less parochial or personal network and spread into a more loosely connected organization. Still, the volunteers have developed long-term friendships of mutual aid and trust, so it is still a fairly strong network in that respect.

MACSA

Most informants mentioned the value of the after school programs in Olinder. The Mexican American Community Services Agency, Inc. (MACSA) operates a licensed daycare program in the Olinder community center on Williams Street. The children who attend are residents of Olinder or its outskirts, and range from second to fifth grade. The majority of these children are immigrants from Mexico whose parents are non-English speakers. They are taught about culture, music, and foods, and are tutored in English and math. They participate in arts and crafts projects throughout the week and play soccer in Olinder Park on Fridays. Some snacks such as tuna, crackers and cereals are provided for the children through the MACSA Youth Center, which is located outside the Olinder neighborhood in downtown San Jose. Parents whose children are enrolled in MACSA must attend mandatory workshops each month or their children could be dropped from the program. They are educated about many topics, such as parenting skills, child abuse, and gang awareness and prevention. Presenters are invited to come and speak at these workshops that are held on the last Tuesday of the month. Because the parents who attend are Spanish-speaking, the presenters speak Spanish. This program is part of a safety net for at-risk youth. It serves a vital function by helping to prevent children from joining gangs.

The Olinder neighborhood depends on the City of San Jose for a number of critical services. One informant said, "I think that without them, we would not be where we are today." Some programs and services have felt the axe of budget cuts, and others are at risk or elimination. The Olinder After School Program was funded and administered through the City of San Jose Parks and Recreation Department. When I first learned of it in October of 2008, about one hundred and fifteen children were enrolled, but by late 2009, numbers decreased because of budget cuts. In

2007, the program offered arts and crafts every day and had many kinds of sports with two recreational leaders supervising thirty children per session. I was told that this program and others are at risk of elimination. Several other after school programs have already been eliminated in the last three years. Residents said that the Olinder After School Program was one of the most valuable resources available to children and youth in Olinder. The staff was highly qualified and most of them were either college graduates or college students. They tutored the children in math, science, social studies, reading and writing. The children were assisted with their homework for an hour and a half every day.

On numerous occasions, I observed the children, adults, and workers who participated in this program. The community center was a hub of activity during weekday afternoons. I observed the staff and students interacting. The staff treated the students like their younger brothers and sisters. When they spoke to them, they joked around. The director and his co-workers were firm disciplinarians, but not at all harsh. They allowed the children to be active and vocal without being out of control. Teenagers came to the center even though they had long outgrown the program. One worker explained,

We get a lot of highschoolers from San Jose High, Lincoln High, even from middle school, from Hoover, Benet, Fair Middle School. Even though this is not a teen center, they feel really comfortable being here...and they help out; they're really good with role-modeling. The kids look up to them.

This teen participation has important implications relating to collective efficacy. Previously, an abundance of sports activities were made available for youth in Olinder through the City of San Jose Parks and Recreation Department. They were run by the staff of the After School Program and several Recreation leaders. In the last three years, these sports programs have been

eliminated due to budget cuts. Now, some sports are provided through the San Jose All Stars program, but not as many as were available previously.

Olinder Community Center

The City of San Jose allows several community organizations to use the Olinder Community Center and does not charge them rent. It does not provide staff, but does send a janitor every two weeks or so. The Center is independently run, so it lacks most services. Some see this as an advantage because it is run by residents and program directors with little interference from the City. A youth worker exclaimed,

I love this community center, 'cause it's a real independently run center, there's no city staffing, it's just a city building, and it's just occupied by the people that run the programs here, and the programs here really do help the community.

Others would like the city to provide more services and resources such as more frequent janitorial service and repairs for the center. Some are afraid to ask the City of San Jose for help because increasing its maintenance costs makes the Center more vulnerable to the risk of being shut down. The facility is small and needs repair, but it has served the community well for decades in a variety of ways. My informants say that the loss of the center would be a crisis because it is used as a central meeting place for programs, events, and meetings on a continuous basis.

S.N.I.

The City of San Jose also administers the Strong Neighborhood Initiative (S.N.I.) program. Its mission is to provide “affordable housing, clean neighborhoods, vital business districts, and safe and attractive streets, parks, and community centers in San Jose’s redevelopment project areas” (Strong Neighborhoods 2010). The S.N.I. organization has been active in San Jose

neighborhoods, trying to get people to come to monthly meetings to talk about safety, road and traffic improvement. Olinder neighborhood leaders say that the S.N.I team provides help to their neighborhood by providing support and resources. This organization provides volunteers for events such as Dumpster Days, which is an event for picking up litter in the neighborhood.

Catholic Charities

The few churches that are located in Olinder do not have much influence, except with their members. My data shows that the churches or religious organizations that help the Olinder neighborhood are primarily located outside the area. This does not make them any less significant or helpful, but they are less physically accessible. Sacred Heart and Catholic Charities are the most salient organizations in the informants' memories as organizations that contribute to the community. Catholic Charities is located off Alum Rock Avenue in San Jose, a few miles from the Olinder neighborhood. It has a senior center there and has special services and classes for Latino residents. Several residents commented,

They have bingo; a nurse that goes there twice a week and takes their blood pressure, their blood count for diabetes. And we have an immigration person there too, they just brought 'em in. They help people with their documentation. They have an office there. And we have a social worker...that's not in our neighborhood, but they do help [it] a lot.

“A lot of people from this area, they go over there, older people. They have the senior center there.” There is no senior center located in the Olinder neighborhood, so a number of seniors migrate to the Catholic Charities center, which is only a few miles away.

Selma Olinder Elementary School

There is only one school located in the Olinder neighborhood. Selma Olinder Elementary school, adjacent to the Olinder Community Center, helps the community in several important

ways. For example, it helps the after school program by allowing the staff to use the school's classrooms and cafeteria. The school also makes the cafeteria available for some community events, such as the Giving Tree. The school held a pajama night in 2009 which was well attended by residents, although the cafeteria was too small. According to a resident and community leader, the event was "overwhelming for everybody." The school is in transition; it has a new principal this year. The residents have positive things to say about her and are hopeful the change will be for the better. The relationship between the school administration and community organizations has been strained in the past. Several informants told me that they did not like the former principal's attitudes and ways of interacting with residents. A resident recalled,

We had a flea market – it went really well. We had one person complaining about the traffic it created. The [former] principal paid too much emphasis on appeasing that one resident – they did not continue with the flea market. And he [resident] would have been okay if he [principal] had continued talking with him.

The perception by this informant was that the loss of this community building event was the fault of the former principal because he gave one resident more attention and influence than he deserved. It was not a democratic process. Another complaint was that the former principal mandated the after school staff to push students to improve test scores at the expense of enrichment activities. This situation improved when a new principal was hired. A community worker explained,

It's kind of the principal [of Selma Elementary school] here --- we always keep our fingers crossed 'cause any time the school could [say], 'Oh, we don't want your program anymore.' Depending on the principal is like depending on the level of involvement that the school has [with the program]. I think this new principal wants to be more in tune with what we're doing than the former principal.

She actually came by here and took a tour. I think she really likes us a lot, and something that's neat about her – she said, 'We want you to keep doing more art and music and those kinds of enrichment things with the kids,' so she's not like someone who's stressing.

The residents who do not have children who attend the school say that they often feel left out, even though they would like to be included in school meetings and events. A parent explained,

Because [my child] isn't old enough to attend, I don't have much power to do anything. I can't participate in the P.T.A., the school counsel, and so –I want to get involved, but because I don't have a child who attends there, I can't. I usually go whenever I'm invited. I think they're very supportive. I think they depend as much on the community as the community depends on them.

Residents say that the school provides limited extracurricular activities for its students. Last year it had a band, folk dancing, and art and music programs, including a chorus. I was told that the school provides P.E., but does not provide any sports programs. Extracurricular programs such as these have had to be sacrificed, since funding has dropped drastically for most public schools in Santa Clara County.

CommUniverCity

San Jose State University (SJSU) is located only a few blocks West of Olinder. There are a few organizations affiliated with SJSU that have been involved in Olinder over the years, and the most often-mentioned name is CommUniverCity. This nonprofit educational and community service organization is thought of as a sort of “one stop center” that residents use to address a myriad of community needs and concerns.

San José State leads an innovative partnership known as CommUniverCity San José, improving health, education and the neighborhood environment in San Jose's Five Wounds/Brookwood Terrace neighborhood. The program fosters communities, engages students, and serves as a model of the

tangible benefits that California universities can bring to their neighboring community (www.calstate.edu/impact 2010).

One resident commented,

Anything that happens to be a problem, we can go there, or talk to one of the people that's on their committee, that's a participant...and they will consider taking it on as one of their projects. Their projects are more – I think maybe they've changed, but they're more like things that we wouldn't be able to do on our own. We wouldn't be able to arrange on our own.

A community worker exclaimed,

I love CommUniverCity! I really believe in community service and volunteer service, and I just think it's really valuable, so I would love to get more involved with them.

COMMUNITY EVENTS

The events and programs that take place in Olinder usually focus on meeting residents' temporal needs. Some community events attract larger numbers of participants, and are more popular. Residents typically named the following recurring events as favorites they were likely to attend.

National Night Out Event

The National Night Out (NNO) Event is a “unique crime/drug prevention event sponsored by the National Association of Town Watch (NATW) ... to promote neighborhood and police-community partnerships in our fight for a safer nation” (NATW 2010).

The photograph below was taken by CommUniverCity staff at the National Night out event in San Jose.



Figure 3. Photograph of National Night Out Event
Source: www.communivercitysanjose.org

This program is designed to promote crime prevention awareness and generate support for local anticrime programs (NATW 2010). A resident explained the value of this annual event,

The National Night Out Event gets the community together to know each other...it gets the kids too. They have a good time there...it gives them a little something to do that day, instead of running out on the streets.

The photograph below shows CommUniverCity staff interacting with FWBT residents at a recent NNO event.



Figure 4. Photograph of National Night Out Event
Source: www.communivercitysanjose.org

Christmas Giving Tree

The Christmas Giving Tree is an annual event for delivering Christmas gifts to needy children in the Olinder neighborhood. A resident related,

[the] family ...that does this...it's that whole family, the lady-- she has two or three daughters, they're grown, and a son, and they've been here for years; they've been doing the holiday Giving Tree for years, and every year it's gotten a little bigger...it was a lot of people. They had enough [gifts] for everybody. They had a lot of stuff... a couple of years ago it was just a room with some presents and twenty five families lined up.

This resident was unaware that community members and CommUniverCity Staff had helped with the Giving Tree this past year and possibly in previous years.

The photograph below shows children from FWBT neighborhoods participating in the Christmas Giving Tree event.



Figure 5. Photograph of Christmas Giving Tree Event
Source: www.communiversitysanjose.org

Block Parties

Block parties have been organized as a way to meet and build relationships between neighbors, but they are not frequent or widespread. Residents express interest in having more of these so that they can get to know one another in a relaxed, social setting close to home. A resident related,

We have had them [block parties], but then we'd skip a year, and skip a couple years. The turnout was good, and better yet, everybody was –*immediately* there was no cool part in the beginning [people were friendly], they just dove in and when they

left, it seemed like *everybody* said, ‘We’ve gotta do this again next year.’ And we didn’t *really do* anything. We just ate and yacked. And the kids, they had the classic things, with the jumping things, and so they were happy...and no [crying or arguing]. I don’t think it’ll always be that wonderful, but it sure was this time. So, I think that was a little taste of what it’s like when you *do* get to know your neighbors... and how much you have in common, or how much you learn from each other. It was a good experience.

I learned later that a neighborhood leader had applied for a grant to fund this block party through CommUniverCity. The resident explained,

And that was *highly supported* by the City and the Community Center –I think CommUniverCity might have had some help for us too...Another activist neighbor that’s not in Brookwood also helped us with...they were hauling in – they consulted with us [neighbors in Brookwood] while we were working on it, and then they came in and brought chairs and tables from the community center, and stuff like that.

Physical Changes in Olinder

Some of the positive changes in Olinder’s physical environment are due to programs to beautify and improve the neighborhood provided by the City of San Jose. They include projects for new pedestrian lights, embossed crosswalks, traffic signals, and street lights along various streets in the neighborhood. Another important change has been the creation and improvement of the Olinder Park. A long-time community leader and activist told me, “Fifteen years ago there was a large area of undeveloped land, just bare lots that drew crime. Several parks have been created or enlarged.”

The photograph below shows the entrance to Selma Olinder Park.

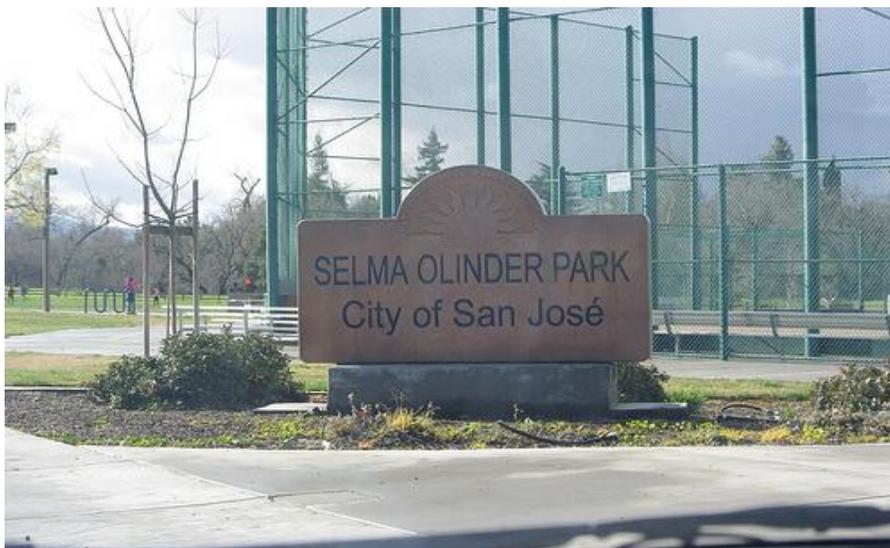


Figure 6. Photograph of Selma Olinder Park

The Selma Olinder Park is spacious and has baseball and tennis fields and a dog park. The park attracts many non residents. Although it is mostly a positive feature in the neighborhood, the park's hidden areas foster criminal activities.

Blight & Graffiti

There are some resources for trash removal, such as the Dumpster Day event. This program makes garbage and trash cans available along the streets, so that residents have a way to get rid of unwanted items. The City of San Jose provides a hotline for residents to call and have graffiti removed. Graffiti is not easily visible in the neighborhood. You must know where to look to find it. This apparent absence does not mean it has been eradicated. It means it is being cleaned up quickly. Graffiti is still seen on street signs and fences, scattered throughout the neighborhood, like litter. A resident said that graffiti is a constant issue at the community center,

There's been a lot of writing on the side of the building...They've been tagging, gang signs, on the doors, on the dumpster, on the

storage shed, on the benches, and then, right away we called, so that they could paint it right away, clean it off. The laundromat over there, it's pink now, because nobody wants to put their tags on a pink building...so that's why you don't see a lot of tagging here, but before, it was always covered up with tagging, gangs, and everything.

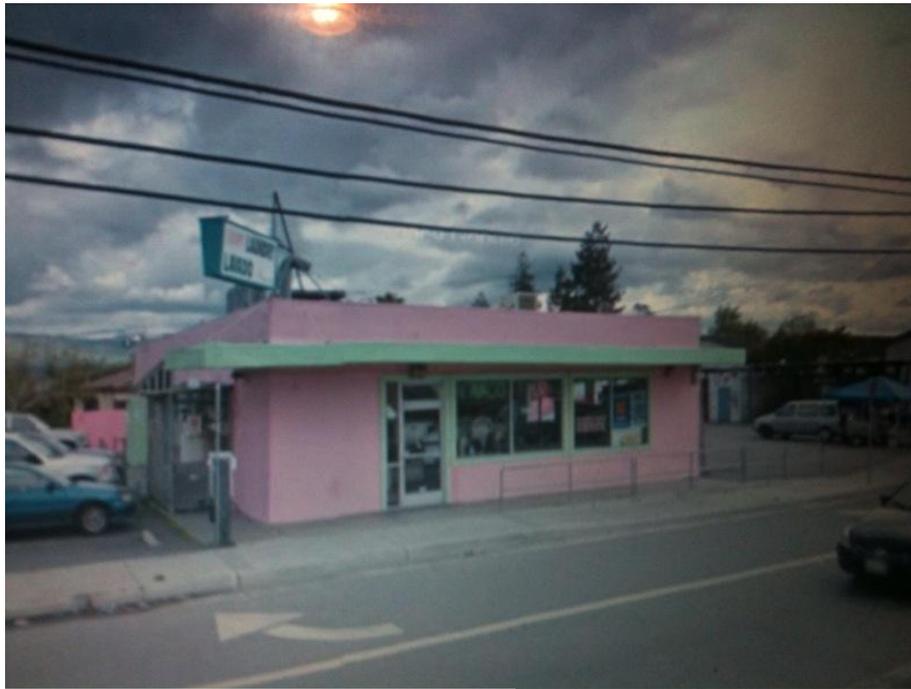


Figure 7. Photograph of Happy Laundry

The above photograph shows the local laundromat that was intentionally painted pink as a way to deter taggers. Residents report that they use the hotline and feel it is helping to eliminate graffiti in Olinder. I gathered mixed opinions about litter in the neighborhood. Some people think there is less litter; others think the problem has increased.

One variable in regard to litter, of course, is location. It matters where the block and home is situated; it matters who owns the property. One of the reasons that people throw trash out on the streets is because of the cost of removal. A resident explained, "There's more trash out...more sofas, and stuff that's not picked up by the garbage, because you have to pay extra." I

was told that there used to be a lot of littering on Williams Street, but that within the last year the “Dumpster Day” program has helped neighbors to clean up litter. I have included the following three photographs to show some of the graffiti I saw in the Olinder neighborhood.



Figure 8. Photograph of graffiti on dumpsters and building in Olinder



Figure 9. Photograph of graffiti on a garage door in Olinder Neighborhood



Figure 10. Photograph of graffiti on a truck parked in the Olinder neighborhood

Crime and Safety in Olinder

Criminal activity causes the most distrust between neighbors, especially gang violence and drug sales. Convicts and the homeless are distrusted. One neighbor exclaimed, “I wouldn’t trust my neighbors next door, for anything, but that’s all the time. The drug problem, the convicts – always like that.” Another anthropological study headed by Darrah (2008) in the Five Wounds Brookwood Terrace found that “keeping children from harm’s way takes constant vigilance and considerable energy. Concerns about influencing children to avoid dangers begin in elementary school and intensify through middle school”. Residents often discussed crime and safety in the same breath; the two concepts are intertwined. One longtime resident gave me a brief narrative of the history of crime in the neighborhood,

Before, it was a lot of drugs, from 1995-1997. There used to be a lot of gangs here. There was a lot of drug dealing [laundromat]. Dealing weed, heroin, methamphetamine. I saw a lot of fights...couple stabbings [shopping center at McLaughlin and Twenty Fourth Streets] Right now, it’s more quiet. Before, it was more rowdy. You could actually see the gang members out there. Now it’s a little bit more controlled, or hidden, or it’s that I don’t go there like I used to. The shopping center used to be like a drive-in [for buying drugs].

Fights in Olinder are blamed on teenagers, gangs, or both. There were several fights last summer involving teenagers, most of whom were gang members. When teens from the middle school get off their buses at the Olinder elementary school; they get into fights or pick on the younger kids. One worker says the police need to be there to prevent these fights. Another incident involved teen girls who wanted to post their fight on the internet. Posting videos on YouTube is a popular online teen activity. Another fight arose between the mothers of two young girls who attended the after school program. Most fights in Olinder involve youth, or parents defending their

children. The violent fights are gang-related. There was an incident in 2005 that is salient to Olinder residents and workers. A young boy was shot at the Selma Olinder Elementary School by a gang member, although he was not involved in any gangs. A gang-related shooting and homicide occurred in February 2009, causing some residents to worry whether the neighborhood was becoming less safe. The table below shows that overall crime in San Jose has decreased.

| CRIME RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-------------|----------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| VIOLENT CRIME | | | | | | PROPERTY CRIME | | | |
| Year | Homicide | Rape | Robbery | Aggravated Assault | Total Violent Crime | Burglary | Larceny | Vehicle Theft | Total Property Crime |
| 1999 | 2.7 | 38.2 | 79.9 | 438.9 | 559.7 | 295.3 | 1666.6 | 314.6 | 2276.5 |
| 2000 | 2.3 | 37.9 | 76.2 | 438.3 | 554.7 | 300.5 | 1417.5 | 294.3 | 2012.2 |
| 2001 | 2.4 | 36.0 | 77.9 | 492.7 | 609.1 | 321.7 | 1485.1 | 338.6 | 2145.5 |
| 2002 | 2.8 | 41.3 | 90.1 | 316.1 | 450.3 | 329.6 | 1486.1 | 363.5 | 2179.3 |
| 2003 | 3.1 | 30.2 | 88.1 | 243.8 | 365.2 | 358.3 | 1488.6 | 396.1 | 2243.0 |
| 2004 | 2.6 | 27.6 | 84.8 | 249.8 | 364.8 | 390.4 | 1529.4 | 487.7 | 2402.6 |
| 2005 | 2.8 | 27.8 | 93.6 | 245.4 | 369.6 | 428.5 | 1415.2 | 582.8 | 2426.6 |
| 2006 | 3.0 | 22.8 | 108.0 | 239.6 | 373.4 | 463.8 | 1329.4 | 748.6 | 2541.7 |
| 2007 | 3.4 | 22.3 | 109.7 | 250.7 | 386.1 | 456.9 | 1355.7 | 658.6 | 2471.3 |
| 2008 | 3.1 | 22.2 | 113.6 | 229.2 | 368.2 | 349.4 | 1375.6 | 528.5 | 2253.5 |
| 2009 | 2.8 | 25.6 | 101.8 | 211.3 | 341.5 | 371.5 | 1354.2 | 534.2 | 2259.9 |

Figure 6. Source: FBI publication Crime Statistics, Table 3. This data reported by SJPD per UCR Program

Any discussion of homicides that occur in the neighborhood should take into account the following,

...a key insight, for example, is that many homicides are retaliatory in nature, such that a homicide in one neighborhood may provide the spark that eventually leads to a retaliatory killing in a nearby neighborhood. In addition, most homicides occur among persons known to one another, usually involving networks of association that follow a geographical logic. There are good reasons, then to believe that the characteristics of surrounding neighborhoods are

crucial to understanding violence in any given neighborhood (Sampson 2004).

LESSONS LEARNED

I quickly learned in the beginning of this project that the concept “collective efficacy” tends to be foreign to most people. Invariably, I was required to define and explain the title and focus of this research project. I found that instead of providing dictionary definitions of these concepts, it is best to give real life examples of activities and qualities that portray them. When I veered away from task-oriented explanations, people became confused and lost interest.

My original plan was to recruit interviewees and potential research assistants. My goal was to conduct a participatory study – to “empower” (Fetterman 2001) the residents of Olinder neighborhood. The project did not quite qualify as a participatory study in several important ways. The Five Wounds Brookwood Terrace neighborhood had chosen crime prevention as one of ten top priorities to be addressed through research projects under the auspices of CommUniverCity. The Steering Committee of CommUniverCity (CUC) accepted my proposal for this project in late 2007. The CUC stakeholders, as representatives of the Olinder neighborhood, commissioned and supported this study, but many of the Olinder residents did not play any direct role and were not informed of the project when it was first conceptualized. Thus, it was more difficult to convince residents who were not part of the Steering Committee that the project was relevant to their community’s needs and could benefit them. I found I had to continuously strive to gain the residents’ acceptance and understanding of this research.

I now realize that it is crucial to involve *all* affected participants from the very start if a community study is to be truly participatory (Fetterman 2001). This means that the community stakeholders *and residents* should request the study, help to design it, and be involved in the

research process from the beginning to its completion (Fetterman 2005). There should be definite incentives for participation, effective representation, and accountability. Also, opportunities for learning and capacity building should be provided to promote a successful collaborative process.

Although the project was not as participatory as I had hoped, I was able to accomplish my main goal to evaluate collective efficacy in Olinder. I think that this project has a number of useful, positive outcomes. The following describes my learning experiences and reflections throughout the research process.

Working as a volunteer at the Olinder Food Program became an excellent way to learn about the activities going on in Olinder and to learn about the daily lives of the residents there and how they interacted. The learning was not one-sided. I entered as a stranger, a curious outsider. I allowed myself to be investigated by my fellow volunteers. I told them about myself, my life, my family, and my perceptions. I felt I became a friend, and on those days that I did not come on the appointed day and time, I was told that I was missed. When special holidays and events came, such as Thanksgiving or Christmas, or awards ceremonies, I was invited and included. I think that the time that I spent working in the Food Program was valuable not only to my research, but to my personal growth. I found the work intrinsically rewarding because I like service-oriented activities.

The other volunteers allowed me to observe them while they worked. This crew of twelve neighborhood volunteers arrived at 7:30 a.m. each Monday and Friday, rain or shine. There was a certain way of doing things – a system of setting up tables and organizing the categories of food. The volunteer in charge of maintaining this order took this responsibility very seriously. She firmly and politely corrected anyone who deviated from the established schedule and

protocol. Recipients were told to line up to enter the building and then sign in at a table near the door. A certain protocol was followed in handing food out; all the while certain phrases were used to explain the procedures to all involved. Most of the recipients and many of the volunteers spoke Spanish. I did not. I had to learn a few key phrases in order to be useful in my new role. My clumsy attempts drew some chuckles, but mostly praise and encouragement for the effort. I improved. Volunteer work in the Olinder Food Program was a valuable opportunity to build rapport and understand the residents' perceptions, needs, and hopes. Participant observation made it possible to contextualize what I was told during my interviews. In this way, I was better able to understand residents' and stakeholders perspectives and concerns.

COMMUNITY VISIONS

Residents were asked to suggest how safety in Olinder can be improved through community programs, initiatives, resources, and other changes. The following themes emerged from my analysis of the interviews with both residents and those who work in the Olinder neighborhood.

“More Eyes”

Visibility is an important contributor to safety. This means that if people can be seen in the community, criminals and gangs are less likely to attack or engage in illegal activities. Residents said that watching for suspicious activities or people within their neighborhood is an important activity in preventing crime. For example, a resident says,

She is a stay at home person. So, she's out in the front yard and the back yard. She sees everything that is going on. Everybody knows her, that's the other thing, and they respect her. I feel safe, I feel that people wouldn't want to do anything to her, because she's a very kind person –it's from giving food to lending money to the neighbors, so they appreciate her –as a neighbor. And we've never had a situation happen to us; she's been here since 1994.

Thus, there is more involved here than merely watching. Respect and appreciation received from neighbors has an impact on a resident's safety. In other words, the strength of one's social ties is significant in terms of their ability to effectively use informal social control.

Several residents said that they regularly watch the streets and houses surrounding their homes on a regular basis.

We all—like a family – outside of your family – we watch out for each other. When they drive by, they look this way, and when I drive by, I look – around their house. If I see anything that's out of the ordinary, I kind of stop and ask the person what they're doing. [felt like family] ever since I moved here.

Several informants said that the after-school programs help to make it safer because the workers are always watching and guarding the children from harm. Gang members know this and do not attack anyone. A community worker explained,

We've been blessed and lucky...it's been safe in the daytime...It's pretty safe because we're visible. If we weren't there... the shooting wouldn't have happened... we were closed...this program is so important because they [gang members] know we're here watching the kids.

On the other hand, residents say that places that are not visible attract crime. For example, You can go around and...the reason they tag in that area – it's always right here, behind the restrooms and between the cafeteria of the school, and our community center, because it's really dark. It's the alley way – there's a light, but it's very dim, so when people tag, they usually tag where it's dark, nobody around. So they go under the bridge and stuff like that.

Illegal activities and fighting occur in places where no one can see or no one is watching. A community worker related,

When we're not around the park, they tend to fight where we're not around. Of course, when there's no adults, they go down the little hill where we can't see them; they fight down there.

As the City of San Jose S.N.I. creates new initiatives for Neighborhood Watch Programs, Olinder neighbors have opportunities, but ultimately, must choose what fits their community's needs. The city has its own desires for programs that may or may not fit the community's needs or desires.

Youth Enrichment Facilities and Programs

Aside from preventing the closure of the existing after school programs, residents expressed a desire for enlarging and strengthening these valuable resources. There was a consensus that Olinder's facilities were considerably smaller and older, and poorly maintained compared to the new community center that Roosevelt had secured. Perhaps the Olinder residents could learn how Roosevelt was able to acquire what it has (buildings, facilities, programs, funding, etc.), and apply that knowledge toward gaining needed and wanted resources for the Olinder neighborhood.

A youth worker would like to develop and coordinate volunteer programs for teens that could provide opportunities for them to act as mentors to younger children. For example, they could volunteer to tutor and develop mini programs for them. This informant suggested how these programs could be developed to support local teens:

So that way, you have your art program, but then, you also have a way that the teens could be involved and have a leadership role, and be able to take responsibility, and start building a feeling of importance...I want [youth] to start to see, "Hey, there's another way to go here man, like you could have a job that you really like *doing something*, and you know, it makes you feel good when you accomplish something, and *you helped that kid* with his homework, and that kid *really likes you*, doesn't that make you feel good? Don't you want to have more of those good feelings instead of sitting in Juvenile Hall feelin' like crap and bein' ashamed and embarrassed?

This person also suggested providing music equipment and resources for the neighborhood youth,

The kids in this neighborhood *love music*. *Anything* to do with music. *Any kind* of music program, or music people, or any musical instrument. I know these kids totally love to sing and dance, [they need] a singing teacher, maybe a songbook, *anyone could make that up*.

The advantages of music, art, and sports enrichment programs were framed as follows,

I just think there's different kinds of learners, and kids are good at different things, and they constantly get in school that they didn't do good on this test, and they're only below basic, and you can't do language arts, and you can't spell, and you don't speak English properly, and you can't read, and you can't write, and you hate math, and you don't know your times tables – these kids are gonna think they're failures by the time they get to fourth grade! And there some kids that just like to draw. They might suck at reading, but they can draw really good, or they might be some kids that like to sing, or make up songs. Some kids are the *most aggressive* kids, you know in school, and you can't get 'em to sit down and do their homework, but you put 'em on a soccer field, or you give 'em a baseball, and they're *amazing little athletes*.

Providing youth with opportunities to learn and succeed can help to prevent their involvement in antisocial activities and groups such as gangs.

Gang Prevention and Interventions

My key interlocutors said that outside resources and interventions are needed to prevent youth from joining gangs; especially help for families with children who are at-risk. As one youth worker related,

Someone *really needs to* get in their family, and help them figure out what's going on. Why is their kid not going to school, getting in fights, getting kicked out of school? Why is your kid hanging out with all these Cholos? These *older* kids? Someone needs to help *those families*...maybe the neighbors need to go in and talk to the mom and say, 'Hey, what's going on with your kid? Can we

help you? What do you need? ...If they're doing something wrong, someone needs to *tell them*...

...maybe we need *a mentoring program*, like a gang mentoring program like at the Roosevelt Community Center. And get some guys in here that have been to prison, and that can tell these kids, 'Dude, you don't want to' – former gang members, that would be pretty powerful.

A highly regarded stakeholder has promoted Project Cornerstone (see appendix) in the FWBT and explained the concepts at length at a NAC Meeting. Project Cornerstone is a Federal Weed and Seed Program based on a national model. Al Gore came to Olinder in late 1980 to help implement the BEST program. It allocated three million dollars a year for a task force of services for young people. It includes all present funds for community based organizations to work with young people. It is housed at the McKinley Community Center. In the past, 1.8 million was spent to change the environment, plant trees, put gates in at a parking lot. The focus was on schools and churches. The project leaders meet on the second week of the month, the Mayor's Task Force, and includes two FWBT leaders.

...the idea is to create developmental assets (41 in all) that can provide alternatives to youth gang involvement. He explains his concepts of different universes (neighborhoods, schools, freeways, creeks, homes, tagging crews, associated gang members and validated gang members). He explains the complex ecosystem of [different local gangs]. The positive assets have been the dog park in Olinder Park... (English-Lueck 2009).

Some of the broader categories of developmental assets of Project Cornerstone include: support, empowerment, boundaries and expectation, and constructive use of time.

Another suggested strategy is to develop a college-going culture. As a youth worker suggested,

Get some college students in here and go, ‘Hey, you could *totally* go to college. You have to go to *high school first*. That’s what me and [other youth worker] are trying to tell the kids, but there are only two of us.

The following notes from a CommUniverCity Steering Meeting (English-Lueck and Cerda 2009) are an example of an event designed to promote a ‘college-going culture’

There was a discussion from San Jose High Academy about developing a college going culture that included the recent events of a tour of the campus, a library tour, Alpha Omega Pi giving college going workshops and a panel in which t-shirts were given to those who asked questions...a guidance counselor said that they also get 51 seniors to go to Stanford, Berkeley, CSUs Eastbay, Monterey, and in the summer they go to UCLA. They also visit Evergreen, City, Mission, De Anza and Foothill...SJSU has the best follow through.

Overcrowding, Crime, and Disorder Related to Rental Properties

Residents believe that overcrowding in rental properties precipitates crime and code violations in the neighborhood. Several community leaders explained how they had handled these types of problems. They used Code Enforcement and the threat of fines to force a negligent landlord to evict renters who engaged in criminal activities at a N.A.C. meeting (English-Lueck 2009) that was well attended,

There is also the possibility of using civil measure to reach closure. Paul’s famous and successful maneuver was repeatedly cited. He contacted the absentee landlord (in Hawaii) of a problem site conveying that there might be liability to the tune of 1 million since the site was close to Notre Dame High School. The threat led to the eviction of the problem people.

A resident explained,

I approach them *right away*. As soon as I know it’s a new landlord coming in—recently, in front of my house, the duplex was sold. And the guy that bought it is very young, and I went to him, and I told him, ‘Your house is right in front of me, and these are some of

the issues that I've had. You're a new landowner, and I'm wondering if this will continue? What are your plans? What do you want to do?' Well, two weeks later, after we talked, the front yard was full of stuff that they were getting rid of...but it was there throughout Christmas time...and so I had to call Code Enforcement, because I told them, "You need to remove that." He didn't do it, so I called this person has been able to show other neighbors how to approach and talk to landlords to make them accountable.

For example,

[I] recruit my neighbors. I'm specifically speaking of the speaking with the landlords...training them to do what I do. Go and approach the new landlord. Let 'em know that these are the changes to the neighborhood. Invite 'em to the neighborhood association meeting. You know, not everybody feels comfortable with approaching someone they don't know, like I do. For me, it's really easy, 'Hey, how are you? I noticed you're new.' And that's the thing, you lead the conversation that way, but some people are afraid to even say 'Hi.' Once you do it once, I think it's pretty easy.

Some stakeholders have suggested developing workshops or meetings that focus on helping neighbors develop skills and knowledge to address these issues, so that this responsibility doesn't fall on only one leader.

Improving community-police relationships

Although this study was not designed to measure levels of trust between community and law enforcement, informants alluded that community-police relationship is problematic. I was told alarming stories of excessive force and police brutality. Although they cannot be addressed in this study, these issues should not be ignored. Fear and mistrust of police by residents is harmful to collective efficacy. "When social control is weak, there may be an over reliance on formal punishment, such as arrest and prosecution, to control offenders, a situation that helps destabilize neighborhoods by putting many of its residents behind bars (Siegel 2003). Are there problems or issues that need to be addressed regarding policing in Olinder or FWBT? Which

police actions or behaviors are harmful to community-police relations? How can trust between residents and police be improved or repaired?

Meeting, Communicating, and Collaborating

Making Olinder Neighborhood Association meetings and events more attractive to residents who do not ordinarily participate was a commonly voiced concern. Several residents suggested that block parties should be held more frequently and on more blocks. A resident said, "...it should be *more often*. Like, we only have the neighborhood block party once a year. So maybe we should do it more often..." A resident suggested developing a welcome packet for Olinder residents. A community leader expanded on the idea as follows,

We were thinking that we should have a packet for new residents, whether you're renting or you own it. And that booklet is a packet – it will be an envelope – it's gonna be the 'good neighbor' envelope, and we'll include several things in there, and it's be given, first of all, to everybody in the neighborhood with a note saying, "if you know of a new neighbor, please get more through your neighborhood association."

At that time, it was suggested that CommUniverCity could help to develop such a booklet, or this could also be part of a service learning project at SJSU. In addressing lower attendance at community meetings, some questions that could be posed are: do some residents feel uncomfortable or isolated due to language barriers? Do they find no resonance at the meetings for their areas of interest or the questions they ask? Are residents aware of meeting dates and times? How can community leaders and planners work with residents to provide definite incentives for them to participate?

Because many stakeholders would like to see increased communication between the various leaders and residents, they might consider implementing consensus building to help establish

clear and efficient channels of communication and to help participants feel comfortable about raising ideas within their organizations. In this way, community leaders could more effectively communicate and generate support for their organizational goals and encourage the building of trust within their organizations. Communication could be improved through facilitated dialogue, noncommittal brainstorming, and active listening.

Gaining more resources from outside organizations

Residents consistently expressed the need for the Olinder neighborhood to garner funding for existing and new programs. As one informant said, “to develop more programs, that would need *money. And there’s none of that these days.*” Still, the same person said that funds could be gained by making local businesses aware of Olinder’s needs. Residents said that although the neighborhood is geographically close to downtown San Jose it is still practically unknown. An informant suggested contacting large corporate downtown businesses such as Adobe and encouraging them to adopt the Selmer Olinder Elementary School. The sponsoring business could send volunteers to come weekly and run a program to teach children to use computers. Another company could provide computers and internet service for community programs.

Residents and community workers are greatly appreciative of the help Olinder receives from CommUniverCity. There were suggestions that CommUniverCity could facilitate service learning programs in which SJSU could provide volunteer students to work with children in Olinder. Such programs have already been implemented at the Horace Mann and McKinley schools. “Someone from this neighborhood needs to get in there [SJSU] and say, ‘Hey, we’re close too, this neighborhood is really convenient...for San Jose State students to come over here...’” The Olinder Community Center is located only ten blocks from San Jose State

University. Certainly the stakeholders from SJSU and CUCC are well aware of this request from the FWBT and the “difficulties of mobilizing communities in service learning projects” (English-Lueck 2009:1).

In addressing community goals to create a college-going culture, residents and stakeholders could explore building partnerships with the following organizations: The Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU), the Parent Institute for Quality Education (PIQE), Déjà Huella: Educate, Es el Momento, the American Association of Hispanics in Higher Education, and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

Connecting residents of the Olinder neighborhood with other community groups, organizations, or foundations that are working to address similar issues, such as CommUniverCity, Selma Olinder Elementary School, MACSA, S.N.I., and N.A.C. could be especially helpful in building the neighborhood’s networks of resources. Working together and making social connections may bring additional resources to the community. Ultimately, *developing weak ties* such as these may be a worthwhile goal to improving collective efficacy in Olinder.

CONCLUSION

The main objectives of this research project have been to evaluate collective efficacy and gather input on how to build it within the Olinder neighborhood. I have analyzed the factors that either strengthen or weaken this form of social capital. An understanding of the relationship between the organizations and resources that are influential to the Olinder neighborhood in terms of collective efficacy may contribute to a body of knowledge that will be useful for these organizations in the future. My research has sought to determine the views of residents and

stakeholders and inform the process of identifying appropriate solutions to crime. This has been an on-going process. However, at the conclusion of my research, its overall effectiveness remains unclear. The interviews and observations have been and continue to be something of a catalyst for ongoing discussions regarding the conveyance of messages within the context of social capital. An implicit goal in these discussions is to establish a cognitive connection between active behavior and the shared beliefs within the Olinder neighborhood that reinforce behavior that builds collective efficacy. Although there is evidence that collective efficacy exists and functions in the sense that residents have engaged in community activities, its overall effectiveness in crime prevention may be limited. A number of questions emerged over the course of the project and remain unanswered. To what extent do new messages interfere with pre-existing messages? Can the leaders and stakeholders provide integration of their organizational goals with the broader goals and context of the Olinder neighborhood as a whole? How many residents must participate for an event or meeting to be considered a successful vehicle for collective efficacy? What is the intended audience for the community meetings and how does this correlate to the actual audience? There are clear gaps in communication between some organizations and leaders and residents within the Olinder neighborhood. The expectations and priorities of individuals within each organization clearly differed and rules were unclear to both. This research project has sought to identify some of these gaps to provide a beginning point for an ongoing assessment of collective efficacy and the processes between the organizations that contribute to collective efficacy in the Olinder neighborhood. Careful mapping and evaluation of these processes can assist in the establishment of mutually understood and agreed upon expectations and priorities among groups. What are the priorities of each

contributing organization and how do these correspond to the priorities of individual residents? How are these priorities expressed and discussed? Through which standards is success determined? I suggest that a multi-disciplinary research project be developed that includes graduate students from the anthropology, political science, sociology, and urban planning departments to investigate and evaluate some of these pressing questions in more detail.

In determining the success of new programs and initiatives, it is important to establish clear definitions of success and to evaluate their progress throughout the process. Those who manage these projects should approach the development of programs with a strong emphasis on evaluation. In order to understand and attract potential funding or support from outside organizations, it is important to develop consistent communication and coordination between existing organizations associated with Olinder. Furthermore, the focus and energy that can be brought through the involvement of outside researchers, interns, and dedicated staff and volunteers may be an invaluable resource. For example, team discussions were conducted as part of an anthropological research project titled, “CommUniverCity San Jose, an Ethnographic Evaluation” (English-Lueck et al 2009). The findings from that evaluation overlap with those of this report and thus, could lend insight to a number of the issues and concerns raised by the Olinder neighborhood. CommUniverCity staff and volunteers may also be useful evaluation resources when engaged and trained to be part of this process.

Strong Neighborhoods Initiatives (S.N.I.) includes safer residential streets, new parks, and community centers as some of several initiatives that the City of San Jose is working on to help local communities build social capital. Current examples include the various sponsored S.N.I. activities and plans, with an ongoing effort to provide resources and programs (see appendix).

The anthropology, political science, sociology, education, and other departments at SJSU are assisting with ways to promote these and other related goals, especially through service learning projects. Such initiatives represent a general trend within the Five Wounds Brookwood Terrace communities towards the creation of social capital. This trend may lead to systemic change within the Olinder environment, and San Jose State University could be a significant catalyst and partner in this process.

In conclusion, the people that I observed and interviewed during my research are all interested in improving safety and well-being for residents of the Olinder neighborhood. Nearly every person I spoke with during my research described their experiences in community activities and events in terms of how they could play a role in making Olinder a safer place to live, though meaningful contributions of time, effort, and resources. The financial costs associated with programs or organizations recognized as contributing to safety in Olinder were framed in terms of present financial hardship. Furthermore, substantive initiatives that will lead to measurable change were universally expressed as being central themes in the missions of the organizations. This fact is a positive sign for the future of a productive relationship between CommUniverCity and other organizations that contribute to collective efficacy in the Olinder and other FWBT neighborhoods.

I will present an overview of this project and ideas for interventions to the board of CommUniverCity. This presentation will help to build connections between the Olinder residents and CommUniverCity, as well as offer an opportunity for sharing ideas and goals. The groups may decide to work together toward achieving certain goals. Residents and stakeholders in the neighborhood could volunteer to form a committee (core group) to meet to discuss continuation

of this project and how ideas might best be implemented in the community. The information in this report should be shared with as many residents and stakeholders as possible to raise community awareness. So far, this project has identified important concerns facing the residents of Olinder, spurred their interest to get involved in community activities to begin to make a difference, and documented ideas for projects that would address some community problems. In many ways, this project is just the beginning. It is my hope that community members will carry forward the information and initiative provided here to address these needs. Ideas presented here as a means of making a positive difference in this community should be further explored.

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**San José State
UNIVERSITY**

**Office of the Provost
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To: Michelle Nero
P.O. Box 2354
San Jose, CA 95109

From: Pamela Stacks, Ph.D.
Associate Vice President
Graduate Studies and Research

Pamela C Stacks

Date: January 30, 2008

The Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board has approved your request to use human subjects in the study entitled:

"A study of collective efficacy as it relates to public safety in the Ohliver neighborhood"

This approval is contingent upon the subjects participating in your research project being appropriately protected from risk. This includes the protection of the anonymity of the subjects' identity when they participate in your research project, and with regard to all data that may be collected from the subjects. The approval includes continued monitoring of your research by the Board to assure that the subjects are being adequately and properly protected from such risks. If at any time a subject becomes injured or complains of injury, you must notify Dr. Pamela Stacks, Ph.D. immediately. Injury includes but is not limited to bodily harm, psychological trauma, and release of potentially damaging personal information. This approval for the human subject's portion of your project is in effect for one year, and data collection beyond January 30, 2009 requires an extension request.

Please also be advised that all subjects need to be fully informed and aware that their participation in your research project is voluntary, and that he or she may withdraw from the project at any time. Further, a subject's participation, refusal to participate, or withdrawal will not affect any services that the subject is receiving or will receive at the institution in which the research is being conducted.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (408) 924-3480.

Protocol # S0704109

cc: Jan Eng, Ish-Lueck, 0113

The California State University:
Maritime U.S.A.
Eureka, Ukiah, Fresno, Chico
Concord, Merced, San Diego, Pomona
Fullerton, Humboldt, Long Beach
Los Angeles, Northridge, Ontario
Mountain View, Redding, Stanislaus
Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego,
San Francisco, San Jose, San Luis Obispo,
San Marcos, Shasta, Stanislaus

7. Questions about this research may be addressed to **Michelle Nero**, (408) 316-8844, mnero348@yahoo.com, and Faculty Sponsor, **Dr. Jan English-Lueck**, (408) 924-5347, jenglish@zmail.sjsu.edu.

Complaints about the research may be presented to Dr. Jan English-Lueck. Questions about a research subjects' rights, or research-related injury may be presented to Pamela Stacks, Ph.D., Associate Vice President, Graduate Studies and Research, at (408) 924-2480.

8. No service of any kind, to which you are otherwise entitled, will be lost or jeopardized if you choose to "not participate" in the study.

9. My consent is given voluntarily without being _____ Initial coerced; I may refuse to participate in this project or in any part of this project, and I may withdraw at any time, without prejudice to my relations with San Jose State University. I understand that I am free to decline to answer any question or refuse to allow any observations of any aspect of my life for any reason whatsoever. I may refuse to participate in the entire study or in any part of the study. I have the right to not answer questions you do not wish to answer. If I decide to participate in the study, you are free to withdraw at any time without any negative effect on my relations with San Jose State University or with any other participating institutions or agencies.

10. I have received a copy of this Written Consent Form for my records. I have read this consent form or it has been translated for me into the following language:

_____ Initial
I wish to place the following restrictions on my participation or to make the following modifications to the consent form:

I HAVE MADE A DECISION WHETHER OR NOT TO PARTICIPATE. MY SIGNATURE INDICATES THAT I HAVE READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED ABOVE AND THAT I HAVE DECIDED TO PARTICIPATE.

PARTICIPANT'S NAME:

DATE:

PARTICIPANT'S SIGNATURE

The signature of a researcher on this document indicates agreement to include the above named subject in the research and attestation that the subject has been fully informed of his or her rights.

RESEARCHER'S NAME: _____
San Jose State University

DATE:

RESEARCHER'S
SIGNATURE:

Instrument

How long have you lived in this neighborhood?

What are the kinds of changes you have seen during your time here?

Who are the people you consider friends or family?

Where do they live?

Are any of them in this neighborhood?

Do any of these people help make it safer for you to live here? How?

Please tell me about *any* organizations that encourage neighbors to meet and work together (e.g. associations, agencies, support groups, church, school, sports, cultural, etc.) and your participation in them.

Who are the people you consider your neighbors?

Can you tell me about a time when you helped your neighbors or your neighbors helped you? What happened?

Can you tell me about a time when you think your relationship with your neighbors could have been better? What happened?

Beyond your own experience, how willing do you think your neighbors in Olinder are to help one another? Can you give an example?

If you said, "I trust my neighbor," what would that mean? Describe that relationship to me.

Can you give me an example of when you trusted your neighbors or they trusted you?

Can you give me an example of when it was hard to trust your neighbors?

In the last six months, have there been any fights in your neighborhood?

What kind (e.g. violent, weapons used, gang-related, sexual assault or rape, robbery or mugging)? Please tell me what happened and how you feel this could be prevented in the future.

I would like you to imagine several situations where your neighbors did see a crime.

Please tell me what you think your neighbors would do if they saw children skipping school and hanging out on the streets.

What do you think your neighbors would do if they saw children spray-painting graffiti on a local building?

What do you think your neighbors would do if they saw children showing disrespect to an adult?

What do you think your neighbors would do if a fight broke out in front of your home?

Please reflect on how your neighbors can meet and work together to make Olinder a safer place.

What would need to change? If you could realistically change one thing, what would that be?

What resources would you need?

What would your role be in these changes?

PROJECT CORNERSTONE

Search

Map of Project Cornerstone | Developmental Assets | An Asset Framework | 2004 Survey Results | Full Report | Asset Gap Chart

San Diego County Asset-a-Month Calendar

Map of Project Cornerstone | Developmental Assets | An Asset Framework | 2004 Survey Results | Full Report | Asset Gap Chart

Parents & Adults | Organizations

Developmental Assets: Types of Assets

EXTERNAL ASSETS:
 The first 20 assets focus on positive experiences that children and young people receive from the people and institutions that surround them in their everyday lives. When these assets are supported by the formal and informal systems in a community, they stimulate and nurture positive development in youth. These are the characteristics of external assets.

- 1. Support**
 This asset refers to the way young people experience love, affirmation, and acceptance. Ideally, young people experience an abundance of support, not only in their families but also from many other people in the community, such as neighbors, teachers, and other significant adults.
- 2. Empowerment**
 These assets relate to the key development need for youth to be valued and valuable. The empowerment assets highlight this need, focusing on community perceptions of youth (as reported by youth), and opportunities for youth to contribute to society in meaningful ways.
- 3. Boundaries and Expectations**
 The assets in this category refer to the need for youth to have clear and enforced boundaries to complement support and empowerment. Ideally, boundary assets are experienced in the settings of family, school, and neighborhood, providing a set of consistent messages about behavior which is viewed as "in bounds" and "out of bounds" across socializing systems.
- 4. Constructive Use of Time**
 One of the prime characteristics of a healthy community for youth is a rich array of structured opportunities for children and adolescents. Whether through schools, community organizations, faith communities, city/county government programs, or at home these structured activities contribute to the development of many internal and external assets.

INTERNAL ASSETS:
 The 20 internal assets are those things a community and family nurture within children and youth as they contribute to their own development. These assets include the attitudes and beliefs, a sense of motivation, purpose, and focus for young people. There are four categories of internal assets:

- 1. Commitment to Learning**
 Commitment to Learning is essential to young people in today's changing world. Developing an internal intellectual curiosity and the skills to gain new knowledge and learn from experience enable youth to succeed in school and to prepare to join the workforce that must adapt to rapid change.
- 2. Positive Values**
 Positive values are important "external compasses" to guide young people's priorities and choices. Though there are many values that seek to nurture, the asset framework focuses on six values known to both help prevent high-risk behaviors and promote caring for others.
- 3. Social Competencies**
 Social competencies reflect the important personal skills young people need to negotiate through the maze of choices and options they face on a daily basis. These skills also lay a foundation for independence and competence as young adults.
- 4. Positive Identity**
 Positive identity assets focus on young people's view of themselves - their own sense of power, purpose, worth and promise. Without these assets, young people risk feeling powerless and without a sense of initiative and purpose.



City San José

Strong Neighborhoods Initiative

Important Phone Numbers for Your Neighborhood

NEIGHBORHOOD RESOURCES:

- Neighborhood Development Center 382-6771 FAX: 437-0920
- **City Hall Call Center** **535-3500** TDD: 998-8299
- Animal Care & Services (loose & lost animals) 578-7297
- Recycle Plus call center (garbage and recycling) 277-2700
- Volunteer San José 535-3500

ELECTED OFFICIALS:

- Office of the Mayor 535-4800
- Office of Council District 3 535-4903

POLICE DEPARTMENT:

- **Emergency** **9 - 1 - 1**
- **Emergency call from a cell phone in San José** **277-8911**
- **Non-Emergency** **3 - 1 - 1**
- **Non-emergency call from a cell phone in San José** **277-8900**
- Bureau of Field Operations (Watch Commander) 277-4831
- Crime Prevention (Neighborhood Watch) 277-4133
- Crime Stoppers (Anonymous) 947-7867/STOP
- Drug Hotline(Anonymous) 971-3784/DRUG
- Narcotics Enforcement Team (N.E.T./ Metro Unit) 277-4937
- Gangs: Hotline (Gang Graffiti) 293-4284/GANG
- Gang Investigation Unit 277-3835

ANTI-GRAFFITI

- Graffiti Hotline 277-2758
 - Anti-Graffiti (Free Paint) 277-5827
 - Anti-Graffiti Office 277-3208
- Email digital images of graffiti tags to: sjpdgraffiti@sanjosaca.gov or on line: www.sjps.org/ReportingCrime/Graffiti.html include location, time, date observed and if it appears to be gang affiliated, along with your contact information

CODE ENFORCEMENT / HEALTH CONCERNS

- City wide code enforcement 277-4528
- Abandoned Vehicles: Public Streets (Recorder) 277-6305
- Private Property 277-6307
- Department of Health (Santa Clara County) 918-3400

FIRE DEPARTMENT

- Fire Department (Public Information) 535-3555
- Hazardous Materials 277-4659

DEPARTMENT OF STREETS AND TRAFFIC

- Potholes, illegal garbage dumping & other street maintenance 277 4373
- Broken street lights (recorder) 277-5617
- Railroad Maintenance (Union Pacific Railroad traces through downtown) 800-848-3715

STRONG NEIGHBORHOODS INITIATIVE

- Downtown Area SNI Field Office 297-3301
- For the 13th Street, Five Wounds/ Brookwood Terrace, University, and Market/ Almaden SNI areas