

Citywide vs. Neighborhood-specific Crime Rates: Do they Matter for the City of Jackson?

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Overview

This issue of *The MURC Digest* provides a consideration of measuring crime and an analysis of neighborhood-level crime in the city of Jackson based on Computer Analysis of Crime Statistics (COMSTAT) data available for the years 2004 – 2005. Recently, the Office of the Mayor of the city of Jackson has decided to cease reporting, and making available to the public, COMSTAT data disaggregated

at the neighborhood-level. Such a decision has significant policy implications, as it presupposes that the availability of disaggregated crime data is of no value. It is our hope that the analysis provided here shows the value of timely and publicly available neighborhood-level crime data. Like politics, all crime is local and ultimately the welfare of the inhabitants of a city is linked mostly to the quality of life in particular neighborhoods.

Cities contain people. People reside in neighborhoods. This insight informs an analytical framework of public economics whereby individual welfare is determined by sorting into neighborhoods that which reflects the ideal mix of public goods, amenities, and social interactions that optimize their well being.¹ As such, whereas changes in the welfare indicators of a city can be suggestive of how individual welfare is changing in a city, neighborhoodlevel changes in welfare are more suggestive. Heterogeneity in neighborhood well-being undermines the information value of citywide measures of wellbeing if there are huge disparities in well-being among neighborhoods. Only in a world in which neighborhoods were perfectly homogeneous would a single-index measure of well-being make sense, as each neighborhood in the index would be indistinguishable from any other, all with similar index weights.

Crime is one such indicator of individual welfare.

Increases in the crime rate are indicative of an erosion of welfare, as crime imposes costs on individuals and institutions in the form of losses to property, life and in the form of additional costly law enforcement measures. The converse is true when the crime rate falls. To the extent, however, that neighborhoods reflect optimizing choices by individuals, changes in the crime rate at the city level need not

provide relevant or sufficient information about individual welfare in neighborhoods. This raises a fundamental question of whether or not, as a measure, a citywide crime rate has any substantial information value that can be used as input into public policy decisions.

The crime rate of a neighborhood is also important for understanding the complex factors that affect the well-being of individuals who reside in neighborhoods. Crime is an important part of the social ecology of a neighborhood, and appears to be associated, both spatially with nearby neighborhoods and among individuals within neighborhoods, with



dilapidated housing, infant mortality, low birth weight, and other factors detrimental to individual well-being (Sampson 2003, 2004). In this context, neighborhood crime rates are a proxy — or a canary in the mine that provide useful information about overall neighborhood well-being.

There is no fixed relationship between the crime rate in the city and that in a particular neighborhood. In this context, law enforcement policy based on city-level changes in crime rates need not optimize the welfare of individuals who reside in neighborhoods. If criminals are also optimizers, they will select neighborhoods where the probability of criminal success is relatively high, possibly offsetting the effects of aggressive citywide law enforcement, and crime and welfare in particular neighborhoods can decrease while for the city as a whole, the typical resident is better off.

From a strict egalitarian welfarist perspective, where the welfare of all of a city's residents is equally valued, a law enforcement policy that ignores

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neighborhood-level crime rates may not optimize individual welfare, if at the neighborhood level, crime rates bear no strict proportional relationship to the city-level crime rate. From a political economy perspective, ignoring neighborhood-level crime rates also suggests that the welfare of residents in particular neighborhoods (e.g, black, poor, low-income) may not be of particular interest to law enforcement authorities.

Neighborhood Crime in Jackson

Tables 1 - 2 report on the crime rate across 54 Jackson neighborhoods between 2004 and 2005 based on COMSTAT data.² Table 1 reports on the first quarter, and Table 2 reports on the second quarter. We rank, in ascending order, each neighborhood according to their improvement with respect to the percentage change in the quarterly crime rate. Each table also reports the quarterly crime rate for each neighborhood. The neighborhood classifications are based on census data at the block and tract levels, and are named according to prominent streets, local institutions

such as hospitals or colleges/ universities, and existing traditional neighborhood names.

The quarterly crime rates are an approximate measure of how safe a particular neighborhood is with respect to an individual being victimized by crime. By this measure, at the end of the first quarter of 2004, Northpointe was the safest neighborhood, and Downtown was the least safe. At the end of the first quarter of 2005, the Plantation Drive neighborhood was the safest, and Downtown was the least safe. With respect to the second quarter in 2004, the Plantation Drive neighborhood was the safest and Downtown was the least safe. At the end of the second quarter of 2005, Northpointe was the safest neighborhood, and Downtown was the least safe.

With respect to changes in the quarterly crime rate between 2004–2005, the Northpointe neighborhood experienced the biggest decrease in the first quarter and is ranked number one in this category. The Hawkins Field neighborhood experienced the biggest increase in crime over this

period and is ranked last among Jackson neighborhoods in this category. Overall, out of 54 neighborhoods, 40 experienced decreases in the crime rate over the first quarter, with 15 neighborhoods experiencing an increase in the crime rate. For the second quarter, the Virden Addition neighborhood experienced the biggest decrease in crime over 2004-2005, and is ranked number one. The Jackson Country Club neighborhood experienced the biggest increase in crime over this period, and is ranked last. Overall, out of 54 neighborhoods, 29 saw decreases in the crime rate over the second quarter, with 25 neighborhoods experiencing an increase in the crime rate.

Rankings of neighborhoods in the top ten for crime rates across the two quarters are remarkably stable, with the Downtown, Terry Road -Battlefield Park, and Farish Street neighborhoods always in the top five. Downtown also had the distinction of being the most crime-ridden neighborhood across both quarters of 2005. The stability of these neighborhoods in the top five suggests that relative to all other Jackson neighborhoods, these three are particularly prone to crime warranting special law enforcement interventions. The Farish Street and Terry Road -Battlefield Park neighborhoods are also some of the poorest in Jackson, suggesting that the underlying causal factors of crime are socioeconomic in nature.

The data on crime rates in Tables 1 - 2 suggest that neighborhoods in the city of Jackson are heterogeneous with respect to the processes generating crime. If so, the information value of a city-wide crime rate would be limited. Of course, if the processes generating crime are similar in every neighborhood, a citywide crime rate would convey perfect information to citizens, regardless of the neighborhood in which they reside. Formally, this raises the issue of whether or not a citywide crime rate is a so-called "Sufficient Statistic" conveying all information about citywide crime.³

A Kruskal-Wallis test (Kruskal and Wallis, 1952) on 2004 crimes at the census tract level in Jackson suggests that crime rates in each neighborhood are generated from different probability distributions.⁴ This suggests that a citywide crime rate does not reflect the likelihood of an individual being victimized by crime in any neighborhood, as each has its own process generating crime. The rejection of similar probability distributions for crime rates across neighborhoods also undermines the information value of a citywide crime rate. As the underlying neighborhood crime rates are not generated from identical and independent distributions, adding the crime rates across neighborhoods to get an aggregate city-wide rate results in a biased measure of crime.

As the Kruskal-Wallis test rejects the idea that all neighborhoods in the city of Jackson have similar processes generating crime, an implication is that a citywide crime rate has limited information value with regard to describing the level of crime in the city — it is not a Sufficient Statistic. Apparently, neighborhood-level crime in Jackson is too heterogeneous for a citywide crime rate to convey accurate information about the actual crime rate faced by a citizen who finds himself randomly situated in one of the 65 neighborhoods in the city. If a single-index citywide crime rate is desirable, an improved alternative would be a weighted sum crime index with each neighborhood's share of citywide crime as the weight. The current, simple, unweighted citywide crime rate assumes each neighborhood in Jackson is identical with respect to the process generating crime — which does not withstand formal statistical scrutiny.

Implications for the Political Economy of Neighborhood Welfare

A simple citywide crime index, being a biased measure of crime in a city where neighborhoods are heterogeneous with respect to crime, can also obscure policy issues of law enforcement provision. As a public good, law enforcement resources are scarce, and if provided optimally, should be allocated on the basis of sound cost-benefit considerations. The benefits are most clearly recognizable and identifiable—reductions in the citywide crime rate. However, if the information value of the citywide crime index is poor, the provision of



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TABLE 1											
Neighborhood	1st Qtr 2004	1 of Off 2004 Doub	1st Qtr 2005	1-t Ota 2005 Damk	% Change	% Change	Population (2000				
Northpointe	226.4	53rd	45.3	54th	-79 99%	1	2 208				
Northbown Apts.	1647.3	17th	484.5	46th	-70.59%	2	1.032				
Tougaloo	2011.3	8th	603.4	45th	-70.00%	3	2,486				
Callaway-Presto Lane	406.5	50th	135.5	53rd	-66.67%	4	738				
Plantation Drive	395	51st	151.9	52nd	-61.54%	5	3,291				
Jackson Country Club	725.9	42nd	298.9	50th	-58.82%	6	2,342				
County Line Road/Ridgewood Road	2977.2	7th	1313.5	18th	-55.88%	7	1,142				
Ellis Avenue-Lynch Street-Hemmingway Circle-Alta Vista	1830.8	10th	811.1	36th	-55.70%	8	4,315				
Lochwood Apts.	3571.4	3rd	1601	8th	-52.66%	9	812				
Eastbrooke-Eastover	1699.6	16th	958	29th	-43.63%	10	3,236				
Metro Center	3262.2	5th	1882.1	5th	-42.31%	11	797				
South Jackson/Byram-East of I-55	1195.2	29th	704.9	41st	-41.02%	12	3,263				
Woodlea-Woodhaven-North Colony	406.9	49th	250.4	51st	-38.46%	13	3,195				
Alta Woods	1821.5	11th	1142.3	23rd	-37.29%	14	3,239				
Woody Drive/Treehaven Drive-Terry Road	1585.6	21st	1004.2	28th	-36.67%	15	1,892				
Shady Lane/McFadden Road-Wingfield-Dorgan Street	1492.3	22nd	954.4	30th	-36.04%	16	5,763				
Virden Addition	1431.1	24th	919.7	32nd	-35.73%	17	6,415				
Downtown	9728.5	1st	6259.4	1st	-35.66%	18	1,326				
Washington Addition-Highway 80	3516.8	4th	2385.3	4th	-32.17%	19	3,270				
Subdivision #2	1163.8	30th	794.8	38th	-31.71%	20	3,523				
Dixon Road-South Drive	1621.6	20th	1114.9	24th	-31.25%	21	2,960				
Northgate-Valley North-Norwood	440.4	48th	302.8	49th	-31.24%	22	3,633				
Savanna Street	1092.9	33rd	762	39th	-30.28%	23	2,745				
Rollingwood-McLeod-Sedgwick Drive	1150.3	31st	816.3	35th	-29.03%	24	2,695				
Farish Street	3859.3	2nd	2837.7	3rd	-26.47%	25	881				
Georgetown	1786.1	12th	1363.1	15th	-23.68%	26	4,255				
Queens-Magnolia Terrace-Country Club Drive	1020.9	30ln	825.7	34(1)	-19.12%	21	0,001				
Signature Square-Highway 18-Maddox Road	1768.8	13th	1400.1	14th	-10.90%	20	3,337				
Brianwood-Colonial Heights	1877.5	9th	1578.2	9th	-17.39%	30	3,901				
Broadmoor	1054.9	35th	921.4	31st	-12.66%	31	7 489				
Terry Road-Greenwood Avenue-Rebelwood Apts	1441 2	23rd	1330.4	16th	-7 69%	32	1,403				
Cooper Road-Woodville Heights-Oak Forest	922.4	40th	858.8	33rd	-6.90%	33	3,144				
Deer Park-JSU	1622.5	19th	1528.9	10th	-5.77%	34	3.205				
Terry Road-Battlefield Park	3176.4	6th	3023.3	2nd	-4.82%	35	2,613				
West Central Jackson	1326.9	26th	1263.7	19th	-4.76%	36	4,748				
Fondren-Woodland Hills-UMC	1309.7	27th	1261.8	20th	-3.66%	37	6,261				
Hanging Moss-Beaverbrook-Meadowlane-Witsell Road	626.5	44th	606.9	44th	-3.13%	38	5,108				
Autumn Woods-North Hill Square	1743.9	14th	1694.1	6th	-2.86%	39	2,007				
Mid-Town-Millsaps-North End	1422.2	25th	1451.8	12th	-2.08%	40	3,375				
Belhaven	1634.5	18th	1653	7th	1.13%	41	5,384				
Robinson Road-Westland Plaza	1066.4	34th	1096	25th	2.78%	42	3,376				
Presidential Hills	673.8	43rd	698.8	42nd	3.71%	43	4,007				
Bel Air-Shady Oaks-Christian Brotherhood-Medical Mall	969.9	39th	1009.2	27th	4.05%	44	7,630				
Cedar Hills-Western Hills-Brookhollow	312.5	52nd	337.5	48th	8.00%	45	8,001				
Capitol Street-Zoo	1240.5	28th	1407	13th	13.42%	46	6,610				
Sheffield-Jackson Academy-E. Northside Drive	1127.8	32nd	1328.3	17th	17.78%	47	3,990				
Woody Drive/Woodside Drive	861.4	41st	1018	26th	18.18%	48	3,831				
Boling Street-Bullard Street	993.8	37th	1183.2	22nd	19.06%	49	2,113				
The Lodge	986.6	38th	1198	21st	21.43%	50	1,419				
Leavell Woods-Terry Road-Cooper Road	519.4	45th	641.6	43rd	23.52%	51	3,273				
McClure Road-Rainey Road	498.6	46th	747.9	40th	50.00%	52	2,808				
Hawkins Field	453.9	47th	806.9	37th	77.77%	53	1,983				
Byram	145.5	54th	378.2	47th	159.93%	54	6,875				

efficient and cost-effective law enforcement could be compromised. To the extent that a simple unweighted citywide crime index obscures the level of crime in particular neighborhoods, a citywide crime rate utilized as an indicator of how effective law enforcement resources have been could result in the underprovision of law enforcement in particular neighborhoods. If individuals in particular neighborhoods observe for example, the simple citywide crime rate falling, whereas it is increasing in their neighborhood, they can mistakenly be led to believe that crime is also falling in their

number of the statenumber of the	TABLE 2											
Nome Adds171.626h.56.4.4400.40.409.106.4.159.Belr-Selo Advectinisa Destromol-Advectinisa Destromol-A	Neighborhood	2nd Qtr 2004 Crime Rate	2nd Qtr 2004 Rank	2nd Qtr 2005 Crime Rate	2nd Qtr 2005 Rank	% Change	% Change Rank	Population (2000 Census)				
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Segmen Seguen	Eastbrooke-Eastover	1699.6	15th	896.2	36th	-47.27%	3	3,236				
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Washington Addition-Highway 80 3272 58h 2477.1 77h -24.36% 14 3.270 Sunh Jackson/Syman-East of 155 1986.6 11eh 1317.8 22184 -21.26% 16 3.283 Breadmoor 10041.5 39h 814.5 39h -21.80% 16 3.283 Autann Woods Noth Hill Siguare 3130 6h 24.041.3 6h -40.65% 16 2.208 Northporte 22.84 61st 191.2 54h -19.86% 19 2.208 Rolingwood-Mick Sedspick Drive 122.45 30h 1001.9 33dd 41.6 28h -11.65% 22 2.208 Dibono Road-Souch Drive 3385.1 24h 17.05% 2.11 2.368 11.35 3.24 1.326 3.24 1.326 3.24 1.326 3.26 3.378 2.25 3.378 Balan Souch Souch Drive 301.4 127.7 28h 1125.6 271h 11.65% 2.2 1.6.04 Ternr Ro	Hawkins Field	958.1	41st	706	44th	-26.31%	13	1,983				
Metic Center 228.6 7h 1766.6 11hh -2.22% 15 797 Sub. AdvoorDerant-Sate 11-50 1086.5 1081.5 33th 211.82% 211.82% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 213.22% 214.22% 214.22% 214.22% 224.64 161.61% 214.22% 20.64 32.25% 30.66 10.01% 33.26% 212.22.65 23.65% 214.22% 20.66 32.25% 114.16% 212.26 20.66 112.26 20.66 112.26 20.66 14.15% 22.2 20.66 12.25% 30.66 12.25% 33.66 12.26% 32.5% 32.65%<	Washington Addition-Highway 80	3272.2	5th	2477.1	7th	-24.30%	14	3,270				
South Jackson/Prom/Ease of I-50 1686.6 169h 1377.8 21 st 21 82% 16 3.283 Broadmon 1014.5 33th 614.5 38th 21.00% 17 7.489 Autum Woods-North Hill Square 3139 0th 2401.3 6th -20.63% 18 2.007 Northaget Valley North-Norwood 685.3 44th 688.1 45th -11.09.0% 2.00 3.633 Rollingwood McLood Sedgruick Drive 1224.5 30th 1001.9 3.33d 181.16% 2.00 3.633 Dom Coad South Drive 1335.1 24d 1148.6 28th -14.07% 2.2 2.980 Lochwood Apts 3335.1 4th 2832.5 5th -14.81% 2.3 3.112 Rolinon Road Westland Plaza 172.7 28th 112.65 27th -14.83% 2.6 5.763 Terry Road-Entatified Plax 344.3 3rd 3559.1 3.36 -2.63% 2.8 2.613 Terry Road-Entatified Plax	Metro Center	2258.5	7th	1756.6	11th	-22.22%	15	797				
Bradmoor 1011.5 35h 814.5 39h 2.2.80% 17 7.489 Auturn Words-North His Bayar 3139 6h 2401.3 6h 2007.5 18 2.007 Northpate-Valley North-Norwood 885.3 44h 681.1 45h 199.9% 19 2.083 Rolingwood McLeod-Sequeic Dure 1224.5 30h 1001.9 33rd 48.16% 21 2.685 Dion Road-South Drive 1385.1 22h 1148.6 28th 11.308% 22 2.980 Lowbood Aprice 3325.1 44h 2825 51h 14.81% 23 51h 14.81% 24 33d 141 138.1 248 33d 141 13h 4.60% 27 1.804 Rolingwood Anchuse Rebeard Apts. 182.3 111n 1118.4 13h 130.5 24h 33d 25.837	South Jackson/Byram-East of I-55	1685.6	16th	1317.8	21st	-21.82%	16	3,263				
Aurum Woods-North Hill Square 3139 6th 2491.3 6th 4.203% 18 2.207 Northgate-Valley North-Norwood 2264 5514 181.2 54th 19.20% 10 2.208 Northgate-Valley North-Norwood 863.3 44th 668.1 45th 1.92% 2.0 3.633 Rolingwood-McLood-Sadgwick Drive 1385.1 2.30 1.10.14 1.328 1.16.85% 2.1 2.2690 Lochwood Agts 3325.1 4th 2.828.5 5th -1.4.81% 2.3 8.12 Downtown 808.4 118 7013.6 1.11 1.11.63% 2.4 1.336 Shady LaneMcFadden Road-Wingtleic-Brogma Street 1027.3 2.28th 1.118.4 1.38th 2.65 3.376 Terry Road-Sattlefield Park 3.443.3 3rd 3.555.1 3.376 2.8 4.007 Terry Road-Sattlefield Park 3.443.3 3rd 3.555.1 2.6 4.017 Shead callefield Park 3.443.3 3rd 3.55	Broadmoor	1041.5	35th	814.5	39th	-21.80%	17	7,489				
Nnthporine 228.4 51st 181.2 54hn -19.8% 19 2.208 Nothgaved-McLaod-Sadgwick Drive 1524.5 30h 1001.5 33rd -18.1% 21 2.665 Dison Read-South Drive 1385.1 23rd 114.8.6 26h -17.0% 22 2.605 Dison Read-South Drive 3325.1 4th 2322.5 5th -14.3% 23 612 Downtowin 8009.4 1st 7013.6 1st -13.06% 24 1.326 Baby LaneMcFadden Read-Wingleid-Dorgan Street 1301.4 27th 1.386.2 20th 4.67% 26 5.763 Terr Read-Greenwood Avenue Abelwood Apts. 1323.3 11th 171.84 13th 4.62% 26 3.763 Terr Read-Greenwood Avenue Abelwood Apts. 1329.3 14th 171.84 13th 4.62% 28 4.007 Terr Read-Greenwood Avenue Abelwood Apts. 1429.3 4.341 1066 3.414 1066 3.414 1066.5 3.416	Autumn Woods-North Hill Square	3139	6th	2491.3	6th	-20.63%	18	2,007				
Northgate-Valley North-Norwood 6833 44th 6881.1 44fn -19.39% 20 3.533 Rolingwood-Adle.od-Sequingwick Drive 1285.1 23rd 1148.6 28th -17.07% 22 2.980 Lochwood Agits 3225.1 4th 2.822.5 6th -14.41% 23 812 Downtown 8006.4 141 7013.6 13t -13.05% 24 1.326 Robinson Road-Westland Plaza 1273.7 28th 1125.6 27th -11.63% 26 5.763 Shody LanoM-Faddin Road-Winglind-Dorgan Singuin 1301.4 277.7 28th 1125.6 27th -11.63% 26 5.763 Shody LanoM-Faddin Road-Winglind-Dorgan Singuin 1303.4 323.4 33d 33d 33d 4.255 Terry Road-Gatenewood Apts 1829.3 111h 1718.4 131h 4.05% 28 4.007 Ellis Avenue-Lynch Street-Hammingway Circla-Alta Kat 344 1066 34th 1066 314t 20.05% 31 4	Northpointe	226.4	51st	181.2	54th	-19.96%	19	2,208				
Rollingwood McLaed-Sedgwick Drive 1224.5 30th 1001.9 33rd 1.18.16 23rd 1.18.16 2.28th 1.107076 2.2 2.2960 Dion Road-South Drive 33325.1 4th 2.832.5 5th -1.4.81% 2.3 812 Downtown 8068.4 1st 7013.6 1st -1.18.5% 2.2 4.1.326 Shady Lane/Mcadam Road-Wingfield-Dragan Street 120.3 121.4 27th -1.8.5% 2.2 2.1.8 Terry Road-Greenwood Avene -Realwood Aptis. 1829.3 11th 1718.4 13th -6.6.7% 2.6 2.5.783 Terry Road-Greenwood Avene -Realwood Aptis. 1829.3 14th 1718.4 13th -6.67% 2.8 2.6.131 Terry Road-Greenwood Avene -Realwood Aptis. 1829.3 4.2rd 923.4 35th -2.63% 2.9 4.007 Elis Avenu-Lynch Street-Hermingway Circle -Nta Vista 1066.5 31st 0.667 33 3.155 Oueens-Magnola 1168.6 17th 1682.1 14th <td< td=""><td>Northgate-Valley North-Norwood</td><td>853.3</td><td>44th</td><td>688.1</td><td>45th</td><td>-19.36%</td><td>20</td><td>3,633</td></td<>	Northgate-Valley North-Norwood	853.3	44th	688.1	45th	-19.36%	20	3,633				
Dixon Read-South Drive 1385.1 23rd 1114.6 26th 1.10.7% 22 2.960 Lachwood Apts 3325.1 4th 2832.5 5th 1.481% 2.0 1.1326 Robinson Read-Westland Plaza 1273.7 28th 1.1326 27th 1.168% 2.6 5.763 Terry Road-Greenwood Avenus-Rebelwood Apta. 1829.3 111th 1.718.4 13th -6.67% 2.6 2.7563 Terry Road-Greenwood Avenus-Rebelwood Apta. 1829.3 111th 1.718.4 13th -6.67% 2.0 1.804 Terry Road-Greenwood Avenus-Rebelwood Apta. 1829.3 111th 1.718.4 13th -6.07% 2.0 1.804 Terry Road-Greenwood Avenus-Rebelwood Apta. 1829.3 111th 1718.4 13th -6.07% 3.0 4.215 Terry Road-Greenwood Avenus-Rebelwood Apta. 11666.6 17th 1666.7 3.05 4.265 Cagegetwin 1686.6 17th 1666.7 4.66 4.28 4.661 4.66 4.661	Rollingwood-McLeod-Sedgwick Drive	1224.5	30th	1001.9	33rd	-18.18%	21	2,695				
Lochwood Apis 3325.1 4th 2825.5 5th -1.4.81% 2.3 812 Downtorn 8069.4 1st 77013.6 1st -13.08% 2.4 1.326 Shady Lane/Meradaen Road-Winglied-Diagan Street 1301.4 27th 1388.2 20th 6.67% 2.6 5.763 Therry Road-Stattiefied Park 1329.3 11th 1718.4 13th 6.06% 2.7 1,804 Terry Road-Stattiefied Park 3344.3 3rd 3559.1 3rd 3.33% 2.8 2,2613 Bis Avenue-Lynch Street-Hemmingway Circle-Atta Vista 1066 34th 1066 31st 0% 30 4,265 Queens-Magnolia Terrace-Courty Club Drive 1705.6 45th 1035.5 29th 6.06% 3.3 3,195 Northword Apts. 1102.8 31st 1259.7 21st 6.07% 3.6 1.032 Caceper Road-Woodhile Heights-Oak Forest 998 39th 1081.4 30th 9.88% 36 3,144 M	Dixon Road-South Drive	1385.1	23rd	1148.6	26th	-17.07%	22	2,960				
Downtown 8069.4 1st 703.6 1st 130.% 24 1,126 Robinson Road-Westland Plaza 127.7 28th 1125.6 27th 11.60% 26 3,376 Shady Lane/McFadden Road-Wingfield-Dorgan Street 1301.4 27th 1388.2 20th 4.67% 26 5,763 Terry Road-Genemod Avenue-Rebelwood Apts. 1829.3 11th 1718.4 13th -0.06% 27 1,804 Terry Road-Genemod Avenue-Rebelwood Apts. 048.3 42nd 923.4 35th -2.63% 28 4,007 Ellis Avenue-Lynch Street-Hemmingway Circle-Mat Vista 1006 34th 1066. 31st 0% 30 4,215 Queens-Magnolia Terrace-Country Club Drive 750.6 45th 795.7 41st 6.01% 33 3,195 Northweel Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1100.1 22nd 1489.4 18th 6.36% 34 3,335 Northweel Jackson Academy Road 1068.4 33rd 11175.2 22nh 6.06% 38	Lochwood Apts	3325.1	4th	2832.5	5th	-14.81%	23	812				
Robinson Road-Westland Plaza 1273.7 28th 1126.6 27th 116.3% 25 3.376 Shady Land-Meradden Road-Wingfled-Dorgan Street 1301.4 27th 1388.2 20th 4.66.7% 26 5.763 Terry Road-Greenwood Avnues-Rebetwood Apts. 1829.3 11th 1718.4 13th 4.00% 27 1.804 Terry Road-Battlefield Park 3444.3 3rd 923.4 3rd -3.33% 28 2.613 Elis Avenue-Lynch Street-Hermingway Circle-Atta Vista 10666 34th 1066 31st 0.6% 30 4.435 Queens-Magnolia Terrace-Country Club Drive 750.6 45th 795.7 41st 6.01% 32 6.661 Woodea-Woodhwen-North Colony 1032.9 36th 1085.5 29th 6.06% 33 3.165 Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1400.1 22nd 1489.4 18th 6.38% 34 3.357 Cooper Road-Woodville Heights-Oak Forest 986 39th 1081.4 30th 9.66%	Downtown	8069.4	1st	7013.6	1st	-13.08%	24	1,326				
Shady LaneMcFadden Read-Winglied/ Dorgan Street 1301.4 27h 1188.2 20h 6.67% 26 5,783 Terry Read-Geenwood Avenue-Rebelwood Apts. 1829.3 111h 1718.4 131h 6.06% 27 1.804 Terry Road-Battlefield Park 3444.3 3rd 3559.1 3rd -3.33% 2.8 2.613 Ellis Avenue-Lynch Street-Hemingway Circle-Atta Vista 1066 34th 1066 31th 0.% 3.0 4.315 Georgetown 1668.6 17th 1682.1 14th 0.05% 3.1 4.255 Queens-Magnolia Terrace-County Club Drive 750.6 45th 795.7 41st 6.01% 3.2 6.661 Wooddea-Woodhaven-Noth Colony 1032.9 36th 1095.5 29th 6.05% 3.8 3.3151 Cooper Road-Moodile Heights-Oak Forest 986 39th 1081.4 30th 9.68% 36 3.144 McClure Road-Rainey Road 1068.4 33rd 1175.2 25th 10.00% 37 2.808<	Robinson Road-Westland Plaza	1273.7	28th	1125.6	27th	-11.63%	25	3,376				
Terry Road-Greenwood Avenue-Rebelwood Apts. 1622.3 11th 1718.4 13th 4.60% 27 1,804 Terry Road-Battlefield Park. 344.3 3rd 3559.1 3rd -2.63% 2.9 4.007 Ellis Avenue-Lynch Street-Hemmingway Circle-Atta Vista 1066 34th 1066 31st 0% 3.0 4.315 Queens-Magnolia Terrace-Courty Club Drive 750.6 45th 715.7 41st 6.01% 3.2 6.66t1 Woodlea-Woodhaven-North Colony 1032.9 36th 1095.5 2.9th 6.06% 3.3 3.195 Northwork Apts. 1162.8 31st 1255.7 2.2nd 8.3% 3.6 1.032 Cooper Road-Woodwille Heights-Oak Forest 986 39th 1081.4 30th 9.68% 36 3.144 McClure Road-Rainey Road 1068.4 33rd 1175.2 2.5th 10.00% 37 2.806 Sheffield-Jackson Academy-Exontraide Drive 977.4 40th 1105.2 25th 10.00% 32 <t< td=""><td>Shady Lane/McFadden Road-Wingfield-Dorgan Street</td><td>1301.4</td><td>27th</td><td>1388.2</td><td>20th</td><td>-6.67%</td><td>26</td><td>5,763</td></t<>	Shady Lane/McFadden Road-Wingfield-Dorgan Street	1301.4	27th	1388.2	20th	-6.67%	26	5,763				
Terry Road-Battlefield Park 3444.3 3rd 3551.1 3rd -3.3% 28 2.613 Presidenial Hils 948.3 42rd 923.4 3351.1 -2.63% 29 4.007 Ellis Avenue-Lynch Street-Hemmingway Circle-Alta Vista 1066 3141 1096. 30 4.315 Georgetown 1668.6 17th 1692.1 14th 0.09%. 31 4.255 Queens-Magnolia Terrace-Country Club Drive 750.6 45th 795.7 41st 6.01%. 32 6.661 Woodlea-Woodhaven-North Colony 1032.9 36th 1095.5 22th 6.08%. 33 3.195 Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1400.1 22nd 1489.4 18th 6.38%. 34 3.367 Cooper Road-Woodville Heights-Oak Forest 986 39th 1081.4 30th 9.68% 36 1.010 McClure Road-Rainey Road 1068.4 33rd 1175.2 25th 10.00% 37 2.808 Cooper Park-USU 1372.9	Terry Road-Greenwood Avenue-Rebelwood Apts.	1829.3	11th	1718.4	13th	-6.06%	27	1,804				
Presidential Hulis 948.3 42nd 923.4 35th 7.2.6% 2.9 4,007 Elis Avenue-Lynch Street-Hemmingway Circle-Alta Vista 1066 34th 1066 31ts 0% 30 4,315 Georgetown 1668.6 17th 1692.1 14th 0.05% 31 4,255 Queens-Magnolia Terrace-Country Club Drive 750.6 45th 795.7 41st 6.01% 32 6,661 Woodlea-Woodhaven-North Colony 1032.9 36th 1095.5 29th 6.06% 33 3,195 Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lskeover 1400.1 22nd 1489.4 18th 6.38% 34 3,357 Cooper Road-Woodville Heights-Oak Forest 986 39th 1081.4 30th 9.66% 36 1,142 McClure Road-Rainey Road 1068.4 33rd 1172.2 25th 10.00% 37 2,808 Sheffield-Jackson Academy-E. Northside Drive 977.4 40th 1102.8 28th 12.83% 38 3.990	Terry Road-Battlefield Park	3444.3	3rd	3559.1	3rd	-3.33%	28	2,613				
Elis Avenue-Lynch Street-Hemmingway Circle-Atta Vista 1066 34th 1066 31st 0% 30 4,315 Georgetovn 1668.6 17th 1662.1 14th 0.05% 31 4,255 Queens-Magnolia Terrace-Country Club Drive 750.6 45th 795.7 41st 6.01% 32 6.661 Woodlea-Woodhaven-North Colony 1032.9 36th 1095.5 29th 6.06% 33 3,357 Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1400.1 22nd 1489.4 18th 6.38% 34 3,367 Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1400.1 22nd 1489.4 18th 6.38% 35 1.032 Cooper Road-Woodville Heights-Oak Forest 986 39th 1081.4 30th 9.68% 36 3,144 McClure Road-Rainey Road 1068.4 33rd 1175.2 25th 10.00% 37 2.808 Sheffield-Jackson Academy-E. Northside Drive 977.4 40th 1162.8 28th 12.83% 38 3.990 <td>Presidential Hills</td> <td>948.3</td> <td>42nd</td> <td>923.4</td> <td>35th</td> <td>-2.63%</td> <td>29</td> <td>4,007</td>	Presidential Hills	948.3	42nd	923.4	35th	-2.63%	29	4,007				
Georgetown 1688.6 17th 1682.1 14th 0.05% 31 4,255 Queens-Magnolia Terrace-Country Club Drive 750.6 45th 795.7 41st 6.01% 32 6.661 Woodlea-Woodhaven-North Colony 1032.9 36th 1095.5 29th 6.06% 33 3.195 Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1140.1 22nd 1489.4 18th 6.38% 34 3.357 Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1162.8 31st 1259.7 22nd 8.33% 35 1.032 Cooper Road-Woodville Heights-Oak Forest 986 39th 1081.4 30th 9.68% 36 3.144 McClure Road-Rainey Road 1068.4 33rd 1175.2 25th 10.00% 37 2.808 Sheffield-Jackson Academy-E. Northside Drive 977.4 40th 1102.8 29th 12.83% 38 3.990 Deer Park-JSU 1372.9 24th 1591.3 16th 15.41% 316t.4 17.64% 40	Ellis Avenue-Lynch Street-Hemmingway Circle-Alta Vista	1066	34th	1066	31st	0%	30	4,315				
Ducens-Magnola lerrace-County Club Drive 79.6 44st 795.7 41st 6.01% 32 6.66f Woodea-Woodhaven-Noth Colony 1032.9 36th 1095.5 29th 6.08% 33 3,195 Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1400.1 22nd 1489.4 18th 6.03% 34 3,357 Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1402.8 31st 1259.7 22nd 8.33% 35 1,032 Cooper Road-Woodwille Heights-Oak Forest 986 39th 1081.4 30th 9.68% 36 3,144 McClure Road-Rainey Road 1068.4 33rd 1175.2 25th 10.00% 37 2,808 Deer Park-JSU 1372.9 24th 1591.3 16th 15.91% 38 3,290 County Line Road/Ridgewood Road 4278.3 2nd 5166.4 2nd 20.76% 41 1,142 Cedar Hills-Western Hills-Brotkoholow 275 50th 337.5 52nd 22.73% 42 8,001	Georgetown	1668.6	17th	1692.1	14th	0.05%	31	4,255				
Woodlear-Woodlaker-Morth Colony 1032.9 36th 1095.5 29th 6.06% 33 3,195 Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1400.1 22nd 1489.4 18th 6.38% 34 3,357 Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1162.8 31st 1259.7 22nd 8.33% 35 1.032 Cooper Road-Woodville Heights-Oak Forest 986 39th 1081.4 30th 9.68% 36 3,144 McClure Road-Rainey Road 1068.4 33rd 1175.2 25th 10.00% 37 2.808 Sheffield-Jackson Academy-E. Northside Drive 977.4 40th 1102.8 28th 12.83% 38 3,990 Deer Park-JSU 1372.9 24th 1591.3 16th 15.91% 39 3,205 County Line Road/Ridgewood Road 4278.3 2nd 5166.4 2nd 20.76% 41 1,142 Cedart Hilk-Western Hille-Brookhollow 275 50th 337.5 52nd 22.73% 42 8,001	Queens-Magnolia Terrace-Country Club Drive	750.6	45th	795.7	41st	6.01%	32	6,661				
Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover 1400.1 22/10 1493.4 18th 6.3% 3.4 3.50 ⁺ Northwon Apts. 1162.8 31st 1259.7 22nd 8.33% 35 1,032 Cooper Road-Woodville Heights-Oak Forest 986 39th 1081.4 30th 9.68% 36 3,144 McClure Road-Rainey Road 1068.4 33rd 1175.2 25th 10.00% 37 2,808 Sheffield-Jackson Academy-E. Northside Drive 977.4 40th 1102.8 28th 12.83% 38 3,990 Deer Park-JSU 1372.9 24th 1591.3 16th 15.91% 39 3,205 County Line Road/Ridgewood Road 4278.3 2nd 5166.4 2nd 20.76% 41 1,142 Cedar Hils-Western Hills-Brookhollow 275 50th 337.5 52nd 22.73% 42 8,001 Leavell Woods-Terry Road-Cooper Road 641.6 47th 824.9 38th 28.57% 44 3,273 <t< td=""><td>Northwart Jackson Bickward Lakasson</td><td>1032.9</td><td>36th</td><td>1095.5</td><td>29th</td><td>6.06%</td><td>33</td><td>3,195</td></t<>	Northwart Jackson Bickward Lakasson	1032.9	36th	1095.5	29th	6.06%	33	3,195				
Northitown Apis. 1162.8 318t 1259.7 22/hd 8.33% 35 11,032 Cooper Road-Woodville Heights-Oak Forest 986 39th 1081.4 30th 9.68% 36 3,144 McClure Road-Rainey Road 1068.4 33rd 1175.2 25th 10.00% 37 2,808 Sheffield-Jackson Academy-E. Northside Drive 977.4 40th 1102.8 28th 12.83% 38 3,990 Deer Park-JSU 1372.9 24th 1591.3 16th 15.91% 39 3,205 Alta Woods 1574.6 18th 1852.4 10th 17.64% 40 3,239 County Line Road/Ridgewood Road 4278.3 2nd 5166.4 2nd 20.76% 41 1,142 Cedar Hills-Western Hills-Brookhollow 275 50th 337.5 52nd 22.73% 42 8,001 Fondren-Woodland Hills-UMC 1325.7 26th 1661.7 15th 25.53% 43 6,261 Leaveil Woods-Terry Road-Coo	Northwest Jackson-Richwood-Lakeover	1400.1	22nd	1489.4	18th	6.38%	34	3,357				
Codper Road-vrouvine Heights-Oak rolest 366 3911 1081.4 3011 30.8% 36 3,144 McClure Road-Rainey Road 1068.4 33rd 1175.2 25th 10.00% 37 2,808 Sheffield-Jackson Academy-E. Northside Drive 977.4 40th 1102.8 28th 12.83% 38 3,990 Deer Park-JSU 1372.9 24th 1591.3 16th 15.91% 39 3,205 Alta Woods 1574.6 18th 1852.4 10th 17.64% 40 3,239 County Line Road/Ridgewood Road 4278.3 2nd 5166.4 2nd 20.76% 41 1,142 Cedar Hills-Western Hills-Brookhollow 275 50th 337.5 52nd 22.73% 42 8,001 Fondren-Woodland Hills-UMC 1325.7 26th 1661.7 15th 25.5% 43 6,261 Leavell Woods-Terry Road-Cooper Road 641.6 47th 824.9 38th 28.57% 44 3,273 Boling Street	Northtown Apts.	1162.8	31St	1259.7	22nd	8.33%	35	1,032				
Michael Rainey Road 1008.4 330 117.5.2 2501 1000% 37 2,808 Sheffield-Jackson Academy-E. Northside Drive 977.4 40th 1102.8 28th 12.83% 38 3,990 Deer Park-JSU 1372.9 24th 1591.3 16th 15.91% 39 3,205 Alta Woods 1574.6 18th 1852.4 10th 17.64% 40 3,239 County Line Road/Ridgewood Road 4278.3 2nd 5166.4 2nd 20.76% 41 1,142 Cedar Hills-Western Hills-Brookhollow 275 50th 337.5 52nd 22.73% 42 8,001 Fondren-Woodland Hills-UMC 1325.7 26th 1661.7 15th 25.35% 43 6,261 Leavell Woods-Terry Road-Cooper Road 641.6 47th 824.9 38th 28.57% 44 3,273 Boing Street-Bullard Street 473.3 48th 615.2 46th 29.98% 45 2,113 Callaway-Presto Lane <td>Cooper Road-woodville Heights-Oak Forest</td> <td>986</td> <td>390</td> <td>1081.4</td> <td>300</td> <td>9.68%</td> <td>30</td> <td>3,144</td>	Cooper Road-woodville Heights-Oak Forest	986	390	1081.4	300	9.68%	30	3,144				
Shelledby actsoft Academity E. Notinistice Drive 377.4 4001 1102.5 2801 12.55% 38 3.990 Deer Park-JSU 1372.9 24th 1591.3 16th 15.91% 39 3.205 Alta Woods 1574.6 18th 1852.4 10th 17.64% 40 3.239 County Line Road/Ridgewood Road 4278.3 2nd 5166.4 2nd 20.76% 41 1.142 Cedar Hills-Western Hills-Brookhollow 275 50th 337.5 52nd 22.73% 42 8.001 Fondren-Woodland Hills-UMC 1325.7 26th 1661.7 15th 25.35% 43 6.261 Leavell Woods-Terry Road-Cooper Road 641.6 47th 824.9 38th 28.57% 44 3.273 Boling Street-Bullard Street 473.3 48th 615.2 46th 29.98% 45 2.113 Callaway-Presto Lane 406.5 49th 542 47th 33.33% 46 738 Briarwood-Colonial Heights<	Shoffield Jackson Academy E. Northeide Drive	077.4	3310 40th	11/5.2	25th	10.00%	37	2,808				
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Jackson Country Club 128.1 53rd 512.4 49th 300.00% 54 2.342	Plantation Drive	60.8	54th	212.7	53rd	249.84%	53	3,291				
	Jackson Country Club	128.1	53rd	512.4	49th	300.00%	54	2,342				

neighborhood. The belief that neighborhood crime is falling could then translate into residents of the neighborhood demanding less provision of law enforcement services (e.g., officer patrols), resulting in an even higher crime rate which reduces neighborhood welfare even further.

The stability of some of the poorest Jackson neighborhoods in the top five of crime rankings suggests that law enforcement policy in Jackson is subject to a particular "Political Economy" which provides motivation for the use of a simple unweighted citywide crime rate.⁵ If some hypothetical

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social planner were attempting to optimize a social welfare function in which the crime rate was an argument, a Rawlsian egalitarian approach would assign equal weight-and therefore value, to all neighborhoods in Jackson.⁶ A sensible solution to the social planner's problem would be a city in which crime rates were equalized across all neighborhoods. Departures from this social welfare idea, which we observe empirically in Tables 1 - 2, suggest that egalitarian social welfare principles are not governing law enforcement policy in Jackson. The use of a simple unweighted citywide crime index would certainly obscure the fact that all neighborhoods in Jackson are not valued equally.

As some the poorest neighborhoods maintained constant membership in the top five crimerate neighborhoods across the two quarters of 2004–2005, an implication is that the welfare of individuals who reside in these neighborhoods is not as valued as other neighborhoods.⁷ Of course, crime rates could persist for reasons other than indifference to the welfare of neighborhoods on behalf of law enforcement authorities -Downtown is after all the central headquarters of the Jackson Police Department. To the extent that the poorest Jackson neighborhoods are subject to a particular ecology of crime that we cannot observe or measure, the high crime rates simply reflect this. Nonetheless, the observation of high neighborhood crime rates is an indicator of neighborhood welfare and wellbeing. In this context, observing high neighborhood crime informs a social planning problem - some welfare-improving intervention that would reduce crime in a neighborhood.

Of course, the hypothetical social planner does not exist, and it is appealed to as an analytical device that justifies and motivates optimal policy interventions in the real world — in this case law enforcement — to improve the wellbeing of individuals in neighborhoods. To observe outcomes in the real world that depart from the solutions that would result from a hypothetical social planner concerned with Rawlsian egalitarian outcomes suggests that actual societal welfare concerns are based on criteria other than those required for social and private market efficiency. In the case of Jackson, the persistence of high crime rates across some of the poorest neighborhoods suggests that the welfare of the poorest residents is not valued to the same extent as that of residents in not so poor neighborhoods.

The observed variation in crime rates across Jackson neighborhoods in Tables 1 - 2 are significant enough to raise questions about the political economy of law enforcement in the city of Jackson. As law enforcement is a public good/service, its provision across Jackson neighborhoods ought not be sensitive to a neighborhood's demographic characteristics—as the data in Tables 1 - 2 suggest. The apparent sensitivity of the crime rates to neighborhood characteristics suggests a vulgar political economy of law enforcement provision whereby certain residents - the poor, the black, and renters — are deemed not worthy of the benefits of law enforcement. If a simple citywide crime index is to be utilized as an indicator of the success of law enforcement in Jackson, the apparent vulgar political economy of law enforcement could be exacerbated, as a simple index only obscures what actual crime rates are in particular neighborhoods, and the city in general.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

The choice between reporting and making publicly available neighborhood vs. citywide crime rates in the city of Jackson has become a policy issue recently. Our research shows that the case for making available neighborhoodspecific crime rates is compelling. A simple, unweighted, citywide crime rate presupposes that all neighborhoods in the city of Jackson are identical with respect to the processes generating crime. We find that this presupposition has no formal statistical support. As such, a simple, unweighted, citywide crime rate is a biased measure of crime in the city, and if used as an input into law enforcement provision decisions, could lead to inefficient policing of neighborhoods in Jackson.

To ignore the shortcomings of a simple unweighted crime rate raises questions of Political Economy — is the welfare of all Jackson

neighborhoods valued equally with respect to law enforcement provision? Our analysis of neighborhood crime rates, coupled with the use of simple unweighted crime rates suggests that the answer to this question is no. Some of the poorest neighborhoods in Jackson consistently show up in the top five highest crime rate neighborhoods ---at least over the first two quarters of 2004-2005 — and this would be obscured in a simple, unweighted, citywide crime rate. Recent decisions to cease the publication and public availability of neighborhood-specific crime rates suggest a desire to obscure such neighborhood-specific crime rates, perhaps as a result of indifference to the welfare of some of Jackson's most downtrodden neighborhoods.

From a scientific perspective, we conclude that the production and public availability of neighborhoodspecific crime rates are essential. There is far too much heterogeneity among Jackson neighborhoods to justify a simple unweighted crime rate. An official policy to produce and make available a citywide rate only has no formal scientific justification, and to adopt such as policy suggests the existence of a vulgar Political Economy in which the provision and allocation of law enforcement resources in the city of Jackson is conditioned on race and other sociodemographic characteristics. It is our hope that the analysis provided here can inform law enforcement policy as to the choice of how to adequately measure and report crime in the city of Jackson.



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¹ See Samuelson (1954) for an introduction to the theory and analytical framework of public good expenditures. Tiebout (1956) extends the approach of Samuelson to the case of neighborhood sorting by individuals.

ENDNOTES

² COMSTAT data were obtained by the Mississippi Urban Research Center from the city of Jackson Police Department in 2005. The set of neighborhoods includes Byram. Although Byram is not a Jackson neighborhood, it can be viewed by one as it is proximate to the city, and has been in recent years a candidate for annexation by the city of Jackson.

³ For the theory underlying sufficient statistics, see (Greene, 2003, and Stuart and Ord, 1987). Intuitively, a sample statistic is sufficient if one knows that each observation is generated from independent probability distributions that are determined by some unknown parameter—e.g., the mean or median. If the probability distributions are not independent, then any statistic computed across the distributions does not convey useful information about the parameter of interest.

⁴ A Kruskal-Wallis test is a nonparametric test for whether or not k sample moments—in our case, neighborhood crime rates—are from a similar probability distribution. The test statistic is: $H = [12/N(N + 1)\Sigma_{i=1}(r_i^2/n_i) - 3(N + 1))$ where $N = \Sigma n_i$ is the number of neighborhood (n_i) observations in rank-order, and r_i is the rank sum. In general, H is approximately distributed as a chi-square distribution with N – 1 degrees of freedom. Our test is based on 166 city of Jackson census tracts as reported in the 2000 census. For each tract, all crime reported in the city of Jackson COMSTAT data was matched to the address of the reported crime. The Kruskal-Wallis test statistic is significant at the .01 level, suggesting that the crime rates in each Jackson neighborhood are not similar, and generated by different probability distributions.

⁵ By political economy we mean that in addition to resources being allocated by market forces, resources are also allocated on the basis of nonmarket factors such as race, wealth, and institutions that invoke rules for resource allocation on the basis of nonmarket factors such as race and wealth.

⁶ Rawls' (1971) idea of social welfare and justice posits that a society is no better off than its worst-off member. This idea generates a social welfare function to be optimized whereby the solution generates equal welfare for all individuals.

⁷ The same claim can be made for the neighborhoods (Capital Street-Zoo and Leavell Woods-Terry Road-Cooper Road) that experienced increases in the crime rate across the first two quarters in 2004–2005.



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