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Abstract: *The objective of this study is to identify which of 5 communication channels — newspapers, television, radio, the Internet, interpersonal communication — affect the strongest people's mental maps of their city's neighborhoods and how these mental maps influence, in turn, the civic well-being in these neighborhoods. The site of our research is Lexington, Kentucky. The study relies on a communication infrastructure research paradigm. This proposes that residential neighborhoods are the places where people most sensually experience the conditions of everyday life. The quality of our social life depends on the viability of our neighborhoods, whose vitality is influenced by a number of social and physical processes, of which central are considered those of communicative and psychological nature.¹*

Keywords: *mental maps, communicative exchange, communicative infrastructure, civic well-being, social space.*

“GOOD” AND “BAD” NEIGHBORHOODS: PERCEPTIONS AND REALITY. THE IMPACT OF COMMUNICATION CHANNELS ON PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CIVIC WELL-BEING IN LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY (I)

Urban communities need to tell stories about themselves if they are to emerge as distinct social entities; they need to imagine themselves as communities. The stories that are told about an urban/residential area are incorporated in the way in which people imagine themselves as a community — that is, they will become part of their communicative context. Perception of one's immediately surrounding residential environment is directly impacted by the communication media available to him/her. This perception is encapsulated in mental images and maps that tell residents what areas of the social space in which they live should be avoided or frequented. These maps and perceptions are the product of communicative exchanges, which develop within the storytelling communicative infrastructure. This assumption leads to our main theoretical model, which proposes that mass media is a necessary element in the construction of mental maps of a specific urban community. Mental maps guide everyday movements around the urban environment and most importantly motivate personal investment in a specific area or areas. In essence, our model postulates that mass media coverage leads to mental maps which, in turn, can enhance or hinder civic life.

1. Methodology and research questions

To explore these issues we have collected through a random digit dialing telephone survey information from 801 Lexington residents. The survey provides the raw material for building a number of mental maps of “avoidance” and “desirability” of Lexington neighborhoods. “Avoidance” and “desirability” refer to residents’ perceptions that the neighborhoods are bad or good locations for buying a home. Using information about the neighborhoods provided by the Census Bureau and by the Lexington Police Department, we explored the following research questions:

1. *What factors contribute the most to creating the perception that a neighborhood is to be “avoided”?*
2. *What factors contribute the most to creating the perception that a neighborhood is “desirable”?*
3. *How do the media that contribute to perceptions of avoidance or desirability affect the civic potential in Lexington’s neighborhoods?*

The units of analysis used in the study are 57 Census Bureau-defined urban neighborhoods located in Lexington, KY. Scores of desirability and avoidance determined for each neighborhood were used as dependent variables in a number of multiple regressions. The variables were predicted using a number of explanatory factors: neighborhood level of crime, ethnic composition, real estate value, and amount of influence various channels of information have on shaping perceptions of “avoidance” and “desirability.”

2. Findings

The main findings of the study are:

1. *The perception that Lexington is characterized by a North-South divide is real.* This manifests itself both at socio-demographic and perceptual level. The North side of town is characterized by higher level of crime (see Figures 3-5 in the Appendices) and is considered to be an area that should be avoided (see Figure 6 in the Appendices). The Southern area, a high-growth zone (see Figure 1 in the Appendices), is considered more desirable (see Figure 7 in the Appendices) than the other areas of the town.

2. *Neighborhood avoidance is best predicted by crime and the medium most responsible for conveying the bad news is television,* whose local programs have most powerfully shaped Lexingtonians’ mental maps of avoidance. Thus, avoidance in Lexington is based on a real problem, crime, which is made salient by a specific medium: television.

3. *Neighborhood desirability is connected with objective neighborhood characteristics: low population density and a higher proportion of college educated residents.* Preference for areas with college educated residents highlights the fact that *neighborhood desirability has more to do with the people living there than with the value of the houses.*

4. *High civic potential neighborhoods, where “belonging”² is higher, are more likely to be known for what they have bad through newspapers and for what they have good through word of mouth (interpersonal communication). Also, neighborhoods with higher belonging do not live up to their full potential when it comes to desirability, they are less, not more likely to be “desirable”³.*

5. *The communication infrastructure model is valid: mass media has a detectable influence on the mental maps of “avoidance” and “desirability,” which in turn seem to be connected with the spatial distribution of civic potential in Lexington.*

3. Recommendations

In view of these findings, our recommendations are:

1. To mitigate the psychological effects of crime on the neighborhoods affected by it, *local television stations should be made aware of the unique role they play in identifying the areas to be avoided.* Station managers and editorial personnel should be sensitized to the deleterious role stereotypes, even if justified, can have on the public and to the long terms effects a persistent barrage of bad news can have on the residents of an area afflicted by high crime.

2. Local newspapers have a particular role in identifying the “bad” spots in the high belonging neighborhoods. To maintain the level of civic potential in these areas *the local newspapers should be made aware that they can maintain the stigma if their coverage is not sensitive to stereotypes.*

3. Lexington’s high belonging neighborhoods are the “hidden gems” of the town. Their prestige is discrete and mainly based on interpersonal communication. Since, by definition, the reach and impact of interpersonal communication is more fragmented and diffuse than that of mass mediated communication, a “more of the same” strategy for consolidating high belonging, as the one suggested above for diminishing the “avoidance” impact of print media, might not be appropriate. Good, high belonging neighborhoods need to be made known to the city through more than word of mouth. Their “muted fame” should be enhanced through all local mass media’s voices. *Our final recommendation is to make the local media aware of the fact that what is good about high civic potential neighborhoods does not reach the Lexington population through their pages or broadcasts and that media should promote neighborhood accomplishments in a more sustained way.*

4. Studying civic vitality through mental mapping

The cornerstone question of this study is: what mass media channels influence the mental maps of safety, prestige and civic potential in Lexington? In addition, we are also interested to find out how these imagined (mental) maps match or mismatch the socio-

demographic reality of the areas they cover. Most important, do they match the distribution of social anchoring and civic potential found in the Lexington neighborhoods?

The study uses a spatial perspective for understanding social phenomena.⁴ This approach advances a number of new ideas and methodologies, traditionally ignored in communication/civic ties research. Classical research on the relationship between mass media and community life focuses mainly on how individual media use or media exposure afford social ties or engaging in collective action.⁵ The overarching research question is if media consumers are more or less likely to be involved in the life of their local communities. The typical predictors for involvement and civic potential are personal or, at the most, household-level variables: income, education, ethnicity, political orientation, marital status, etc. A complementary question traditional research addresses is if community involvement explains engagement with local media. Although the related issues of community-level vitality and civic health are discussed and explored in classical literature, this is usually done indirectly. Higher individual social involvement and civic participation are supposed to translate into net benefits for the community as a whole. This approach alternates between the largest and smallest units of analysis. For example, the conclusions drawn at the smaller unit of analysis, individual behaviors and effects, are extended to the largest possible unit of analysis, the city as a whole. While not an unwarranted assumption, this usually biases the research toward an individual-level perspective. This risks an important methodological fallacy: assuming that what is true for individuals will also be true for the community as a whole. This reasoning can be questionable because it ignores the possibility that communities can be more than the sum of their parts.

The present report addresses the issue explored by traditional research — how does mass media influence civic life in urban communities — armed with two new methodological instruments/procedures. First, it attempts to answer the question relying on data about social and geographic *communities*, not individuals. In our study, neighborhoods are the primary units of analysis. Second, we propose and develop specific measurement tools for capturing the role of an intermediate link between media consumption/exposure and civic vitality: mental maps.

The analysis and the tools proposed here are articulated into a communication infrastructure model, which directs the entire discovery strategy of this report.⁶ We shall thus start with it. After presenting it we will discuss the complex layered geography of Lexington and the concrete research questions they lead to. Finally, after briefly presenting the methodology, we will summarize the statistical analyses and the findings of this study.

5. The communication infrastructure model

Residential neighborhoods are the places where people most sensually experience the conditions of everyday life. The quality of our social life depends on the viability

of these neighborhoods. Their vitality is influenced by a number of social and physical characteristics: economic, social, political, cultural, psychological and communicative. The communicative aspect of the urban infrastructure and its spatial-psychological facets are the issues we are most concerned with in this report.

5.1 Origins and description

A communication infrastructure is *a storytelling system set in its communication action context*. We believe that such infrastructure is important because social life and social interaction is first and foremost the product of communicative processes. We make friends, vote, and participate in civic life through communicative exchanges. Our communication infrastructure research framework builds on a number of communication traditions: cultivation,⁷ agenda setting,⁸ the two-step flow of communication,⁹ and media dependency theory.¹⁰ Of these, the last one is the most important. This theory proposes that social action is impossible in absence of communication and that in everything we do we depend on a number of specific communication channels. In the present report we extend this idea by proposing that communication channels influence our mental maps.¹¹

A communication infrastructure includes two basic components — *the communication action context* and *the multilevel storytelling system*. The first element includes the physical, psychological, socio-cultural, economic and technological dimensions of everyday social interactions. Of them, and of particular importance here, are the psychological ones. These concern whether people feel free to engage one another, such as their level of comfort in specific socio-geographic space.

The storytelling system, which interacts with the communication context, includes storytelling agents organized at three levels: macro, meso, and micro-social. At the macro- level are situated large media, political, religious, and other central institutions or organizations that have storytelling production and dissemination resources (e.g., mainstream media and agencies or corporations with public information/relations capacities). At the intermediate or meso level are the smaller and more locally based organizations whose primary goals concern one or another form of linkage in a particular residential area. These include community media and community organizations targeted to residents. Interpersonal networks constitute the third, micro-tier of the storytelling system.

5.2. Mental maps and communication channels

Urban communities need to tell stories about themselves if they are to emerge as distinct social entities they need to imagine themselves as communities. The kinds of stories told about an urban/residential area will be incorporated in the way in which people imagine themselves as a community — that is, they will become part of their communicative context.

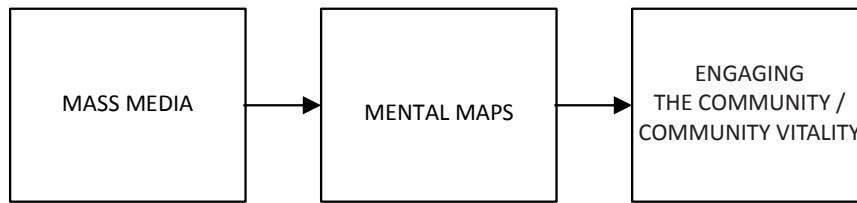
Perception of one's immediately surrounding residential environment is directly impacted by the communication infrastructure.

This perception is encapsulated in mental images and maps that tell residents what areas of the social space in which they live should be avoided or frequented. These maps and perceptions are the product of communicative exchanges, which develop within the storytelling communicative infrastructure. Although subjective constructs, mental maps are quite stable and with a certain degree of intellectual imagination quite simple to detect. Throughout this report, as in our previous work, "mental maps" refer to an inventory of subjective characteristics associated with specific areas of an urban area. These characteristics refer mainly to feelings of "fear"/"comfort" or "desirability"/"avoidance" toward areas in one's residential area. Such maps can be "made real" by asking respondents to associate locations on a geographic map with words or colors. In the case of this study, respondents were asked to indicate what areas (identified as zones around a cross-street) would they recommend to an out-of-town friend to buy or to avoid buying a house in.

The maps and our more general perceptions of space are influenced by the nature and quality of the exchanges transacted within a storytelling-system. Since communication infrastructures also have, in our view, a central role in enhancing or dampening civic life, the social-spatial perceptions they generate will have an equally important effect on the larger civic and social viability of urban areas.

5.3. Communication infrastructure model summary

A distinctive characteristic of our approach is the attempt to capture the relationship between media and construction of social space. To achieve this we envision neighborhoods as focal points of a complex process of storytelling. Due to our more general theoretical concern of understanding how the communication infrastructures of urban residential areas operate to enable or constrain the sense and reality of community, we are particularly sensitive to the interplay of storytelling at the macro-level of analysis (mass media, and especially newspapers and television). This feature of the approach is discussed in several of our previous papers.¹² For present purposes, suffice it say that we assume that people need mass communication to orient in their environs. Mass media is a necessary element in the construction of mental maps of a specific urban community. The classical notion that media perform a surveillance function is especially germane when considering the impetus for residents of urban areas to construct area specific images in order to situate themselves as social actors. Surveillance, however, is not likely to be limited to a media function; rather, the mental maps guide everyday movements around the urban environment and most importantly motivate personal investment in a specific area or areas. In essence, our model can be resumed as follows:



We have used this model of interaction between mass media and perception of space in our previous work, mostly conducted in Los Angeles ethnically-marked neighborhoods. There, we found a number of factors that can influence mental maps and consequently the civic vitality of an area. We found that the most feared areas of Los Angeles are those inhabited by African-American populations or by a combination of African-Americans and Latinos.¹³ Surprisingly, or not, the spatial distribution of fear did not match the crime distribution in the city; that is, areas perceived as being the most feared were those that were uniquely dominated by these two ethnicities, not those characterized by the highest level of crime. We have also identified Watts, a neighborhood made famous by the 1965 Los Angeles riots, as the “fear epicenter” of Los Angeles and have linked this fear to the memory of the 1965 events.¹⁴ Throughout our studies we found that television consumers are more likely to depict specific areas — those inhabited by African-Americans — as feared.

In the present study we pursue similar questions using a similar methodology. The main focus, now, is to understand what types of media contribute to the social desirability or avoidance of specific Lexington neighborhoods. More important, we want to find out if the effect of these media of communication is felt above and beyond the social and demographic characteristics of a specific area, and its level of criminality or ethnic composition. Second, we also want to find out if the level of “avoidance” that characterizes any particular neighborhood matches or not its potential for civic vitality.

6. Lexington’s multilayered geography: insights and questions

This section profiles the socio-perceptive profile of Lexington with a focus on its main social and psychological divide: that between the North and South areas of town. The description will emphasize the multilayered structure of Lexington’s geography and the biases that exist at the level of each layer. The socio-demographic, crime and mental geographies of the city will be presented individually, each with its spatial biases. Specific attention will be given to the extent to which the North-South divide exists in these layers and what the significance of this divide might be. In the process we will describe and compare how the spatial patterns in these maps match or mismatch. The goal of the entire discussion is to set up the main operational research questions and the main statistical analyses. The data presented here is detailed in section 7. The findings are presented in section 8.

6.1 Lexington: growth and divides

Situated in the heart of Kentucky, Lexington has always been a regional cultural, economic and social powerhouse. Founded in 1779 and incorporated in 1781, the city was for a while one of the important manufacturing centers of the early West. Over the years, however, it has become more closely associated with the race horse industry (there are two major race tracks in Lexington, Keeneland and The Red Mile), higher education (the 30,000 student campus of University of Kentucky is located here), and in the last several decades with the high tech and manufacturing industries (IBM has started and then divested of a very successful printer company, Lexmark and only 20 miles away is the largest Toyota manufacturing plant in the US).¹⁵ The city has traditionally attracted the better educated and more entrepreneurial Kentuckians from the North-Central area of the state, but also from Southern Indiana and Ohio. Its growth was steady and quite pronounced toward the middle of the last century. As the table below indicates, the growth peak was reached between 1940 and 1960, when the city population doubled. Although considerably slower, the growth has continued during the 1970s and 1980s, with a tendency of picking up the pace in the 1990s, although not at the same level as during the 50s or the 60s.

6.2 The North-South Divide

The main consequences of urban growth were successive waves of territorial expansion, newer and more expensive housing tracts being added to an outer ring of residential neighborhoods.¹⁷ As the map in Figure 1 shows (see bellow), two demographic divides have emerged over the years: a North-South and an inner-core / outer rim one. The red or the brown colors in Figure 1 map indicate population increases between 1990-2000, while yellow shades indicate population decline (maps listed after the reference list). While the downtown and a cluster of older adjacent neighborhoods have lost the highest number of residents, the Southern and outer neighborhoods have consistently and increasingly added population, in some cases doubling and tripling their size.

This boom and its spatial orientation have become a source of debate and conflict in Lexington.¹⁸ Many oppose any kind of further growth. Their goal is to protect the farms surrounding the town. The farms are usually associated with the horse racing industry, and are a very important source of local pride and a great tourist attraction. Others, while not less concerned with the fate of the horse race farms, support a policy of selective growth. They point to the fact that the 1958 strategic plan has intentionally channeled the development of the city toward South, so that the most valuable and viable farms would be spared the development.¹⁹

Yet, a third camp points to the fact that the development toward South is not just a consequence of selective conservationism but also an attempt to disinvest from the neighborhoods populated by the poorer African-American population, which coincidentally or not are also located on the North side of the town (see Figure 2).²⁰

Year	Lexington/Fayette County population	Ten-year growth rate (%)
2000	260,500	15.59
1990	225,366	10.38
1980	204,165	17.12
1970	174,323	32.16
1960	131,906	30.93
1950	100,746	27.69
1940	78,899	15.11
1930	68,543	25.39
1920	54,664	14.56
1910	47,715	13.42
1900	42,071	

Table 1. Demographic Change in Lexington 1900-2000¹⁶

The terms of this debate shape a good part of the social and political life in Lexington. Because of its racial overtones, the North-South divide is a particularly sensitive one. Despite of the fact that over the years the North and the downtown areas were repeatedly injected with funds and real estate developments — including subsidizing stores, theaters and restaurants in the downtown area and strategically positioning several high-tech industrial parks on the North end of town — the areas are perceived as being dangerous, unsafe and generally undesirable. This fact was repeatedly disputed over the years by community activists.

6.3. The North-South divide and crime

However, it is quite clear that density of crime is indeed far higher in the downtown and North side of town, as data compiled from 12,000 police reports filed between July 2000 and July 2001, indicates (Figure 3). This image changes somewhat if crime incidence is weighted by the size of the population in the areas affected and by the gravity of the crimes committed there (see Figure 4). When these two factors are taken into account and when mapping the data at neighborhood level, as Figure 5 indicates, the areas with the highest number of crimes per capita weighted by gravity are still concentrated in the downtown and surrounding areas. In addition, elevated levels of crime are present in the South-East neighborhoods, which are also some of the fastest growing areas of Lexington (see Figure 1).

The shift in emphasis detected in the crime map, upon weighting crime density by population size and gravity, does not succeed, however, in erasing the North-South divide. And this is, in the end, reflected in the images of the areas that are “to be avoided” and that are “most desirable” Lexington residents carry in their minds. These images, captured through a telephone survey conducted in August-October 2002 (see next section for details), indicate that the most avoided areas are clustered in the downtown area, extending North and in two distinct subgroups: South-West and South-East (Figure 6).

6.4. The North-South divide and civic potential

Lexington’s civic life is shaped not only by the debate about the match or mismatch between crime and perceptions of crime. A related debate surrounds the impact of unequal development on the civic fabric of the city.²¹ Lexington’s growth meant an influx of out-of-towners and an outflow of old time residents to outlying communities (Georgetown, Nicholasville, etc).²² In fact, many communities just outside Lexington have grown at a far higher pace over the last several decades, precisely due to Lexington’s own transformation. Some of Lexington’s neighboring counties (Jessamine, Garrard, or Anderson) have grown between 1990-2000 by 30%, a rate double that of Lexington, while Scott county, also in the immediate proximity of Lexington, and home of the Toyota factory, has grown by 39%.²³ Does this population outflow also mean a social drain of talent and social capital, as well?

The same data, collected through the telephone survey, suggests that growth in Lexington is not associated with a growth in civic ties. Using answers to eight survey questions to compute an index of civic vitality (“Belonging Index”), which captures how anchored to their neighborhoods Lexington residents are, we uncovered a map of belonging that, paradoxically, overlaps with the crime maps. As shown in Figure 8, the spatial structure of belonging has a core-periphery and North-South structure, which resemble, to a certain degree, the geography of crime (see Figure 5 above).

The paradox, however, is that the areas that have the highest level of belonging are situated in the stigmatized zones. Civic potential seems to be most present in the areas that face the greatest challenges. Also, areas with lower levels of civic potential are the ones with the highest rate of growth and “desirability,” which suggest that growth does not equal civic vitality.

6.5. Research Questions

In conclusion, Lexington presents a complex and challenging picture. Particularly intriguing are the patterns that emerge from the various layers and the way in which these patterns converge (or not). One very important question that emerges is: what is the

goodness of fit between the “avoidance” or “desirability” maps and the socio-demographic maps? Going back to our theoretical model, the maps also invite us to test the proposition that communication channels might influence the shape of these mental maps. Finally, there is the intriguing insight that the patterns for stigmatization and civic potential go in opposite directions.

To facilitate the exploration of these issues in a systematic manner we propose three research questions:

1. *What factors contribute the most to creating the perception that a neighborhood is to be “avoided”?*

2. *What factors contribute the most to creating the perception that a neighborhood is desirable?*

3. *How do the media that contribute to perceptions of avoidance or desirability affect the civic potential in Lexington’s neighborhoods?*

Notes:

1. This article is based on a research report submitted by the author to the University of Kentucky in 2003, bibliographically updated in 2013.
2. Belonging was measured as “number of neighbors known well enough to...” and as evaluation of neighborly spirit in the community. Eight questions were combined into one synthetic score of “neighborhood belonging”.
3. It is important to note that the findings indicate NOT an elevated level of avoidance, but a lower level of desirability. Desirability and avoidance are two independent measures, and scoring high on one does not necessarily mean a low score on the other.
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of tables:

- **Table A: Lexington-Fayette County – Main Socio-Demographic Indicators**
- **Table B: Lexington-Fayette County – Business Characteristics**
- **Table C: Lexington-Fayette County – Geography Characteristics**

Table A. Lexington-Fayette County – Main Socio-Demographic Indicators

Demographic Characteristics	Fayette County	Kentucky
Population, 2001 estimate	260,414	4,065,556
Population percent change, April 1, 2000-July 1, 2001	0.0%	0.6%
Population, 2000	260,512	4,041,769
Population, percent change, 1990 to 2000	15.6%	9.6%
Persons under 5 years old, percent, 2000	6.2%	6.6%
Persons under 18 years old, percent, 2000	21.3%	24.6%
Persons 65 years old and over, percent, 2000	10.0%	12.5%
Female persons, percent, 2000	50.9%	51.1%
White persons, percent, 2000 (a)	81.0%	90.1%
Black or African American persons, percent, 2000 (a)	13.5%	7.3%
American Indian and Alaska Native persons, percent, 2000 (a)	0.2%	0.2%
Asian persons, percent, 2000 (a)	2.5%	0.7%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, percent, 2000 (a)	Z	Z
Persons reporting some other race, percent, 2000 (a)	1.2%	0.6%
Persons reporting two or more races, percent, 2000	1.6%	1.1%
Persons of Hispanic or Latino origin, percent, 2000 (b)	3.3%	1.5%
White persons, not of Hispanic/Latino origin, percent, 2000	79.1%	89.3%

Living in same house in 1995 and 2000, pct age 5+, 2000	42.5%	55.9%
Foreign born persons, percent, 2000	5.9%	2.0%
Language other than English spoken at home, pct age 5+, 2000	8.3%	3.9%
High school graduates, percent of persons age 25+, 2000	85.8%	74.1%
Bachelor's degree or higher, pct of persons age 25+, 2000	35.6%	17.1%
Persons with a disability, age 5+, 2000	42,433	874,156
Mean travel time to work, workers age 16+ (minutes), 2000	19.3	23.5
Housing units, 2000	116,167	1,750,927
Homeownership rate, 2000	55.3%	70.8%
Housing units in multi-unit structures, percent, 2000	36.5%	17.7%
Median value of owner-occupied housing units, 2000	\$110,800	\$86,700
Households, 2000	108,288	1,590,647
Persons per household, 2000	2.29	2.47
Median household money income, 1999	\$39,813	\$33,672
Per capita money income, 1999	\$23,109	\$18,093
Persons below poverty, percent, 1999	12.9%	15.8%

Table B: Lexington-Fayette County – Business Characteristics

Business Characteristics	Fayette County	Kentucky
Private nonfarm establishments, 1999	7,776	89,946
Private nonfarm employment, 1999	144,176	1,469,315
Private nonfarm employment, percent change 1990-1999	17.2%	23.9%
Nonemployer establishments, 1999	15,510	222,304
Manufacturers shipments, 1997 (\$1000)	4,313,912	86,636,107

Retail sales, 1997 (\$1000)	3,133,071	33,332,675
Retail sales per capita, 1997	\$13,078	\$8,530
Minority-owned firms, percent of total, 1997	4.8%	4.5%
Women-owned firms, percent of total, 1997	23.6%	23.4%
Housing units authorized by building permits, 2000	2,544	18,460
Federal funds and grants, 2001 (\$1000)	1,373,457	25,835,136
Local government employment - full-time equivalent, 1997	9,313	134,740

Table C: Lexington-Fayette County – Geography Characteristics

Geography Characteristics	Fayette County	Kentucky
Land area, 2000 (square miles)	285	39,728
Persons per square mile, 2000	915.6	101.7

Legend for the symbols that appear in the tables A, B, C:

- (a) Includes persons reporting only one race.
- (b) Hispanics may be of any race, so also are included in applicable race categories.
- Z: Value greater than zero but less than half unit of measure shown
- FN: Footnote on this item for this area in place of data.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/21/21067.html>): State and County QuickFacts. Data derived from Population Estimates, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, County Business Patterns, 1997 Economic Census, Minority- and Women-Owned Business, Building Permits, Consolidated Federal Funds Report, 1997 Census of Governments.

Appendix 2: List of figures

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- **Figure 2.** Main Black population concentrations in Lexington.
- **Figure 3.** Crime density in Lexington.
- **Figure 4.** Crime distribution in Lexington weighted by gravity.
- **Figure 5.** Crime incidence in Lexington weighted by gravity and population.
- **Figure 6.** Lexington neighborhoods “avoidance” level.
- **Figure 7.** Density of desirable areas in Lexington.
- **Figure 8.** Lexington neighborhood belonging levels. they had to meet a challenge. The challenge, of course, was to give an account

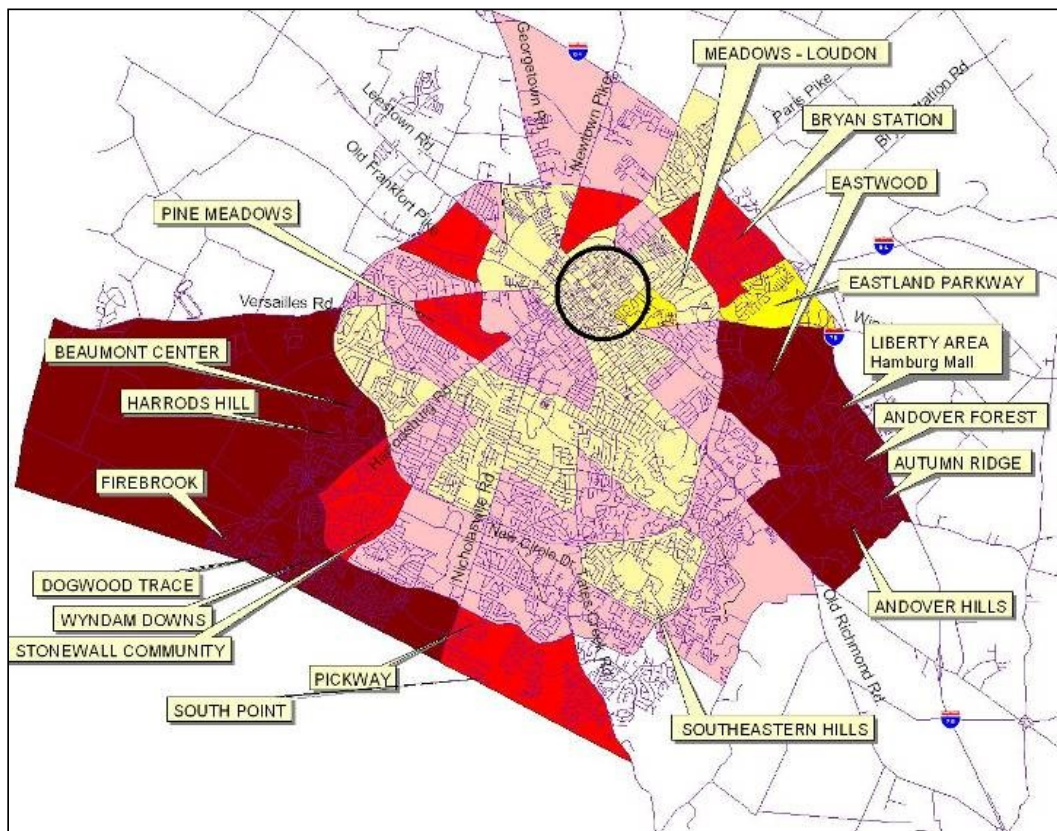


Figure 1. Lexington main neighborhoods and areas of growth. Red and brown indicate population gain between 1990-2000. Yellow and intense yellow indicate areas that have lost population. Data summarized at neighborhood level. Source: 1990 and 2000 US Census.

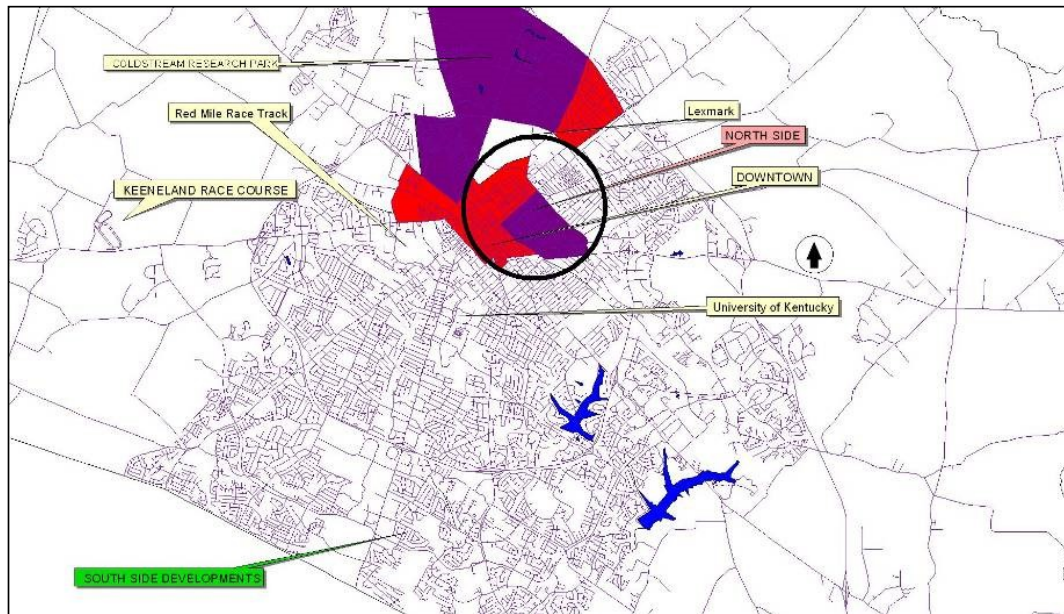


Figure 2. Main Black-population concentrations in Lexington. Red=25%-50% Black residents. Purple=over 50% Black residents. Data summarized at neighborhood level. Source: 2000 US Census.

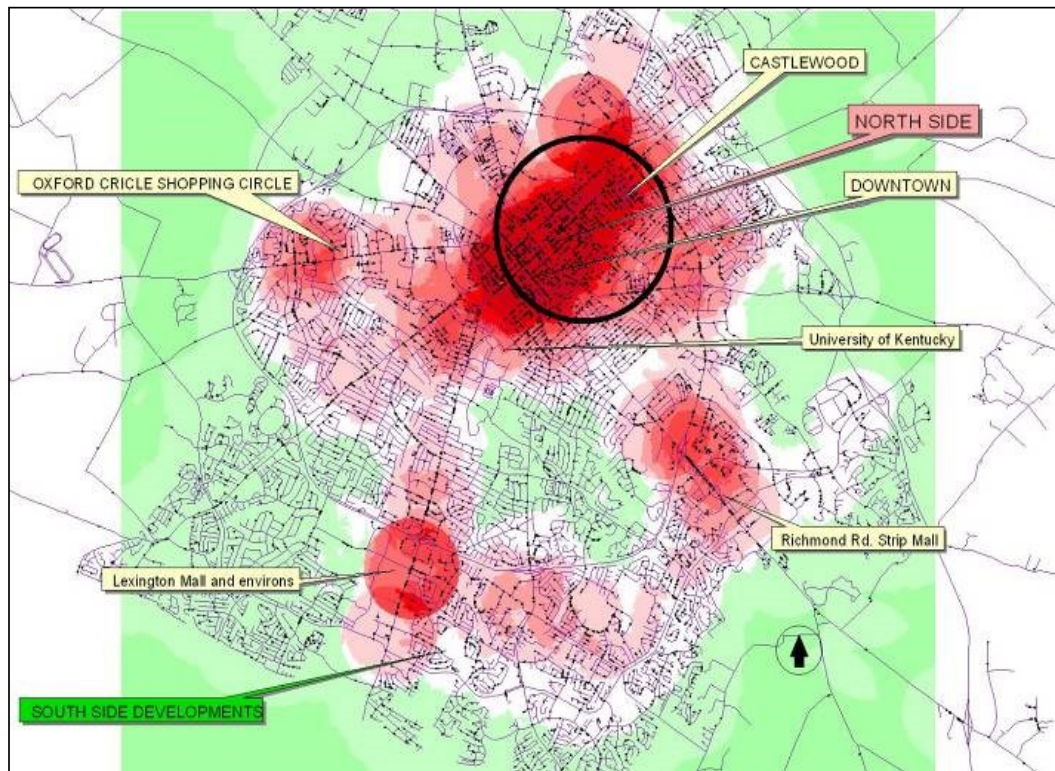


Figure 3. Crime density in Lexington. Red = crime density above the city mean. Green = crime density below the city mean. The darker the red, the denser the crimes. Black dots indicate specific crime locations. Values for areas between locations interpolated through statistical procedures. Source: Author's analysis of Lexington Police Department crime reports.

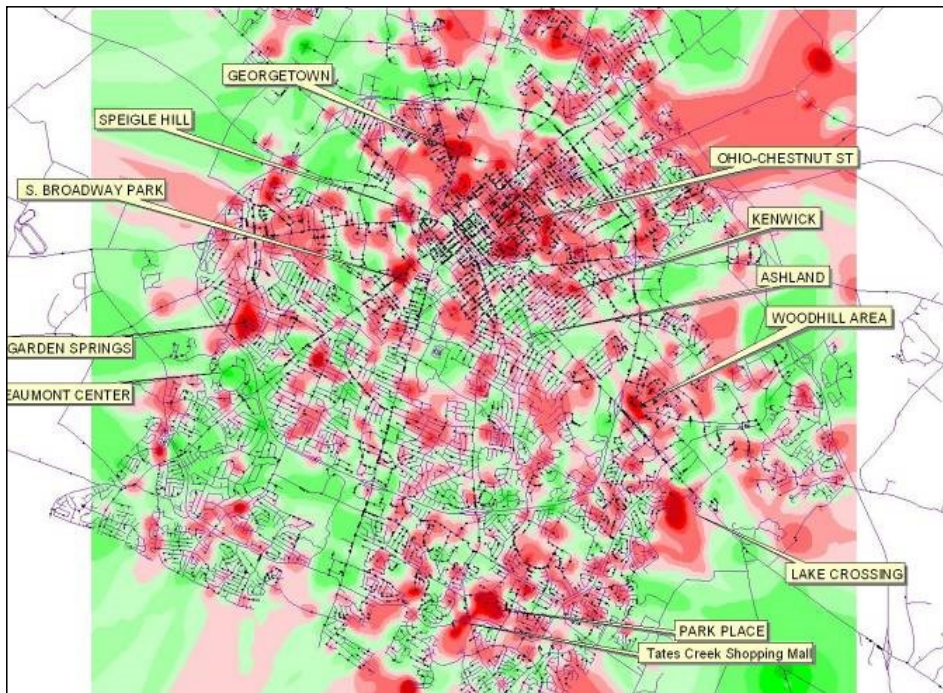


Figure 4. Crime distribution in Lexington weighted by gravity. Red indicates that the crimes are more serious than those committed, on average, in the rest of the city. In green areas crimes are less serious than those committed in the rest of the city. Black dots indicate specific crime locations. Values for areas between locations interpolated through statistical procedures. Source: Author's analysis of Lexington Police Department crime reports.

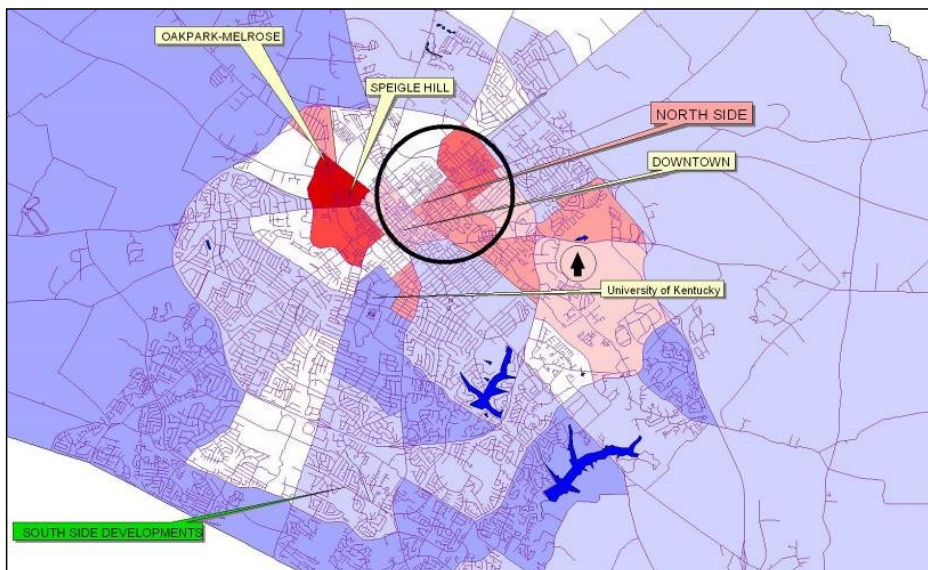


Figure 5. Crime incidence in Lexington weighted by gravity and population. Colors represent how far from the city mean each neighborhood scores in terms both of gravity and number of crimes per capita. Intense red and burgundy/brown colors indicate that the neighborhoods are 2 or more standard deviations above the city mean in terms of crime. Blue colors = values under city mean. Data is summarized at neighborhood level. Source: compiled by the author from data provided by the Lexington Police Department.

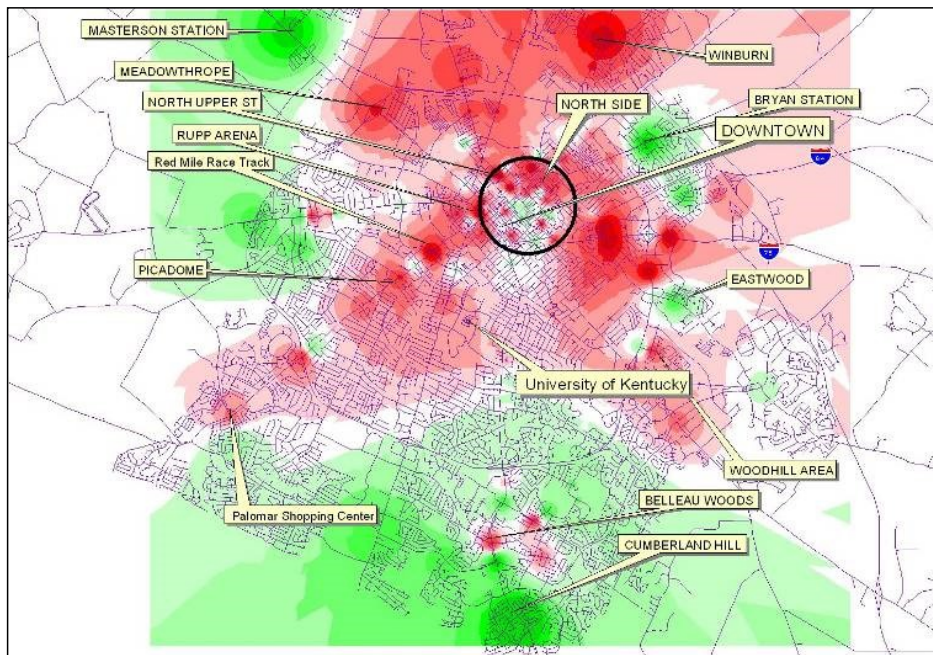


Figure 6. Lexington neighborhoods’ “avoidance” level. Red areas indicate that the neighborhood is perceived as more “avoidable” than average. Green areas are less “avoidable” than average. Map obtained through interpolation. For a definition of “avoidance” see Section 3 of present report. Source: Lexington neighborhood study.

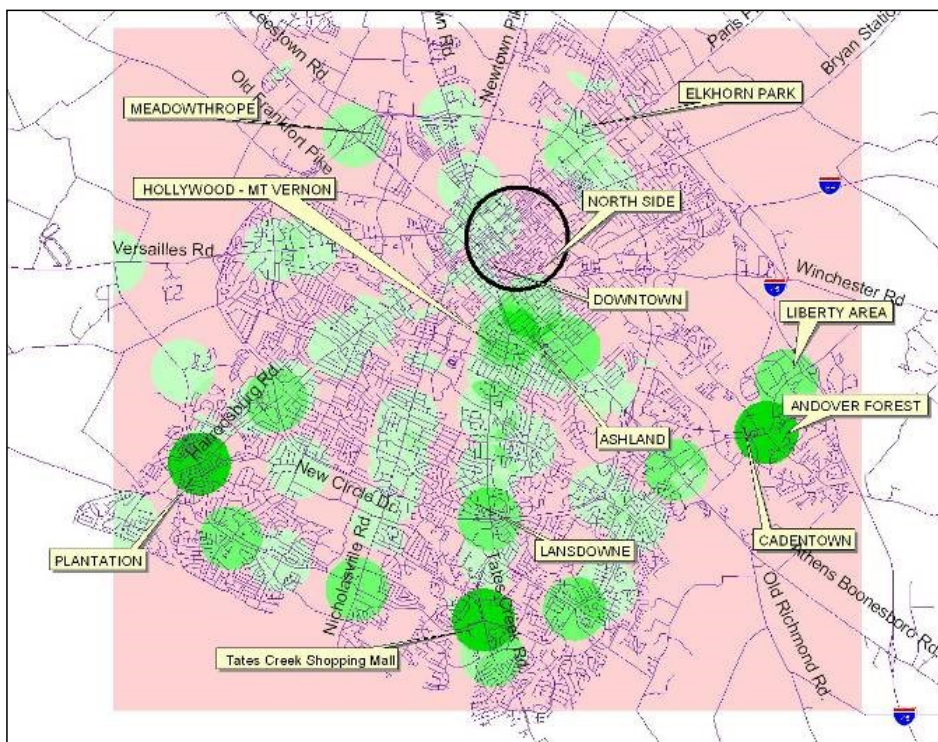


Figure 7. Density of desirable areas in Lexington. Green circles indicate areas of maximum density of desirable areas. Pink areas have no neighborhoods deemed as “desirable.” Source: Lexington Neighborhood Survey

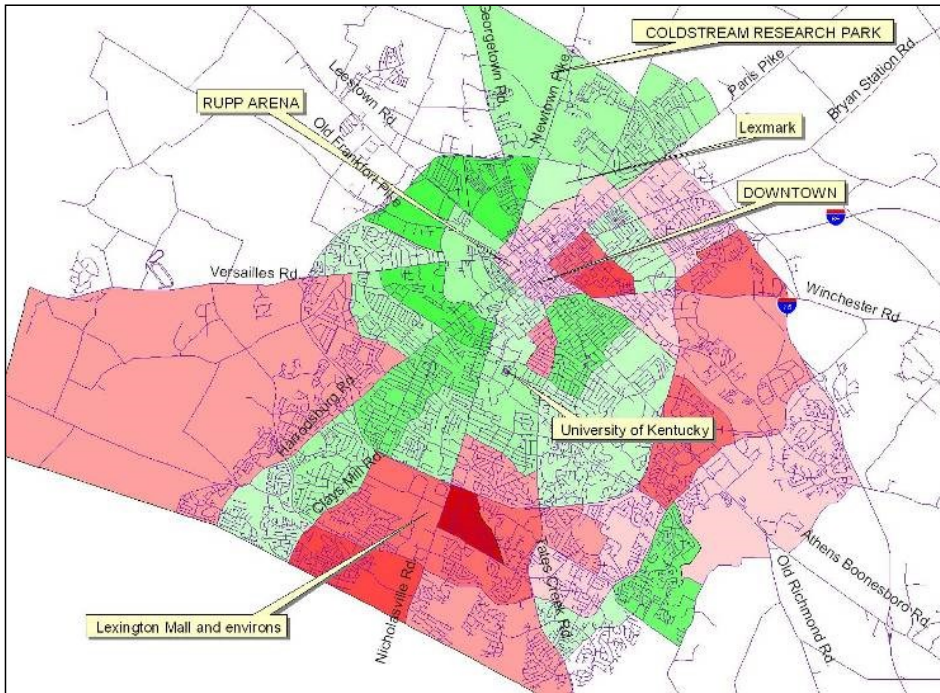


Figure 8. Lexington neighborhood belonging levels. Green = belonging above the city mean, Red = belonging under the city mean. Data summarized at neighborhood level. Source: Lexington neighborhoods survey.