RESEARCH ON MINORITIES: TOWARD A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACE AND CRIME

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RACE AND CRIME

A Report of the Atlanta University

Atlanta, Georgia

Executive Summary

Crime within the black community continues to be one of the major issues confronting our society today. Blacks comprise approximately 13% of the total U.S. population but account for 47.4% of all persons arrested for violent crime in 1980 and 30% of all persons for property crime (U.C.R., 1980). By file and arrest category, blacks accounted for 54% of the arrests for rape, 61% of the arrests for robbery and 40% of the arrests for aggravated assault.

Many studies have been conducted which attempted to account for the sizable difference in arrest rates, but few if any offered adequate explanations for the high incidence of violence committed by blacks. Most of the violence committed by blacks are committed against other blacks. The problem of crime in the black community was a major focus of a special issue of Ebony Magazine of August 1979. The issue concentrated on black-on-black crime. In introducing this special issue, Ebony publisher, John A. Johnson said: "It is our belief, and it is the basic premise of this issue, that black-on-black crime has reached a critical low that threatens our existence as a people. It is a threat to our youth, to our women, to our senior citizens, to our institutions, to our values. And although we are not responsible for the external practice that systematically create breeding grounds for social disorder, we cannot avoid the internal responsibility of doing everything we can to solve our problem that is ruining the fabric of our lives (Ebony, Vol. XXXIV, August, 1979).

The first section of the special Ebony edition dealt with black on black crime: the consequences. This section presented such evidence that indicated that 85 of every 1000 black males are prime victims against 75 of every 1000 white males, that crime breeds fear and mistrust among the citizens.

This study is designed to study community structures within black communities. The study attempts to take a closer

look at the intervening social processes which interract, or respond, to structural conditions as these relate to crime among blacks.

Previous research on community and community organization conducted both in the United States and abroad, and employing both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, has suggested a relationship between community structures and the incidence of crime. For example, it is generally suspected that effective control of property crimes, especially within a ghetto community, requires sufficient knowledge and friendship among neighbors so that: (1) there is a general tendency to reject the - temptation - to steal from a neighbor, (2) people will guard their neighbors property, (3) strangers can be readily identified, and (4) residents will help if someone has been attacked. Certain social structures apparently facilitate the growth and maintenance of such unity, while others seem inimical to their existence. These differences in social organization are the primary focuses of this study.

The major objective of this study is to conduct a chronological and sociological investigation into the nature of crime and crime perceptions within the black community. Four communities within two cities were selected for this study. In addition, ethnographic studies were conducted in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. The two primary cities selected for the survey were, Atlanta, Georgia and Washington, D.C. Within each of these cities, two communities with high crime rates were selected and two communities with low crime rates were also selected. Communities were identified by census tracts and then further differentiated by socio-economic characteristics and racial density, in addition to crime rates. The study was essentially concerned with examining differences in census tracts both within the city as well as between cities. The study examined fear of crime and community perceptions about crime as those two variables impacted upon the socio-economic characteristics of the census tract.

The study focused on community characteristics in black, low, and middleincome neighborhoods and their relationship to crime, individual perceptions of crime, fear of crime, experiences and contact with police, and overall attitudes toward the police. The study was interested in studying the effects of individual characteristics such as gender, religion, use of recreation facilities.

The study included both quantitative research and qualitative research. The format of the final report includes: (1) an introduction of the issues, (2) literature review and studies relating to crime among blacks to culture, (3) research methodology, (4) survey results, (5) appendices which includes an ethnographic study of one family in Washington, D.C. and an ethnographic study of two communities within Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In Atlanta, Georgia and Washington, D.C., 100 persons were sampled in each census tract area. Questionnaries were administered to each of the 100 respondents. Items on the survey questionnarie measuring four concepts were validated by means of factor analysis. All four analysis yielded satisfactory results in that the principal factor, or main dimension for each set of skills explained about onethird of the variance in all items of a paticular set. For the attitudes - toward - police scales, the main dimension underlying the scales turned out to be an evaluation of: good vs bad - dimension. The main dimension for the alienation scales turned to be a - mistrust - mistrust dimension. Self-evaluation is characterized by - self-worth- main dimension, in crime morality items are characterized by permissiveness dimension.

Several sets of items were subjected to Guttman scale analysis; some sets revealed valid Guttman scales and some did not. Those that form valid Guttman scales were: items pertaining to what a person does to protect his or her home from criminal activity; and the crime-morality scale (also subjected to factor analysis). Those that did not form valid Guttman scales were: items pertaining to perceptions of crime in the immediate neighborhood; and certain fear-of-crime measures. It was concluded for these latter two subsets of measures that since they did not form an adequate scale, the items measure differing aspects of the concept being assessed; hence, the items were used separately in the later (prediction) analysis rather than together in a combined index.

The prediction analyses formed the bulk of the analysis of the survey data. We were interested in predicting individuals' responses on the following kinds of dependent variables: perceptions of troubles in one's neighborhood; fear of crime; awareness of criminal activity in one's own neighborhood; whether or not one feels safe during the day and at night; what one does to protect one's home from criminal activity; whether one has been criminally involved with the police; whether one's friends have been criminally involved with the police; one's psychological attitudes toward the police and how one feels about the local police; and other such variables. For the most part, these dependent variables pertain to individual perceptions of and reporting of crime. We were interested in discovering what variables (independent or predictor variables) were significantly related to these dependent variables. The major results are listed below: The following results remain basically the same for the Atlanta and Washington, D.C. samples. that is, for the most part, the independent variables that predict given dependent variables for the Atlanta sample also do so for the Washington, D.C. sample. The overall structure of findings is the same in both cities. There are, however, a few exceptions; these are given in the text. The main findings, then, are these:

The dependent variables were concerned with whether or not the respondent thought the following kinds of crimes constituted problems in their own neighborhoods: drinking; fighting; neighbors not getting along; and other such items. The best predictor of these perceptions was tract type. In general, those in the middle-income, low-crime tract were least likely to see these crimes as real problems for them in their communities, whereas those in the low-income, high-crime tract were more likely to indicate that such crimes were indeed severe problems. People in this tract type (in both Atlanta and Washington) also had the greatest fear of crime, with those in the middle-income, low-crime tract having the least fear (again in both Atlanta and in Washington). The other two tract types fell in between. Other significant predictors were: age (the older one is, the less fearful one is and the less one sees these crimes as problems); club membership (those who are members of some kind of neighborhood club are less likely to see the crimes as problematic); membership in a neighborhood church (church members are less fearful and are less likely to indicate that the crimes are problems); frequency of church attendance (the more the attendance, the less fearful the respondent was); degree of participation in church activities (the more the participation, the less the fear); and whether one owns or rents one's dwelling (those who own are clearly less fearful and less worried about the listed crimes). It was also noted that the more alienated a person was, the more fearful of crime he or she was. Also, interestingly, the lower one's self-evaluation was, the more fearful he or she was.

It was interesting to note what independent variables ended up not predicting responses on the crime perception variables: City (Atlanta versus Washington revealed no significant differences on this set of dependent variables); recreational facilities availability and use; contact with relatives in the community; respondent's education; occupation, and other socio-economic characteristics; the education, occupation and other socio-economic characteristics of the respondent's father or principal guardian; marital status (no differences by marital status were found); gender (men and women did not differ on these variables); number of persons in the household; number of persons per room in the household; and the respondent's own religion (note that while church attendance and participation in church activities makes a difference, the particular denomination of one's religion does not).

Crime Perception and Safety. The dependent variables here were: Whether or not the respondent perceives crime in the U. S. as having increased, decreased or remained the same; whether or not the respondent perceives crime in his or her own community as having increased, decreased or remained about the same; whether or not one perceives crime in the community as being committed by "outsiders;" how safe one

feels during the day; and finally, how safe one feels at night. These latter two are of particular importance. Differences on these variables are significantly predicted by the following: City (Washington respondents were more likely to report that crimes in their neighborhoods were committed by "outsiders;" while Atlanta residents were more likely to attribute crime to "insiders"). Also by tract type: Those in the low-income, high-crime tract perceive U.S. crime as having increased, feel their community is "more dangerous" than other communities within the city, feel least safe during the day and feel least safe at night. Those in the middle-income, low-crime tract are the lowest on these variables, with the other two tract types falling in between. The availability of recreational facilities is a significant predictor: The more the availability of such facilities, the safer the respondent in that area feels both during the day and at night. Additional predictors are: Club affiliation (club members feel that crime has decreased and feel safer both during the day and at night than do non-members); church membership (same results as for club membership); amount of church attendance (the greater the attendance, the safer one feels); and own versus rent (those who own perceive that crime has decreased in their own neighborhood and also feel safer during the day and at night than do those who rent). The picture that emerges from this set of findings is this: The more involved or integrated the individual is into the immediate community, the less crime he perceives around him, the less fearful he is of crime and the safer he feels, and so on. We suggest that church membership, club affiliation, owning rather than renting, etc., are thus indicators of the extent to which the individual is integrated into the community.

Reporting of Burglaries, Robberies and Assaults. Both officially reported as well as unreported crimes are assessed here. All three of these types of crimes were asked about separately on the questionnaire. Atlantans perceive fewer burglaries as well as robberies and assaults on their streets than do Washington, D.C. residents. The results for tract type within these cities were consistent with our general hypotheses: Those in the middle-income, low-crime tracts report fewer crimes of all three types, with those in the low-income, lowcrime tracts next, then those in the middle-income, high-crime tracts, and finally, those in the low-income, high-crime tracts report the most frequent occurrence of all three of these types of crimes. Fewer burglaries, robberies and assaults are reported by those who are members of some neighborhood club, by those who are members of a neighborhood church, by those who are regular church attenders, by those who have relatives in the community rather than outside it, and by those who own rather than rent. We also found fewer reported burglaries, robberies and assaults for those who are members of some community group, the purpose of which is to improve relations between the community residents and the

police. Once again, we note the effects of variables which either directly or indirectly measure community involvement: The more-involved-persons (owners, church attenders, and so on) report less crime of these three types.

Trouble with the Police and Attitudes Toward the Police. We investigated whether or not the respondent had acquaintances who have had troubles with the police and also whether or not the respondent himself or herself had had such troubles. It was found that those who have had run-ins with the police (as well as those who have friends or acquaintances who have) tended to be from the lowincome, high-crime tracts in both Atlanta and Washington, tended to be younger rather than older, were those who rented rather than owned their dwelling, tended to be Catholic rather than Baptist or any other denomination and were those who were not regular church attenders. Some new predictors emerged in this portion of the analysis: Those in trouble with the police are more often males rather than females, those who are unemployed or employed part-time rather than fulltime, those with less formal education and those of lower occupational rank.

Similar results were obtained with respect to the attitude toward-police scales. Those with favorable attitudes toward their local police, both within Atlanta and within Washington were those who were in the middle-income, low-crime tracts, were older rather than younger, were those who owned rather than rented, were members of a club, were members of a church, were frequent rather than infrequent attenders of those churches, and were those who were married rather than single, separated, divorced or widowed; those who were employed full-time, and those who grew up in families of somewhat higher socio-economic status.

We carried out a contextual analysis where the relationship between tract type (the income and crime characteristics of the tract) and the dependent variables was examined while holding constant the individual's socio-economic characteristics. (We also examined the relationship between the individual's socio-economic characteristics and the dependent variables while holding constant tract type.) In general, the above results held up: Those in the low-income, high-crime tract were more fearful of crime, reported more crime in their neighborhoods, had more run-ins with the police and had stronger negative attitudes toward the police. Those in the middle-income, low-crime tract came out lowest on these dependent variables, and the other two tract types fell in between. The following general conclusions were drawn: The income and crime "status" of one's tract is more pertinent to that individual's own criminality and perception of crime than is the "status" of that self-same individual.

The most important finding of the study is that the degree of participation predicts for a person his or her attitudes

towards the police, support of the police, fear of crime, frequency of reporting criminal behavior and how safe a person feels in the community both day and night.

The overall pattern is that for those who are members of some kind of community club, those more functionally integrated into the life of the community consider crimes to be significantly less of a problem. As far as they are concerned, than are persons who are not members of any club. In essense, the more the involvement of the individual within the community including church attendance the least likely one is to indicate that the particular crime is a big problem.

An individual who owns his or her home is more involved and tied to the community; he/she has more of a stake in it; he/she has more of a vested interest in it. Homeowners were more likely to say that certain crimes were not a problem than were those who rented in the neighborhoods.

How an individual feels about himself or herself is also evidently predictive of that person's perception of crime in the community the same way as is alienation. The more negatively a person feels about himself or herself, the more the fear of crime, public drinking and so on are perceived to be a big problem in the community. In summary, when controlling for which city one resides in, the basic picture that emerges from both cities is one which tells us that the person who is more involved and integrated into the network of day-to-day activities of his or her immediate community is the one who is himself or herself less likely to be criminally involved with the police, less likely to have acquaintances who are so involved, less likely to perceive that crime around him or her is a severe problem, less likely to fear crime, less likely to evaluate the police negatively and so on.

Ethnographic Studies:

The qualitative data in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania provided interesting results. The Washington, D.C. study of one family, while not representative of the entire community, did present some interesting findings. The family consisted of husband, wife, four daughters and their four children. It was found that at least four different varieties of crime were part of the family lifestyle: (1) alcoholic abuse; (2) illicit drug use, sale, and purchase; (3) theft and the traffic in stolen goods, and (4) assault.

The consumption of alcohol in various forms and on different occasions played different roles for various members of the family. For the sisters, alcoholic beverages embodied a fairly elaborate and shifting status hierachy. Hennesy Cognac reflected the sophistication and good taste of the drinker; this drink was in. Drinks such as vodka had a low

status preference and was out; and drinks like rum and coke were very fashionable because of their Caribbean connotations.

The attitudes of the family toward illicit drug use and their willingness to use such drugs differed across generations with respect to the drug in question and its effects on the user. Marijuana was used regularly and openly within the household. Marijuana was obtained by purchasing it locally in very small quantities (never more than five dollars worth "nickel bag") or by having it given to them by friends. The second most frequently consumed illicit drug was PCP (which the daughters referred to as "WACK". Although they occasionally purchase it in very small quantities, one or two joints, they normally obtained it by receiving it as a gift from one or another of their current boyfriends, who usually offered some to the other sisters as a gesture of goodwill.

At least two of the sisters had used cocaine when it was given to them at a party, however they did not purchase it because of the high cost. Heroine is not a drug of choice.

On a regular basis, perhaps weekly, the family would buy stolen property. The purchases were made in one of three ways: first, they may be offered an opportunity to purchase something through one of the male friends or one of the four daughters. A current friend was a thief and a regular vendor of stolen goods and other friends kept their eyes open for items that might interest one or another of the sisters. The second situation in which the family had opportunities to buy stolen property arose when they were offered it by door-to-door sellers; some of whom were known as local residents or neighborhors and others of whom were strangers selling door-to-door. Transactions of this sort involved the sale and purchase of most anything, but clothing and common household products appear to be the most frequently tenant merchandise and the type of merchandise the family was most willing to buy.

The third and final path which stolen property travelled into the family household was somewhat different from the other two in that the sisters tended to be active consumers who searched out stolen property bargains rather than passive purchasers who waited for it to be offered them. In short, they hung out in various areas of the city were addicts congregated and thieves would sell their wares. Especially at times of the year when special buying needs to be done (e.g., Christmas, birthdays, and so on).

Assaultive behavior was a way of life with the family in dealings with each other and in dealings with friends and acquaintances. Fighting words, threats to harm others, insults, disparaging remarks all proved their capacities as fighters within that community. This presentation of themselves as willing and able to fight signaled to others that

they would not be pushed around, slighted, or treated with disrespect, and would guard what they possess, including their reputations, with violent abandonment.

The only conclusion one can draw from a study of one black family within the ghetto neighborhood is that drugs, stolen property, and assaultive behavior will probably continue from one generation to another. There is a possibility of reducing the purchase of illicit alcohol but this is only a minor response to many major problems within ghetto communities.

Participant observation was conducted in two communities in Philadalphia for approximately two years. One community was an all black community and the second community was a community in transition moving from an all black community to basically an all white community. Both communities were located very close to the University of Philadelphia and we called those two communities the VillageNorthton. Northton is predominantly black as stated earlier, the Village is at present integrated while becoming increasing white and middle income.

To some extent, the thesis advanced by Charles Silverman in "Criminal Violence Criminal Justice" (1978) appears to be supported in the black community of Northton; the relatively well-to-do or middle income blacks are fleeing, leaving the area to the black lower class residents who are at the mercy of the criminal element. People tend to have very limited confidence in the criminal justice system. In the streets, the law of the jungle prevails. The Village, comprises mainly one-family houses with large porches, surrounded by nicely planted yards, with old fashioned wrought iron fences. During the day and after the evening rush-hour traffic, the streets are generally quiet, and the city seems far away. Throughout the area, young male street groups predominate. Their members tend to be unemployed and tend to be involved in the "underground economy." The law-abiding members of the community hold such youths responsible for street crimes in the vicinity.

Particularly after dark, these young men and those who resemble them are held suspect by most community leaders, black as well as white. Some of the unemployed black youths, particularly the most desperate, tend to man the streets and set themselves up as community protectors and gate keepers offering to insure safe passage for money. Residents thus are inclined to remain indoors after dark or travel in small groups in order to navigate the streets with security.

Both communities are undergoing major social problems especially high unemployment. As unemployed black youths increase, middle income newcomers, mainly middle-aged and young whites, and some blacks are moving into the area, displacing poor blacks and others. This residential and racial change is the source of conflict, resulting in increased

street crime and burglaries. Not only do the perpetrators of such crimes often view such new people as invaders of the community, they also see them as inexperienced in the ways of "the streets". Such people, because of their actual and supposed inexperience, and to some degree because of their skin color, are viewed as easy marks, and they easily become victims.

The two communities are separate but in essence are part of the same community. Both blacks and whites see themselves in relation to one another, if not extensions of one another. Blacks very often show whites their attitudes about the general community. Blacks feel indeed that the neighborhood is not safe, though they tend to be less uptight about this feeling, mainly because they feel a sense of territory here. They tend to feel the environment is tougher for whites than for themselves. Consequently, the blacks tend to be much more relaxed in the general community area. The general feeling however, is that black persons on the streets are somewhat safer than their white counterparts.

Crime control in both communities is partially regulated by community morals and perceptions. A person's color, sex, age, dress, demeanor and comportment are critical within these communities. Incidents in public places become situations -- specific and person specific. There are great numbers of black youths in both communities who are committed to lawabiding behavior but their sub-culture displays tend to convey a different message.

The major problem in such encounters is often one of public image and public relations. Many black youth exude an offensive/defensive posture because they themselves regard the city streets as a jungle. And their pose is generally not intended for people who are aggressive towards them; it is usually intended for other youth. And yet this pose encourages fear, circumspection, and anxiety for law-abiding residents, black and white, whose primary concern is safe passage on the streets.

City Officials:

Interviews were conducted with city officials as an additional part of the research effort. Those cities were Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Georgia and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Our concern was with local policy as it related to crime control within each of those cities. We felt that city officials had much more power than any other group within the city to regulate the degree of policing, the degree of public control over urban development, the degree of public subsidy, and the degree of social class integration to which a community is responsive to community cohesion.

We also felt that specific policy objectives could be obtained from city officials if they were responsive to crime problems within their cities. Our questionnaire was designed for the mayor, the district attorney, the superintendent of schools, the public defender, and the chief of police. It was our belief that these officials had more control over city government than any other person(s) within the governmental structure.

We were not able to meet with any of the mayors because of their busy schedules but did meet with the mayors' representatives. The representatives say crime is directly related to high unemployment, drugs, discrimination, etc. They saw the most significant problem with the criminal justice system as being the courts and corrections and not the police.

The church was seen as being an effective catalyst for crime prevention as well as the schools. The schools were seen as under-funded and generally not doing a good job in crime prevention.

Questions were asked concerning the effectiveness of Operation Push and CETA as effective crime control mechanisms. Operation Push was seen as ineffective; however, the CETA program was seen as effective in providing jobs and job training for unemployed youth.

The police chiefs in the various cities saw burglary and drugs as the most important problems in their cities. None of the chiefs were concerned with violent crime, yet violent crime within the three cities was seen as the most serious concern of its citizens.

On the question dealing with the role of the school in crime prevention, most commissioners indicated that the school should start teaching respect for the law at a very early age.

With respect to fostering community responsibility, the police chiefs mentioned the Crime Prevention Units, Neighborhood Watch Programs and THOR Units.

Chief Napper of the Atlanta Police Department, was not sure whether or not black political representation had any significant impact upon the rate of crime, but he did indicate that it had some affect upon the treatment of people by the police.

The district attorneys of the cities were much more vocal in their description of the crime problems. Mr. Greene from Washington, D.C. saw the crime problem as one involving violent street crime, Mr. Stiles of Philadelphia was primarily concerned with juvenile crimes and burglary and Ms. Potter of Atlanta

looked at causal factors of crime. She blamed increase in crime in the Atlanta area on a variety of factors such as migration and resentment.

Most government officials felt that federal funds had been quite effective with their agencies in fighting crime. Some officials mentioned that the career criminal programs as well as the management of crime programs had been most effective in reducing crime.

All of the city officials were quite responsive to questions concerning crime and crime control but felt that because of the massive social economic problems within our city that crime would continue to increase.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The results of the research indicates very strongly that community cohesion is necessary for the reduction in crime and the fear of crime. Indicators for change in community are the following:

1. Religion

The respondent's actual religious preference does not predict his/her perception of crime, but the frequency of of church attendance is the major predictor. How involved one is with the church, thus can predict how one will feel about the fear of crime and about criminal behavior among peers.

2. City (Atlanta vs. Washington, D.C.)

Regardless of whether or not one lived in Atlanta or Washington, D.C. there was no difference in perceptions and fear of crime. This is especially significant because Atlanta was directly involved in the Murdered and Missing Children case. One could say that within large urban communities, there is very little effect upon fear and perceptions of crime from one city to another. Perhaps one develops a high tolerance for violence and that tolerance level remains regardless of the city.

3. Recreation

It has been generally believed that the addition of recreational facilities will reduce crime. We found that additional recreational facilities made very little if any difference in perceptions of crime within communities nor were they related to reporting of crime.

Our conclusion is that recreational facilities must be placed in communities for recreational purposes and not for purposes of reducing criminal behavior.

4. SES Variables-Non-Predictive

Marital status, gender (male vs. female), number of persons in household, head of household, employed or not, number of bedrooms in house, had no predictive value for crime and fear of crime within communities.

5. SES Variables-Predictive

Tract type, age, whether or not a person is a member of some club, whether or not one owns or rents.

The predictive variables tell us that the degree that a person feels a part of the community will have an affect upon that person's perceptions and reporting of crime. That age is

important as well as club membership to changing perceptions within the community.

6. Alienation and Self-Evaluation

These two social-psychological variables predicted correlates of crime behavior. They were indicators of the individual's overall involvement with society. The more the alienation, and/or the lower the self-evaluation, the less the extent to which the individual "fits" into society.

The more alienated an individual is, the more likely one is to indicate that fear of crime and that crime is a problem within the community. Self-evaluation serves the same purpose within the community, i.e., the more negatively a person feels about himself/herself, the more fear of crime and crime are seen as big problems within the community.

7. Community Reporting of Burglaries, Robberies, and Assaults

Fewer robberies and assaults, are perceived as occurring on one's street in Atlanta than in Washington, D.C. We were not sure whether or not this finding had any police implications simply because Atlanta has a higher arrest rate than Washington, D.C. We did believe that people generally feel much safer in the South than they do in cities such as Washington, D.C.

8. Tracts which have community organizations tend to report less burglaries, robberies and assaults. If there are organized police community groups there is less reporting of criminal behavior.

9. Trouble with the Police

The older the respondent, the less likely he or she is to have acquaintances who have been criminally involved with the police. Age was not significantly related to whether or not the respondent had had trouble with the police.

10. Attitudes Toward the Police

There was no difference in attitudes toward the police between cities (Washington-Atlanta). This was surprising because of the Murdered and Missing Children problem in Atlanta.

Attitude toward the police is more favorable rather than less favorable or negative, depending upon tract type (middle income-low crime) for older, rather than younger, (single and over 18 who have the most negative attitudes toward the police) for respondents in communities which contain groups established to improve resident-police relations; for those who are members of some community club; for those who are members of some community church; for frequent rather than

infrequent church attenders; for those who own rather than rent; for male rather than female households; for those who are married rather than single; for those who work or full-time students; for those whose father has a higher amount of formal education; for those who are in a higher social class and for those who are less alienated.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Invariably, whenever discussions arise concerning the "crime problem" in the United States, sooner or later, in the words of Silberman (1980: 159), "there is no escaping the question of race and crime." Scholars and lay persons alike generally point to official statistics (Uniform Crime Reports) as evidence that blacks in the United States are disproportionately represented both as victims of crime and at the retributive end of the criminal justice system.

Crime within the black community continues to be one of the major issues confronting our society today. Blacks comprise approximately 13 percent of the total U. S. population (fifteen million) but accounted for 47.4 percent of all persons arrested for violent crime in 1980 and 30 percent of all persons arrested for property crime UCR, 1980). By violent offense category, blacks accounted for 54 percent of all arrests for rape, 61 percent of all arrests for robbery and 40 percent of the arrests for aggravated assault.

Many studies have been conducted which attempted to account for the sizeable difference in arrest rates, but few if any have offered adequate explanations for the high incidence of violence committed by blacks. So alarming is the phenomenon of crime among blacks (i.e., blacks being both the victims and the perpetrators of serious crimes), that Ebony Magazine (1979) recently devoted an entire issue to its most frightening aspects, citing frequently the grim statistics. For example, the editorial pointed out that "more blacks were killed by other blacks in 1977 than were killed in Vietnam." The editorial goes on to say that "homicide is the leading cause of death of inner-city black males 15 to 44 years-old."

If one looks at the class of offenses generally labelled "street crimes," we find that typically the victims are overwhelmingly black and poor people living in metropolitan areas. A 1975 LEAA sponsored study in the five largest U. S. cities found that:

- Blacks and Chicanos in Philadelphia and Los Angeles are most likely to be victimized by assault and robbery.

- Blacks in Philadelphia and Chicago are the ones most victimized by theft.

- Black family households in all five cities suffered the highest rates of burglary and auto theft.

- In Philadelphia, blacks are twice as likely as whites to be burglarized.

- In Chicago, blacks are twice as likely to be victimized by auto theft.

Follow-up nationwide studies, released in 1976, similarly found that the highest incidence of violent and property crime is among the black, poor and unemployed. Blacks have higher victimization rates than whites for rape, robbery and assault. Moreover, blacks over age 20 are robbed at 2 to 3 times the rate of their white counterparts. In the instances where perpetrators have been apprehended, they have been found to be from similar social and economic settings as their victims.

The disproportionate involvement of blacks in the crime statistics is not, however, a recent phenomenon. With monotonous regularity in methodologically well-designed studies of delinquency, from Shaw and McKay (1942) in Chicago to Lander (1954) in Baltimore, the disparity between white and black involvement in criminality has been duly spread before scholars and lay persons alike.

The disproportionate trends in blacks' involvement in criminality are indeed alarming and cannot be easily dismissed on the grounds of statistical or methodological flaws in data collection and analyses as some authors (e.g., Geis, 1972; Pope, 1979) are inclined to do. Neither does the argument that blacks are more likely to be arrested, re-arrested and convicted than whites (see, e.g., Myers, 1979) obscure the fact that mostly black communities tend to experience higher rates of criminal victimization and that such victimization usually comes from those living only a few blocks away. However, what these data clearly show is that blacks as a racial and ethnic group in the United States are systematically exposed (more so than the average white citizen) to the kinds of social and economic conditions which, as the literature will show, are empirically related to crime.

These conditions (or what might be described as underlying causes) have been linked to lack of opportunity, unemployment, underemployment and racial discrimination. While numerous previous studies have indeed shown positive correlations between these variables and high rates of crime among blacks, there has been little attempt to show how the larger socio-structural variables interact at an intermediate level to result in either criminal or non-criminal activity. Nor have these studies focused exclusively on black collective response to (or perceptions of) the "crime problem."

In view of these and other shortcomings, the present

study attempts an analysis of the crime problem, as faced by black Americans, from a multi-dimensional perspective. At one level, the study focuses on selected community and political structures which might help to explain the disproportionate incidence of crime among blacks. A concentrated attempt is made, however, to go beyond mere statistical correlations to present a more insightful analysis--at the intermediate, community level--of the relationship between the social and economic location of blacks in the society and their disproportionate rates of crime and criminal victimization.

The other focus involves an examination of black responses (both individual and collective) to the "crime problem." By responses we mean the perceptions individuals have of the nature and extent of crime, the extent of crime, and the steps they take in response to these perceptions. What is commonly referred to in the literature as "fear of crime" is one component in such a response set.

COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

Several authors who have attempted to explain the disproportionate incidence of crime among blacks have suggested a basic, causal relationship between the disadvantaged location of blacks, as a group, in American society and their apparent "high" rates of crime. Structural conditions--e.g., high rates of unemployment, low-income availability, poor education, poor delivery of services, and marginal status have all been suggested as causes of crime among blacks.

There is little disagreement here that these larger structural conditions have some empirical bearing on the incidence of crime among blacks. In fact, as the literature has shown, crime tends to be more prevalent in those sectors of American society (black or white) where these conditions are most evident. However, the contention here is that simple statistical correlations between "structural conditions" and rates of crime say little about the importance of intermediate causes. In other words, a more adequate explanation system of crime among blacks would be one which could resonate between larger structural conditions and behavior patterns. Rainwater (1970) put it best when he noted: "White cupidity (or white racism) creates structural conditions (which are) inimical to basic social adaptations among blacks."

Thus, this study attempts to take a closer look at the intervening social processes which interact with, or respond to, structural conditions as these relate to crime among blacks. It is suggested here that the more important intervening variables--(i.e., as they relate to criminality), can be found at the community level. Studies by Suttles (1968), Newman (1973) and others have shown that both the level of victimization and the tendency to commit certain types of crimes are to some extent related to the type of social integration

and the quality of the social organization found in communities. These, however, are seen developing in response to structural conditions and are greatly influenced by them.

Thus, one of the basic notions here is that an understanding of the type of integrative mechanisms which exist at the community level is crucial to an explanation of crime among blacks.

Response to crime (more specifically collective response) is fundamentally rooted in the type of social structure that exists in communities.

Previous research on community and community organization conducted both in the United States and abroad, and employing both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, has suggested a relationship between community structures and the incidence of crime (see, e.g., Lynd and Lynd, 1929; Angell, 1941; Clinard, 1966; Suttles, 1968; Parking, 1969; Rogler, 1967; Anderson, 1976). For example, it is generally suspected that effective control of property crimes, especially within a ghetto community, requires sufficient knowledge and friendship among neighbors so that: (1) there is a general tendency to reject the "temptation" to steal from a neighbor, (2) people will guard their neighbor's property, (3) strangers can be readily identified, and (4) residents will help if someone has been attacked. Such bonds would have to be quite strong, because economic pressures on ghetto dwellers can be overwhelming. Certain social structures apparently facilitate the growth and maintenance of such unity, while others seem inimical to their existence. These differences in social organization are the primary focus of this study.

Perhaps one of the more useful and relevant formulations is Landecker's (1951) "types of (community) integration." He suggests four types of integration characteristic of any social group--cultural, communicative, normative, and functional. Neither size nor type of group is specified, but the city is used as a basic example. He admits that the types themselves must be considered provisional and may be modified depending upon the situation, and the interrelation among the four types is not examined. The four types of integration he identifies not only seem relevant for examining differentials in the incidence of crime among subgroups in the black community, but they also possess the definite advantage of quantifiability.

Cultural integration refers to the internal consistency of the cultural standards within a group. A lack of integration exists when group values and expectations make conflicting demands upon members. Whether or not real culturally integrated, primarily black, communities can be found to exist in the urban areas of this country is, however, an empirical question. The feeling here is that there are pockets of such communities

in some urban areas.

Normative integration is defined as the degree to which group conduct conforms to cultural standards. Relying upon the work of Angell (1941), Landecker suggests that a crime index covering the major categories of criminal behavior could be used as one measure of this variable.

Communicative integration refers to the extent to which communicative contacts permeate the group. The concept is more individualistic than communal in Landecker's definition, dealing with the comprehensiveness of interpersonal communication. One suggested index is the inverse of the number of isolates (i.e., those persons who have little or no communication with other members of the group). However, it is also important to consider the size of communication networks. Quite large clusters indicate a greater degree of communicative integration than a pattern of numerous, small, isolated groupings.

Functional integration was originally defined by Durkheim (1949) as the interdependence of group members through the division of labor. The concept is quite useful in reference to integration into urban society, implying that the more ties an individual has with the larger urban environment, the less likely he/she will contravene common norms of conduct. Ties could come through occupation, or through membership in organizations (local and non-local) or political parties.

As suggested by Clinard and Abbott (1973) connections between Landecker's four types of integration can be made, thus suggesting a somewhat preliminary model, shown in Figure 1 below:

Functional

Cultural Communicative Normative

Figure 1

The argument can be stated theoretically as follows: If two persons have the same cultural background, their ability to communicate is normally enhanced since they have shared meanings and experiences and lack many types of suspicions. And in the heterogenous urban environment, similarities receive added importance as forms of support (see Parkin, 1969). A high degree of cultural integration would increase the probability of friendships and of an increased degree of communicative integration, which could act as effective forms of social control. Functional integration could affect the degree of normative integration--as this applies to

norms governing criminal conduct--in two ways. For one, the person could be in contact with unfavorable definitions of crime. Secondly, if the person has a job, power, or status through relations outside the community, he would be less inclined to jeopardize them through arrest and imprisonment.

Collective response to crime at the community level is fundamentally rooted in the type of social structure that exists within individual communities. In this regard, two basic, related components are identified: (1) cohesion and (2) solidarity. The underlying notion here is that while crime may affect the social fabric of community life, resulting in the improvisation of various response mechanisms, the type of structure that exists in communities may also affect rates of criminal victimization. That is, there are communities where a type of social structure may exist independently of crime, and this, in turn, influences the rate of criminality. For example, communities which, over long periods, have shown high levels of social integration can be expected to demonstrate low rates of crime. Before examining the concept of social integration, however, a general overview of the related concepts cohesion and solidarity in discussions of criminality might be useful.

The impact of crime can be said to be part of the larger issue of the effects of social conflict upon social cohesion and solidarity. The term cohesion refers to the structure of relationships between members of a collectivity. Solidarity refers to the disposition of the members of the collectivity. As Percy Cohen (1968: 135) notes:

> "The solidarity of a group, quasi-group or collectivity is a readiness to act in concert for certain purposes... Solidarity in any social system may derive from interests which stem from internal social relations, or it may result from external pressures, or as is common, it may result from both. But even internal bases of solidarity exist only because certain interests are opposed to those of outsiders, and external pressures can only create solidarity if they activate internal interests."

Both Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956) have discussed the integrating effects of out-group conflict on in-groups. A large body of anthropological literature has shown that the rights, obligations and expected modes of behavior are imbedded in the structure of any society. Cross cutting ties between numbers of divisions within society produce cohesion while conflicts between divisions produce solidarity within the divisions (see Gluckman, 1959; Colson, 1953). The definition of the in-group is relative to the identity of the perceived out-group. Conflict between two tribes may unite the individual tribes but disrupt the region. Conflict between two classes within a tribe may unify the individual clans but may result, in the extreme, in the fission of the tribe, and so on. In a

similar fashion, conflict between ethnic groups may increase solidarity within each of the affected ethnic groups while dividing the larger "community." Suttles (1968) visualized this phenomenon as "segmentary opposition."

To illustrate his point that crime undermines the fabric of social life, Conklin (1975) presents a number of cases which raise questions when viewed from the perspective of the relationship of insider/outsider groups. We will examine two of these illustrations as they relate to collective responses to the perceived threat of crime.

The first case occurred in New York City (Conklin, 1975: 66). In the neighborhood in question, much of the recent wave of violence has been attributed to blacks. Among the Jewish residents of the area there emerged strong feelings of "consciousness of kind" which was translated into many overt actions against blacks (such as resisting further black migration). Conklin argues that the "Jews were made more conscious of themselves as a separate group facing a great (external) threat." This made them more hostile toward blacks. Conklin interpreted such actions as indicating that merely living together in a geographic area does not always mean a shared sense of "community." The community as a whole was not unified," thereby producing in-group and out-group feelings within the same community. The in-group (in this case, the Jews) united in opposition to the out-group (the blacks). Thus, in a strictly Durkheimian sense (where community is defined by the extent of solidarity bonds among group members) the "community as a whole" was not a community at all.

The second case which we shall draw on from Conklin is one most central to the issue of collective responses to crime, namely, the mass murder of the Clutter family reported by Truman Capote (1965). The social situation in this rural Kansas town distinguishes it from the urban environments with which we are concerned in this study. First, the community was relatively crime free when contrasted with urban locales. Second, the crime was of a particularly heinous nature when contrasted with the crime problems which most frequently plague cities; namely, burglary, purse snatching, muggings, etc. Third, the victims were particularly well known and "well respected" by all members of the community. (As such, Skogan and Maxfield's [1979] notion of vicarious victimization goes a long way in explaining individual reactions to crime.) A fourth distinction, as Conklin notes, is the inability of the members of this isolated community to identify a group or set of individuals as the probable perpetrators of the crime.

This latter condition, namely the inability to identify an out-group, highlights an important factor for our study of black collective responses to crime. As argued earlier, following Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956), it is in opposition to out-groups that in-group solidarity is enhanced. Thus,

the identification of a group, class, or category of perpetrators, or at minimum an individual perpetrator, is an important factor in understanding black collective responses.

The perspective outlined here argues that human collectivities will unite and react to crime if they constitute a community that is able to identify itself as insiders and if an opposing group of outsiders (in a sociological rather than geographical sense) can also be identified. It does not argue that solidarity will be increased within a geographic locale where there are few cross-cutting ties and where residents feel no sense of community. In this case, solidarity may have to be created.

Although solidarity can occur spontaneously through collective action (see Cohen 1968: 137), it may have to be created to defend common interests. According to Cohen (1968: 136): "In some cases solidarity results from group participation in common activities, and the sharing of common ideas and values." This possibility is recognized in a recent request for proposals by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). In that solicitation it was noted: "Fear of crime can motivate citizens to interact with each other and engage in anti-crime efforts" (LEAA, 1977: 5-8). The efficacy of this notion has yet to be tested by black researchers in black urban populations.

The above discussion has two main implications for that part of our study which deals with black collective responses to crime. First, social solidarity (i.e., shared dispositions rather than individual psychological status) is related to the ability to mobilize collective responses to crime. Second, the ability to identify an out-group is related to the ability to define the in-group; for it is only in opposition to outsiders that insiders are unified. Moreover, the particular identity of the perceived out-group (ethnically or otherwise) is related to the steps which will be taken to reduce crime in the neighborhood.

Wirth (1938) argued that the process of urbanization results in the reduction of the individual's primary ties (i.e., the network of internal social relations), thereby weakening the sense of community in the neighborhood. More recently Wilson (1975: 30) points out that "increasingly the central city is coming to be made up of persons who have no interest, or who face special disabilities, in creating and maintaining a sense of community." In contrast to Wilson, however, some urban ethnographic studies (e.g., Whyte, 1943; Suttles, 1968) have demonstrated that the process described by Wirth and Wilson is not a universal urban phenomenon.

Clearly, not all urban locales demonstrate the kind of "moral" ties that Durkheim visualized. But it is equally clear that not all urban locales are disorganized. Rather,

we suggest that there are degrees of social solidarity, (primarily within black urban locales) which tend to fall along a continuum, from "high" degrees of social solidarity to "low" degrees of social solidarity. Since the degree and nature of social solidarity differs across locales (as does the perception of out-groups), we would expect differences in the extent and nature of collective responses to crime.

In his chapter on Crime and Community, Wilson (1975: 21) begins, like Conklin, by asserting that "predatory crime does not merely victimize individuals, it impedes and, in the extreme case, even prevents the formation and maintenance of community." Wilson claims that this occurs because ties between neighbors become disrupted. No evidence is presented, however, and it is not clear from his analysis why fear of crime (often translated as fear of strangers) should disrupt ongoing ties between people who know one another. Despite this beginning, Wilson moves quickly to the failure of community and problems of controling the immediate environment, thus linking the problems of crime in the community with the inability of urban communities to exercise a degree of social control.

As long ago as 1918, George Herbert Mead pointed out that although crime may sometimes increase community solidarity and reduce the tendency toward criminal behaviors, actions of solidarity do not deal with the underlying causes of crime. This assumption might even be more applicable to the situation of urban blacks. It is, however, an empirical question which will be addressed in later chapters.

The theoretical perspectives outlined here raise three main questions which constitute the core of what is being researched in this study. First, how is crime perceived in a mostly black urban community? Is it a problem of such staggering proportions as to disrupt social and community life? Are residents engaging in collective and/or individual responses to crime? If so, what are these responses and what are the motivations or factors which result in residents doing something about crime on a collective basis? Is the motivating factor fear, as is implied in one LEAA solicitation? Or is some other social process at work? Second, what are the factors implied in notions of social solidarity, cohesion and community which not only influence reactions to crime among urban blacks but may also serve to deter crime? And finally, are there differences across mostly black urban communities with respect to perceptions of the crime problem, collective responses to crime, fear of crime, and the extent of social solidarity, cohesion, and shared sense of community? And if there are differences, how can we explain these differences?

FEAR OF CRIME

As Skogan and Maxfield (1980) found, "crime and fear are related problems, but they do not always go together." The "fear of crime" is no less true for mostly black communities than it is for predominantly white communities. Part of this research is an attempt to understand the apparent paradox between the "fear of crime" and the actual extent of criminality in specific black communities. Fear of crime is explicitly measured in our survey reported below. Fear is especially pronounced among the elderly, data from a recent National Institute of Justice study has shown that 3 out of 4 elderly people deliberately limit their activities because of fear of crime. According to the report, the fear sometimes becomes emotionally crippling, restricting the elderly's social life, and thus further contributing to the already existing feelings of loneliness and depression. In most cases, the fears are unwarranted. The aged are less frequently victims of actual crime than are the young. The older a person becomes the less chance that he or she will be victimized. ("Police Service Delivery to the Elderly," 1981).

In a recent survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) interviewers asked a random sample of Americans if there is a place in their neighborhood "where you would be afraid to walk alone at night." Those surveys have given us a fair reading of the state of public opinion since 1965. They point to a steady increase in fear, from a low of 31 percent "yes" to a high of 45 percent "yes." However, reports of fear increased primarily during the 1967-1974 period, and they too have remained at virtually the same level since then (see Baumer and DuBow, 1977).

Within our study we are concerned with the fear of crime within certain black communities. We expect, as in previous studies, that persons who live in middle-income, low-crime tracts will have the least fear of crime and that those in low-income, high-crime tracts will show the highest relative fear of crime. We suspect that there is a strong correlation between tract type and fear of crime.

Fear of crime generally predicts behavioral characteristics of persons within tracts. If we can in some way suggest ways to lower the fear threshold, then we believe that it's possible to reduce the high rates of criminal violence within some black communities.

While there is extensive national data on "fear of crime," there is no comparable data on what people do about crime, which, presumably, would be the best barometer of its impact on their lives. There is an ample supply of anecdotal and media accounts of the debilitating impact of crime on the quality of life. Responses to crime may be grouped into two broad categories: collective or group response and

individual response. A collective response to crime, as defined here, is an activity in which unrelated individuals act jointly to "do something about crime." The collective quality of the response may involve a large or small number of people and may be highly organized or spontaneous and informal. A number of collective responses have been accomplished in cooperation with others, such as neighborhood surveillance programs.

Individual response, on the other hand, involves activities that individuals undertake on their own initiative. People of all races, ethnic groups, and regions are known to stay behind locked doors, avoid public transportation, shun shopping downtown, decline to go out "on the town" for entertainment, and avoid involvement with strangers, even when in need of help. While this latter set of consequences for daily living are only indirect indicators of the effect of crime upon the quality of life in America. They reflect its impact upon some of the most fundamental human values including: freedom of movement and affiliation with others, freedom from fear and anxiety, and the quest for community based on mutual trust and dependence. The latter is an all together important ingredient in anti-crime efforts.

However, the relation between rates of criminal victimization and type of response mechanisms is not a simple one. Crime rates for areas do not always correspond with what residents report doing. Furstenberg (1972), for instance, found that even in very high crime areas of Baltimore, one-quarter of his respondents reported taking no particular precautions against crime, while in the "safest" areas about one-quarter did a great deal in their neighborhood to avoid being victimized. Wilson (1976) found that in Portland, people who lived in the lowest crime areas were the ones who reported spending the most on security.

In many cases, it is necessary to look beyond people's direct and personal experiences to understand what they think about crime and what they do in response to it. High levels of fear expressed in the present and related studies do not always square with what people do about crime. In particular, the rate at which incidences are reported to the police by victims is surprisingly low even in major crime categories. Many people are, in fact, careless with regard to their persons and property. For example, a large proportion of the burglaries recorded in victimization surveys are carried out without need for forcible entry, through unlocked doors or windows (see U. S. Department of Justice, 1979).

The problems of crime, fear and response measures appear to be worse in cities. For one thing, crime rates are certain ly higher there. In fact, there is ample evidence that in all parts of the world, and for most of this century, crime has been more frequent in urban centers than in the

surrounding countryside (see Archor, et al., 1978). Serious assaultive violence, handgun use and robbery are so heavily concentrated in the big cities of this country that the overall national violent crime rate is highly contingent upon social and economic events and conditions there (Skogan, 1979). The same opinion surveys that track fear of crime over time also indicate that fear is more pervasive in large metropolitan cities, among all social groups.

Anxiety over crime increases with city size at almost every step, although there is a substantial jump in levels of fear in places over 100,000 population. Again, however, while this phenomenon is fairly generalizable, it has not been specifically examined for blacks living in major metropolitan centers.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW AND STUDIES RELATING CRIME AMONG BLACKS TO CULTURE

LITERATURE REVIEW

The review of the literature on blacks and crime is designed to provide a brief overview of some of the works of black and white scholars who have addressed the issue of the relationship between blacks and crime. While some of the studies do not specifically concern themselves with community, they nevertheless address issues such as crime and delinquency that relate directly to minority communities. Most of these studies were used to assist us in framing questions that relate to the black community.

An examination of the literature on blacks and crime reveal two perspectives. White authors were generally theoretical in their approach, attempting to devise theories that in some way applied to criminal behavior within the black culture. Black authors were more concerned with societal problems that created crime and delinquency and leaned in the direction of racial discrimination as one of the participating causes of high rates of crime within black communities.

One cannot conduct research on community societal structures without reference to earlier works completed by the faculty of the Chicago School of Sociology. The studies of Shaw (1929) and Shaw and McKay (1931) are considered to be the most important studies conducted on delinquency areas within cities. By systematically plotting official residences of delinquents on a map of Chicago, Shaw and McKay found that the delinquency rate systematically declined the further the zone was from the center of the city. In 1942, after completion of a replicate study, Shaw and McKay concluded that a strong correlation existed between social and economic status and rates of delinquency.

Lander (1954) replicated the Shaw and McKay studies in Baltimore, Maryland. Although Lander found that the highest rate of delinquency was located in the central city, unlike Shaw and McKay he did not find that it decreased as one moved in zones away from the center of the city. He concluded that the concentric zone approach may oversimplify rates of delinquency. He further postulated that it was not the physical condition of the city but, rather, its degree of social stability which is related to crime and delinquency. He arrived at

this conclusion after comparing high and low rates of delinquency among Blacks within the same physical area. He took home ownership to be the indicator of stability and social integration (although he admitted that this might not always be the case). Lander concluded that "the delinquency rate in a stable community will be low in spite of its being characterized by bad housing, poverty and propinquity to the center city." On the other hand, he argued, one would "expect a high delinquency rate in an area characterized by normlessness and social instability" (Lander, 1954:89).

Ecological studies are particularly relevant as they portray the causation of crime among delinquents as a significant phenomenon related to deterioration of the inner city. While the earlier studies were concerned primarily with immigrants, today the blacks and the poor predominate in the cities and the theory of concentric zones is still relevant.

The theory of differential association (Sutherland, 1934) was perhaps the first systematic formulation to deal directly with criminal behavior (see Sutherland & Cressey, 1966). Sutherland postulated that a "person becomes criminal because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law." That "definitions of Criminal Behavior are learned in a normal learning process. This learning includes: (a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple; and (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes" (Sutherland & Cressey, 1966: 81).

Differential association theory has been widely critized by such authors as Bloch and Geis (1962, 1970), Matza (1964), Cohen, Lindesmith and Schuessler (1956), Lemert (1953), Short (1960), and Reiss and Rhodes (1964). In this regard, Burgess and Akers have written:

> The attempts to subject the theory to empirical test are marked by inconsistent findings both within the same study and between studies ... nearly all have indicated difficulty in operationalizing the concepts and recommend that the theory be modified in such a way that it becomes more amenable to empirical testing. (Burgess & Akers, 1966: 129)

Nevertheless, other theories of crime causation have arisen using differential association as a starting point (see e.g., Glaser, 1960; Cloward & Ohlin, 1960).

Sutherland's theory of differential association played a vital part in directing the attention of criminologists to the sub-cultural support of criminal behavior.

Merton (1938) using Durkheim's concept of anomie, linked crime and deviance in American society to the disjunction between goals and means. Merton suggested that American society places great emphasis on individual success, while at the same time it does not provide the means for all individuals to achieve a degree of success. He felt that deviant behavior is not generated simply by the lack of opportunities, but that

> ... a comparatively rigidified class structure, a feudalistic or caste order, may limit such opportunities far beyond the point which obtains in our society today. It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common symbols of success for the population at large while its social structure rigorously restricts or completely eliminates access to approved modes of acquiring these symbols for a considerable part of the same population that antisocial behavior ensues on a considerable scale (Merton, 1938: 672-682).

Merton's Social Structure and Anomie has been included in many anthologies and is often seen as a starting juncture for criminologists who attempt to link crime and social structure (Sykes, 1978: 265).

In 1938, Sellin proposed "culture conflict" as an explanation of crime causation. Sellin argued that conduct norms are present for every defined group to which the individual belongs. There is a right (normal) and a wrong (abnormal) way of acting in specific situations. Culture conflict, then, is the inevitable result of a clash between conduct norms of differing cultures. Conflict was also used as an explanation for crime (but in a different context) by Vold (1958) and Dahrendorf (1959). Sellin's theory of "culture conflict" has sometimes been viewed by black authors as applicable to the consideration of race and crime (Staples, 1976: 218).

There were many studies relating to blacks and crime in the 1940's but most dealt with differential treatment within the criminal justice system. One of the most important studies was conducted by Johnson (1941) who compared 220 homicide cases in Richmond, Virginia from 1930-1939 and 330 homicides in five counties in North Carolina from 1930-1940. Johnson compared homicides committed by blacks against other blacks, whites against blacks, whites against whites and blacks against whites. Johnson found that blacks received the most severe penalty when they committed crimes against whites followed by white-white, black-black and white-black. Johnson's study has been criticized on the grounds that he lumped all homicides together and failed to control for other aspects of legal sentencing--i.e., prior record (see Debro, 1975: 90). Garfinkel (1949) published a study using

data on all homicides from 1930-40 in North Carolina and found virtually the same results.

In the early 1950's a number of white sociologists/ criminologists posited the idea of subcultural explanations of crime and delinquency. Cohen (1955) was one of the leading exponents. He used the work of Merton in his theory of the lower class youngster, suggesting that the lower class boy accepts the goals of the middle class (learned through parental expectations and the media) but is unable to achieve those goals through socially acceptable means. This then leads to the development of a delinquent subculture whose values and subsequent delinquent activity can be characterized as non-utilitarian, malicious, negativistic and further characterized by short-run hedonism and group autonomy. However, Reiss and Rhode's (1963) study produced results that generally questioned the validity of that theory. And Sykes and Matza's (1957) "techniques of neutralization" theory was generally critical of Cohen's theory.

Also writing in the 1950's was Miller (1958). His work, however, departed slightly from Cohen's. Miller viewed lower class delinquents as responding to a distinct set of lower class "focal concerns," and that lower class values are internally generated. He concluded that "the dominant component of the motivation of delinquent behavior engaged in by members of the lower-class corner groups involves a positive effort to achieve status, conditions or qualities valued within the working class milieu" (Miller, 1958: 18).

Writing in the late 1960's, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) attempted to integrate the earlier formulations of Cohen (1955), Merton (1938), and Sutherland. Cloward and Ohlin stated: "Given limited access to success goals by legitimate means, the very nature of the delinquent response that may result will vary according to the availability of various illegitimate means (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960: 152). The opportunities available will dictate which of the three delinquent subcultures (criminal, where illegal means are predominant; retreatist, where consumption of drugs prevail; and conflict, where violence wins status) will assume dominance in a particular social setting.

Two other authors, Clark and Wenninger (1962), conducted a study of high school students in northern Illinois. They administered questionnaires to students from four distinct communities which they categorized as rural-farm, lower-urban (black area in Chicago), industrial city (area of the city with much industry present), and upper-urban (upper class area). Clark and Wenninger found that as one moves from rural-farm, to upper urban, to industrial city, to lower urban, the incidences of offenses become larger and at the same time more serious. They concluded that social class differentiation within status areas is apparently not related

to illegal behavior. They further suggest that there are community wide norms which are related to illegal behavior and to which juveniles adhere regardless of their social class origins. Finally, they indicated that subcultures characterized by more serious offenses will only be found in large, lower-class, urban areas.

Reiss and Rhodes (1963) conducted a study which led them to question some aspects of Cohen's theory. They found that although some adolescents express status deprivation, the majority do not, and the "actual relationship between status deprivation and delinquency is so low that it makes the postulate of little value to the theory" (see Reiss and Rhodes 1963: 1987).

Also in 1963, Becker contributed to the prior knowledge of labeling theory (see Tannenbaum, 1938; Lemert, 1951) and its relationship to criminal behavior. According to Becker: "... whether or not a given act is delinquent depends in part on what other people do about it... Deviance is not a quality that lies in behavior itself but in the interaction between the person who commits the act and those who respond to it" (see Becker, 1963: 9). One of the reasons labeling theory has been given so much attention is the effect that it can have on those that receive a label. This is based upon the notion that people will respond differently to a stereotypic label, thus making the label a self-fulfilling prophecy (see also Schur, 1973; Skolnick and Schwartz, 1962).

Unrelated to labeling theory, Matza (1964) developed his theory of delinquency and drift. The main thrust of his argument is that a delinquent merely "drifts" into delinquency. He characterized the delinquent as an actor that "... is neither compelled nor committed to deeds nor freely choosing them; neither different in any simple or fundamental sense from the law abiding; nor the same; conforming to certain traditions in American life while partially unreceptive to other more conventional traditions; and finally an actor whose motivational system may be explored along lines explicitly commended by classical criminology - his peculiar relationship to legal institutions" (Matza, 1964: 28).

Chambliss (1974) compared functional and conflict theories of crime causation. He noted that conflict theory [also referred to as "critical criminology" (Sykes, 1974); "radical criminology" or "conflict approach" (Taylor, Walton and Young, 1973)] has become increasingly important as a causal explanation of crime. In comparing the schools of thought, he grouped together sociological approaches, ecological approaches, lower class approaches and labeling theory declaring that this comprised the functionalist approach. In general, he described the functionalist approach as accepting value consensus as a reflection of criminal law and the tendency to look for universal needs in all societies. He further argued that

empirical data collected for studies of the functionalist approach merely tried to make theories fit with this empirical data, based on value consensus. He concluded by stating that all that is left for the criminologist to do is to explain why some people accept the prevailing values and some don't.

In reviewing conflict theory, Chambliss (1974) argued that this theory is founded on Marxism and does not recognize the importance of value consensus as a starting point for analysis. He further points out that when value consensus exists, it is a result of the rule of one class of people over another. Criminal law does not reflect custom, according to Chambliss; rather, it reflects the desire of the ruling class to maintain its own interests at the expense of those being ruled. Criminal behavior is then viewed as the struggle between rulers and the ruled, all in the interest of preserving the existing social order.

Quinney (1974: 11-13), the most prolific writer on the subject of conflict theory, proposes that the social scientist begin to "look critically at the legal order and question the assumptions behind the phenomena." He agrees with general conflict theory regarding the struggle between the ruling class and those ruled but takes conflict theory one step further by calling for the establishment of a socialist system (Quinney, 1977: 165).

Sykes (1974) says that he is not sure whether critical criminology is valid as it is presently only a "viewpoint, a perspective or an orientation" (Sykes, 1974: 212). He argues that the discrimination of the upper class over the lower class and other minorities has not been confirmed and he cites Chiricos and Waldo's (1975) study as an example. Chiricos and Waldo empirically tested the conflict hypothesis that the most severe criminal sanctions are imposed on the lower socioeconomic class. They concluded that "the hypothesis will have to be abandoned, or at least modified" if it is to have any impact on the theory (Chiricos and Waldo, 1975: 768). They further suggested that more studies should be done that analyze extralegal factors (e.g., sex, socioeconomic status and race) in relationship to legal factors (e.g., seriousness of offense and prior record). Sykes states that "for critical criminology to make a significant contribution to the sociology of crime, it must avoid the error of believing that because the legal stigma of crime does not match the occurrence of crime-in-general in the total population, the stigma is necessarily based on irrelevant factors such as income and race. Certain patterns of criminal behavior still have much to do with the matter" (Sykes, 1974: 213).

On the other hand, Sykes concludes his article on a positive note by stating that "if critical criminology can help us solve the issue of inequality before the law in terms of income and race, while still confronting the need

to control crime, it will contribute a great deal" (Sykes, 1974: 213).

There have been very few definitive studies on crime conducted in black neighborhoods by black authors.

W. E. B. DuBois was the first black author to investigate and write about crime in the black community. His publication, The Philadelphia Negro (1899) was a major sociological work concerning crime in the black slum area of Philadelphia. DuBois' 1904 monograph, ("Some notes on Negro crime particularly in Georgia") linked crime to discrimination, the movement from slavery to freedom, and the double standards of justice within the court system. Later, as a scholar at Atlanta University, DuBois would participate in a conference on the "Study of Black Problems" held in 1913. At the conference, he reiterated his views on the causal factors of black crime and added the following: (a) the difficulty of the young in adjusting to a caste system, (b) poverty, (c) poor home training, (d) discouragement arising from lawless treatment and withdrawal of civil and political rights, and (e) the lack of self-respect under a caste system. DuBois' works greatly influenced later views of black crime by black authors.

Root (1927), for example, found that blacks occupied the poorest homes in the poorest districts and that vice and crime flourished in those areas. He concluded that the black offender is the victim of a vicious circle of social, biological and economic forces which result in criminal behavior. He found that black offenders had a lack of education and vocational skills and did not use leisure time properly. They were also victims of a caste system which forced the offender to live in discarded houses. Root concluded that blacks, because of their social and economic condition, are forced to feel inferior and are humiliated in many ways. Thus, these factors must be considered in judging the status of blacks in the criminal world.

Reid (1931) listed the causes of crime among blacks as unemployment and underemployment. In his study of black prisoners in New York, he found that the offenders were typically young, unmarried and lived with a single parent prior to their eighteenth birthday. All had less than ten years of formal schooling prior to the commission of the offense.

Moses (1936) published a study on community factors in Negro delinquency which was based on the zonal theories of Shaw and McKay (1931). He noted that this theory had particular relevance to the black community as blacks comprised the greatest proportion of the inner city population. He attributed black delinquency to be the product of migration and settlement in areas of rapid deterioration. This migration was a direct result of blacks moving to the Northern cities (presumably to escape widespread discrimination in the

South) and settling in areas where they could afford to live--i.e., the inner city, where housing was cheapest. Since blacks could not move away from the inner city because of housing discrimination in suburban areas, a stagnated population resulted, (see Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder 1967: 101-105).

Frazier (1932), one of the most important authors of his time, also advocated the Chicago School's zonal theory of crime. He proposed that the "extent, nature and cause of crime among blacks will continue as long as they are discriminated against in employment and are forced to live in ghettos." Further, he noted that "social disorganization was the key to crime and discrimination among blacks" (in Debro, 1978: 40). He concluded that it was the deteriorated areas of the inner city that bred crime and suggested that, as a result, black crime rates would be no higher than white rates when studies of the relationship of crime to social disorganization were conducted.

Himes (1938), in his study of crime in Columbus, Ohio, conceptualized four periods in the history of black crime as related to population trends in various city areas. The first period was characterized by "vice" crimes in the central part of the city. The second period began as the center city began to expand as the result of the northward black migration. Blacks entered these cities at the points of least resistance -- i.e., near the center of the city. As they moved out into more peripheral areas, they came into greater contact with the white population. This resulted in certain social and racial antagonisms between whites and blacks which led, eventually, to the gradual deprivation of services, such as theaters, hotels, cafes, restaurants and other public places to the black community.

The third stage that Himes identified began with this isolation of the immigrant blacks; such isolation set the stage for social alienation and the concomitant development of a poor self-image among this group. As a result, a life-style of crime and delinquency developed ultimately leading to a way of life that condoned illegal activities in future generations.

The fourth stage was characterized by conflicts between parent and child. The parent, a product of a southern mentality which advocated law and order, abhored their children's participation in criminal activities; as a result alienation within the family developed.

Similar themes were maintained in other investigations. Blue (1948) studied juveniles referred to court in Detroit and found that economic status was more predictive of juvenile delinquency than race. However, he concluded that the combined effects of race and economic status lead to a higher incidence

of juvenile delinquency (see Blue, 1948: 469-477).

Lloyd (1950), using data from The Children's Bureau and FBI reports, proposed that the causal factors related to delinquency were environmental. He advocated looking towards character building in children, citizenship training, parental education and the strengthening of home life as examples of how to prevent delinquency.

In 1959, The Journal of Negro Education devoted an entire issue to the question of delinquency causation among blacks. In this issue, Clark examined the relationship between the psychology of minority status and delinquency. Hill saw the deviant behavior of minority youths as a "way of life" in an urban environment. Unlike Hill and Clark, Hipps suggested that, since the home and neighborhood are strong conditioning factors toward delinquency, public schools should be altered so that they can become the preventors, rather than modifiers, of juvenile delinquency.

Vontress (1962) then proposed a multifaceted theory of crime causation with the major focus on the factors of discrimination and segregation. He saw unemployment, inadequate housing, population density, lack of education, frustration and other aspects of the surrounding environment as contributing to crime. These he viewed as the result of discrimination and segregation. He also noted that the crime statistics are unreliable because of discrimination within the system of criminal justice which predisposes blacks to more frequent arrests and convictions than whites. Vontress' contribution to the understanding of crime causation among blacks can be summarized in the following quotation:

> "Listing an 'infestive' or slum environment as the cause of crime among Negros is inadequate. The basic cause is multivarious; it consists of a melange of attitudes and practices which have become institutionalized in American culture. Crime and other social maladjustments are common accompaniments of life in highly compressed ghettos; and as long as there exists economic insecurity and substandard conditions of living for large segments of people who are victims of segregation and discrimination in a land of 'equality,' so long are high crime rates to be expected among Negroes" (Vontress, 1962: 115).

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, considerable attention was focused on Merton's theory of deviant behavior. Epps (1967) sought to test some hypotheses which he derived from the theory. Briefly, Merton's theory suggested that delinquency was due to the disparity in our society between culturally prescribed success goals and the means of achieving them. "When a large part of the population is restricted from achieving success by the culturally prescribed means,

they will have the greatest pressure toward delinquency" (Merton, 1957: 114). The hypotheses that Epps derived from Merton's theory included:

1. Juvenile delinquency is most prevalent in the lower socioeconomic strata;

2. High aspirations for achieving success goals are held by individuals in all social strata;

3. Ethnic minorities, because of limited access to legitimate avenues of achieving success goals, have a high frequency of delinquent behavior (Epps, 1967: 16-27).

Epps then devised and administered a questionnaire to 346 juniors (159 white students, 111 Negro students and 76 oriental students) at a Seattle, Washington high school. His findings indicated that:

1. Juvenile delinquency did not differ among various socioeconomic levels;

2. The differences between the rates of delinquent behavior among white and Negro boys were not statistically significant;

3. High aspirations for achieving success goals were not found in all social strata (e.g., 60 percent of the Negroes did not expect to obtain a college degree) and those lower-status students with high aspirations exhibited no more delinquent behavior than did those with low aspirations.

He concluded that Merton's theory was not supported by the results.

One of the most important studies dealing with crime within the black community is the study completed by The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968). The commission cited as causes of crime the following: (1) concentration of the Negro population in urban areas coupled with the white exodus from the cities and residential segregation; (2) unemployment and underemployment; (3) the "culture of poverty" that results from unemployment and family disorganization (i.e., lack of supervision for children and an absent father); and (4) police practices.

The commission concluded that black crime is a result of the "culture of poverty" that generates a system of ruthless, exploitative relationships within the ghetto, i.e:

> Young people are acutely conscious of a system which appears to offer rewards to those who illegally exploit

> others and failure to those who struggle under traditional responsibilities. Under these circumstances, many adopt exploitation and "hustle" as a way of life, disclaiming both work and marriage in favor of casual and temporary liaisons. This pattern reinforces itself from one generation to the next, creating a "culture of poverty" and an ingrained cynicism about society and its institutions (The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968: 129-130).

A questionnaire was also administered to 1,200 residents in the twenty cities that experienced the most damage from the riots. The results of the questionnaires indicated that, according to the residents, the precipitating factors of crime were:

1. Police practices;

2. Unemployment/underemployment (e.g., joblessness or inadequate jobs; discriminatory practices by labor unions, local and state governments, state employment services as well as private employment agencies);

3. Inadequate housing;

4. Poor education (e.g., de facto segregation, poor quality of instruction [facilities]);

5. Recreation;

6. Political structure (e.g., lack of adequate black representation in the political structure, lack of response to legitimate grievances or a non-existent grievance mechanism).

Clearly, changes have been made in police practices and black representation in the political structure but, by and large, the four additional causal factors are still present within poor black communities.

Despite all the works of black authors, it was not until the 1970's that blacks with Ph. D.s in criminology began to appear. It was at this juncture in time that the greatest portion of literary works which offered explanations of blacks and crime was contributed by black authors.

In 1973, the Institute for Urban Affairs and Research at Howard University was instrumental in bringing together black practitioners in the field of criminology and criminal justice for a symposium on blacks and the criminal justice system. A book was then produced which contained the views of the six leading black criminal justice practitioners. While these authors were not concerned with developing theories, their explanations of crime and blacks emphasized (1)

the underrepresentation of blacks employed within the criminal justice system; (2) discrimination in the enforcement of laws; and (3) the role of blacks employed in the criminal justice system (see Debro, 1978: 55).

A year later, Davis (1974) published an article that maintained historical injustices inflicted upon Blacks under the law in this country have produced a black consciousness which views the law as simply another instrument for upholding white supremacy. His main focus is an understanding of the motives for committing crimes. Davis maintains that three conditions affect the emergence of criminality among blacks:

1. The awareness of grievances concerning unjust conditions leading to low respect for law enforcement among blacks;

2. The awareness and acceptance of illegal methods as adequate solutions to these grievances;

3. The willingness to engage in illegal activity as a solution to grievances resulting from feelings of injustice.

In 1976, Davis published another work in which he criticized criminologists for perpetuating the unreal criminal threat from the black community to the dominant (white) society. Reviewing both crime and population data, he attempted to show that, "Blacks predominately commit property crimes," and that "the black rate of violent offenses, while substantially greater than that for whites, still accounts for only a minor portion of black crime" (Davis, 1976: 96).

Staples (1974, 1975, 1976), in a series of articles and books, offered a theory of crime causation in black communities. In these works he applied Fanon's (1963) analysis of colonial relationships in Africa to the American pattern of racial dominance and subjugation. According to the precepts of the colonial model, crime by blacks in America is structured by their relationship with the racially dominant group who, in essence, defines what constitutes crime (Staples, 1976: 224). According to Staples, "Marcuse (1970) understood this well, as he wrote, 'The language of the prevailing law and order ... not only defines and condemns the enemy, it also creates him; and his creation is not the enemy as he really is but as he must be in order to perform his function for the establishment'" (Staples, 1976: 219). In addition, he argued that the function that blacks provide "is to remain jobless thereby creating a surplus of labor (to artifically deflate wages) and a greater availability of black men for the draft" (Staples, 1975: 3-4). He further posits that violence is learned and it is learned from the colonizer i.e., white America. Perhaps Pinkney (1972) best describes this phenomenon in this quote: "while the victims of black violence are mostly

other blacks, the white majority and its political leaders have set an example of violence for black youth by its historical acts of aggression against Third World people in the United States and throughout the world" (see Staples, 1975: 6). Staples further describes colonization as a form of social control which is maintained by the police, judicial system and prison.

Along these same lines, Goodman (1976) criticizes crime research that plays up the importance of crime resulting from poverty-ridden and socially deprived conditions and down plays middle-class, "white collar" crime. Goodman further proposes that this research is not used to change the conditions under which blacks have been forced to live; rather, it is used to justify greater law enforcement involvement within the black community.

In 1977, a symposium for Black Law Enforcement Officials was held on the subject of black-on-black crime. This confeence resulted in the creation of a National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE). In addition, the participants proposed that the major causes of crime were economic--i.e., poverty, inadequate housing, lack of quality education, and unemployment (see Bryce, 1977).

Also in 1977, the Urban League convened a conference with seven of the country's black criminologists, along with criminal justice practioners and lay people. A paper presented by Napper (1977) called for a redefinition of crime. Napper argued that crime is a violation of basic human rights (e.g., food, shelter and human dignity) and that the denial of these rights is criminal.

On the subject of the police and their relationship to crime, Brown (1977) stated:

> " ...the mission of the police was developed for white people and not black people. The police consider themselves as representatives of the white community and not the black community. Hence, within the black community, the police are indeed looked upon as an occupying army protecting the interests of the ruling class" (Brown, 1977: 87).

In summary, Brown called for "community control" as the most realistic, nonviolent means of social change.

During the same symposium, Peirson (1977) looked at racism (particularly in police departments) and its relationship to crime. He said that the high rate of criminal arrest experienced by blacks is the direct result of racist police departments. He further advocated limiting the use of police discretionary powers of arrest. This, he said, would limit overt expressions of racism.

The theme of racism was echoed by the proposals made by Debro (1977: 147). He posited that: "The foremost example of institutional racism in the administration of criminal justice is white domination of the structures and agencies which administer justice." Finally, Carmichael (1977) suggested the causes of urban street crime (specifically hustling), as well as some methods to "stem the tide" of street hustling. Carmichael proposed that the rise of non-violent street hustling can still be attributed to the reasons proposed by the Presidential Commission on Law Enforcement and Administraion of Justice, (1967):

1. The continued crowding together of people in impersonal urban areas;

2. An expanded youth population unable to find gainful employment;

3. The sheer abundance of things to steal and ways to do it;

4. The affluence that makes people less protective of their possessions;

5. The high cost of adequate security in homes; and

6. Lingering tolerance and romanticizing of violent criminal behavior (Carmichael, 1977: 28).

In order to effectively address the problem of street hustling, Carmichael proposed: (1) police must establish enduring community relations (to be achieved through heightened community visibility); (2) prosecutors and the courts must increase their efforts to keep proven criminals off the streets; (3) rehabilitation must remain the major goal of justice administration; and (4) the spirit and fiber of the community itself, working within the justice system and showing its outrage and contempt for neighborhood criminals and their crimes (Carmichael, 1977: 28-29).

As the 1970's progressed, so did the contributions of the black authors. Debro (1978) was the first to attempt a summary of the relevant works of black authors in relation to crime. He presented an historic overview of the crime related works of black authors from the 1800's to 1978. In addition, he compiled a comprehensive directory of black criminologists and sociologists and provided a delineation by race of the major writers on crime among blacks. No attempt will be made here to summarize this work as it has provided the basic framework for this portion of the review of the literature.

Crime has been a concern of the black community for many years, and traditionally black scholarly journals have

periodically devoted entire issues to the subject. Recently, a popular black magazine (Ebony, 1979) devoted an issue to black-on-black crime as viewed by a number of black criminologists, law enforcement officials, politicians, religious leaders, activists, offenders and others immediately involved in the field.

The conclusion drawn from the Ebony article was that crime was endemic to poor, black communities and that somehow community structures would have to be changed to reduce the amount of black-on-black crime.

Essentially the literature gave us a base from which to begin our empirical study. White authors gave us theoretical notions of crime causation within poor black communities. Black authors provided us with information concerning social structural variables that could be used as indices of crime.

Landecker (1951) provided us with the model for types of integration within the community. Landecker's typology of integration was the impetus for most of our research.

Landecker's (1951) basic notion is that crucial to an explanation of variations in crime rates among urban blacks is an understanding of the type of integrative mechanisms (or lack thereof) which exist at the community levels; that is, while allowing social and economic status to vary.

Landecker's formulation is viewed here as most applicable to an explanation of variations in crime rates among urban Blacks, precisely because it is not restricted to class or subcultural considerations. In addition, it has the flexibility of allowing for the interjection of structural factors. To recapitulate: Landecker has suggested four types of integration characteristic of any social group--cultural, communicative, normative, and functional. The discussion which follows gives a more detailed explication of each concept than was presented in the introduction to this study. For purposes of conceptual integration, and because the two are so closely linked, from here on the concepts cultural and normative integration will be used in tandem. It should also be pointed out that because few empirical criminological studies have been attempted in the United States utilizing these concepts, much of the discussion below revolves around studies conducted by American scholars in several countries outside the United States.

Cultural-Normative Integration

Cultural integration, as pointed out earlier, refers to the internal consistency of the cultural standards within a group. Normative integration is the degree to which group conduct conforms to cultural standards. At every general level, a measure of cultural-normative integration is the

extent to which there is a common sharing of values, expectations, ideas, and other "symbolic-meaningful systems" (Kroeber and Parson, 1958: 582-583). At a narrower level, cultural-normative integration can be measured by the degree of shared community meanings, modes of behavior and outlook, definitions of reality (or of the situation), and imagery of expectations (Hannerz, 1969).

A lack of cultural-normative integration exists when there is disharmony among members with regards to values and expectations. Whether or not there is, in fact, a shared and transmitted pattern of values, etc. among black Americans as a group is an issue which has so far not been resolved in the literature. Nor does it fall within the scope of the present study to undertake such a needed task. However, the contention here is that within subgroups of the black population--bounded, for example, by geographic areas, regions of the country, socioeconomic status, etc.-- one can find cultural elements which may either have existed historically or evolved from the dynamics of present structural realities.

Cultural-normative integration appears to be quite important in relation to rates of criminal behavior. Cavan and Cavan (1968) describe a barrio in a Mexican village with a low rate of crime. The residents had a common Indian tradition which differentiated them from the rest of the village. Their unity was strengthened through a serious effort to remain isolated and to lead their own lifestyle. The mental health of immigrant groups has been found to be better where the group forms a large percentage of the population and provides a greater support against the pressures of adaptation to a foreign environment (see Murphy, 1959). The case of the Japanese in America also relates to this point. Even though they lived under severe physical conditions, their crime rate was remarkably low (see Wood, 1947). Through isolation and a strong cultural tradition, they maintained a high degree of social control within their own community.

Not only similarity but also conscious attempts to preserve beliefs and traditions can affect success or failure in adjustment to an urban environment. Lewis' (1965) study of a barrio in Mexico shows that the residents survived the more disruptive aspects of urban life through emphasis on their common traditions; they were aided by regular visits to their home village. Similar results occurred in a study of migrant adaptation in Brazil (see Wilkening, Pinto, and Pastore, 1967).

In some instances, voluntary associations based on various unifying criteria have been known to develop in the city to aid migrants' adjustment. Large associations grew in Lima, Peru to help migrants from certain regions in the interior (see Mangin, 1965).

Communicative Integration

Communicative integration refers to the extent to which communicative contacts permeate the group; its existence can exert a deterrent effect on a community's rates of crime. This type of integration can operate on both individual and organizational levels. The former refers to the everyday interactions which occur among residents of the community. The nature of these relationships can be analyzed on three dimensions--scope, depth, and exclusivity. "Scope" means the number of acquaintances an individual can relate to within the community on a basis that goes beyond simple recognition of a common origin. "Depth" means the degree of commitment members have to each other; a behavioral indicator would be the degree to which people are willing to sacrifice or inconvenience themselves for another person. "Exclusivity" means the degree to which friendships are limited to members within the community.

The level of communication can be quite critical in the exercise of social control within a community. Rogler (1967) compared highly deviant slum clearance projects in Puerto Rico to the less criminal squatters' settlements of Lima. In the Puerto Rican case, the main characteristic of relations between neighbors was a basic animosity expressed through constant bickering. People without ties based on kinship or mutual interests were randomly distributed throughout apartment units. In Lima, the cooperative struggle for survival in the face of government opposition bound residents of squatter settlements into unified communities. The squatter settlements also exhibited a lower rate of crime than the older central city slums of Lima.

Community cohesiveness, measured by ethnic homogeneity and degree of commitment to a collectively shared purpose, was also shown to be associated with low delinquency rates in Israel; it was a more potent influence on delinquency rates than were rural-urban differences (see Shohan, Shohan, and Razeh, 1968).

Communication on a more formal level, through participation in voluntary organizations, can have a potent effect on the tone of the social environment. It can provide the basis for relationships to open communication among clusters within the total community. Most members of an organization would normally have non-overlapping relationships in their friendship networks. Acquaintances without formal membership could be inadvertently drawn into a greater awareness of the whole through discussion or observation. Depending on the goals of organizations, they could be a primary source of community cohesiveness. The concept of community integration and its relations to social control was investigated in an analysis of an attempt to create artificial local communities carrying out self-help projects in Delhi, India:

> The very fact that these artificial entities have all continued to exist and to carry on their activities over a number of years is some measure of the degree of development of community feeling. The people in the programs generally become more conscious of their duties as well as their rights. They came to know one another better. Although the expectations of the people for more effective municipal corporation services were never fulfilled, they began to feel that they could solve many of their problems through joint efforts (Clinard, 1966: 2523).

The stability of a population could affect its ability to attain a level of communication. In the event where a significant portion of the population remains only for a short period of time, formation of binding ties and commitments is severly impeded. That is one reason why, for instance, the transitional areas bordering factory and industrial complexes in a number of northern cities in the United States have consistently reported the highest rates of crime (see, e.g., Shaw and McKay, 1942; Lander, 1954). Suttles (1968) also observed that obtaining sufficient knowledge to control the movement of strangers becomes increasingly difficult when the population turnover is great.

Functional Integration

Functional integration is here defined as ties with the larger society (i.e., outside the local communities). In this sense, the concept refers more to a characteristic of community members than to a community's internal structure. Such ties could have a significant impact upon the probability of criminal behavior because criminal behavior would likely be discouraged in such associations. Also, contacts or positions could be achieved which might be jeopardized by a jail or prison sentence. Education and occupation would be principal examples of such connections, more so stable and secure employment.

The importance of functional integration is emphasized by examples of communities having high levels of communicative integration but with high crime rates as well. The ethnic ghettos in the United States offer ample evidence of this phenomenon. Spergal (1964) noted extensive crimes in the Italian slums of New York even though communication in the neighborhoods was high. Bell (1953) believes that advanced forms of organized crime may exist because alternative routes of social mobility have been exploited by earlier immigrant groups. According to Bell, the criminal involvement of Italians diminished when they could obtain an education and advance through legitimate occupations.

Integration into the larger society can also come through organizational participation. Active memberships in broadly

based organizations, such as unions or political parties, provide access to jobs, power, and the processes of decision-making. In addition, because membership in such organizations confers a measure of status on its members, actual membership could serve as an incentive to avoid criminal involvement. (It should be borne in mind, however, that these activities sometimes offer opportunities for corruption once a certain level in the organization has been attained.)

Education and the quality of schools in a community are, therefore, two important elements which provide the requisite credentials for functional integration into the larger society. At a secondary level, membership in formal, non-voluntary organizations provide additional credentials (including informal ties with members within these organizations). Communities in which these characteristics are absent or at least minimal can, therefore, be expected to exhibit low levels of functional integration.

To a large extent poor, urban Blacks--i.e., those denied a "good" education and employment--are less functionally integrated into the society. They can, therefore, be expected to feel more alienated and less satisfied with self and personal achievements. In such instances, where there is no signicant attachment to an indigenous cultural-normative system, nor to formal organizations, and little communicative contact permeates the group, social controls on behavior become minimal and relatively high rates of crime can be expected.

As mentioned earlier, however, the absence of one or the other integrative mechanisms is not sufficient cause for high rates of crime. Thus, for example, poor black communities which are not functionally integrated may in fact exhibit relatively low rates of crime. Conversely, some middle-class black communities do show high rates of crime. There are a couple of reasons why this may be so. In the first case, within some poor black communities the presence of cultural-normative and communicative integration (in the absence of functional integration) may be so strong as to decidedly produce lower crime rates.

In the second case, a possible explanation of why some middle-class black communities may show high rates of crime is that their level of functional integration into the larger society may be quite tenuous, and with a gradual erosion of indigenous cultural-normative and communicative attachments, these communities become increasingly detached and atomized so that medium-to-high crime rates are likely results. On the other hand, there are middle-class black communities in which, because of a high level of functional integration, this alone is enough to produce lower crime rates. Thus, for such communities, indigenous culturalnormative and communicative attachments become obsolete in relation to crime.

CHAPTER III: FOCUS OF THE STUDY

The primary objective of this study is to conduct a criminological and sociological investigation into the nature of crime and crime perception within the black community. Four communities within two cities were selected for this study. In addition, enthnographic studies were conducted in Philadelphia. The two primary cities selected for the study were Atlanta, Georgia and Washington, D.C. Within each of these cities, two communities with high crime rates were selected and two communities with low crime rates were also selected. Communities were identified by census tract and then further differentiated by socio-economic characteristics and racial density, in addition to crime rates. We are essentially interested in examining differences between census tracts both within the same city as well as between cities. We will examine certain kinds of crimes, fear of crime and community perceptions about crime as these bear upon the socio-economic characteristics of the census tract. Additionally, we will go beyond previous studies of the effects of tract socio-economic characteristics in that we consider an extensive array of variables measuring the individual's integration into the community. We also consider the effects of both individual as well as community characteristics which have been largely unassessed in past studies.

The study focuses on community characteristics in black low and middle neighborhoods and their relationship to crime, individual perceptions of crime, fear of crime, experiences and contact with police, and overall attitudes toward the police. We are also interested in discovering the effects of individual characteristics such as gender, religion, use of recreational facilities, employment status, and a host of other individual characteristics.

The aspects which are of primary concern within the study are those variables which indicate the nature of the social organization and the types of integrative mechanisms which prevail in a geographic area called "the community." While objectively, we were aware that residents of middle income communities would perceive their neighborhoods in more positive terms than those in lower income communities, subjectively, we were concerned about our feelings of alienation within middle income black neighborhoods and what consequences that would have on the perception of crime and crime control mechanisms within those neighborhoods.

We suggest that there is a sense of alienation and powerlessness among those in underclass status. This perception of powerlessness influences attitudes towards the law and law violation. Such a perception, we contend, may or may not be shared by black middle class communities but in any case is not acted upon. Thus, they have a different set of responses as it applies to the law and law violations.

Those in the black middle class, by and large, consciously or unconsciously feel as if they are a "part of the system." They may not identify with all elements of the politics and ideas of predominant white middle class America, but they do share a relatively positive perception of individualized opportunities for social mobility and self-fulfillment within the system. Within any black middle class community, there is the upper middle class, the solid middle class, and the precarious middle class (Billingsley, 1968). The essential difference between black and white middle class is that they do not share a common sense of peoplehood (Billingsley, 1968). They have very different histories, very different statuses in society, and very different levels of economic security.

Blackwell (1981) attempts to explain the options that black Americans have for entry into the middle class:

> ...they can attempt to behave precisely as the the mainstream of the dominant group behaves; that is, they must use the dominant group life patterns as a model...in the process, they divest themselves of their original culture.
>
> ...they can practice cultural pluralism. In this way they follow dominant group expectations...but adhere to the cultural mandates of their ancestral culture in other aspects of daily life.

Approximately half of the black families (Billingsley, 1968) in this country fall into the lower class. The black lower class consists of the "working non poor," the "working poor," and the "non working poor." The latter group comprises about 25% of all lower class black families and it is this group that we are primarily concerned about in poor black neighborhoods.

Crime within the black middle class may be low because those persons who fall within this class and are black may not want to jeopardize his/her tenuous and fragile position within the system by violating some law. Nonetheless, there may be other reasons operating in this regard; these may be stated propositionally: (1) the black middle class may have no "need" to violate the law. Since many crimes, for both blacks and whites, are economically motivated, the black middle-class individual, like his white counterpart, would be less motivated to commit a criminal act. (2) Because the

law is an extension or embodiment of middle-class society, regardless of race, it may be argued to represent the interests, goals, and aspirations of middle-class blacks as much as it does middle-class whites. (3) Middle class blacks are less isolated, more integrated into the institutions of law enforcement and coterminous with these institutions; for example, the black businessman needs the power of the law to protect him/her. This in turn can affect an individual's perception of the extent of crime in his or her community. We focus explicitly on such perceptions in this study.

The black lower class, on the other hand, removed from major social institutions and discovering channels of mobility sealed off, experiences relative deprivation, powerlessness and isolation. As a result they are more likely to engage in criminal activity as well as perceive crime differently.

This does not suggest, however, that a "subculture of indifference" (or any other subcultural pathology) characterizes the black lower class, because other sources have indicated that the black poor subscribe to predominant cultural themes (see, e.g., Goodwin, 1972). What is being suggested here is that definitions unfavorable toward the law in the black lower class are deliberate and "rational" reactions to a perceived alienation and powerlessness status in American society.

A. Demographic Characteristics

1. Crimes Committed. The number of reported offenses known to the police was used in the determination of crime rates within communities. Part 1 crimes minus negligent manslaughter were used as the indicators for high crime rates. This was also done for the number of reported violent crimes per census tract, and the number of property crimes per census tract. Since the major criticism of community studies has been official arrest data, we are also obtaining offense data from the interviewee.

2. Population. To qualify for the study, census tracts had to be at least 60% black. Tracts selected for the study were at least 90% black population and in some tracks the black population was 98%.

3. Income. The income level varied according to city. Within the District of Columbia, the mean income was $13,451. Low income was $0 - $10,000, middle income was $10,500 to $30,000. Within the City of Atlanta, the mean income was $12,179. Low income was $8,000 and middle income ranged from $9,000 to $22,000 (1975 census data).

4. Density. Public housing dwelling were eliminated from the study primarily because prior studies have indicated strong relationships between crime and public housing (Newman,

1972; Reppetto, 1974; Gwaltney, 1978). Once the tracts with public housing were eliminated, we then focused upon the relative density of the area. The density was segmented into quartiles based on population per acre. The highest quartile (most dense) was found to be in the range of 42.5 and over. For the purposes of this study, the criterion for the most densely populated area was set as the highest quartile or 42.5 and over, for the lower income neighborhood. Similarly, the lowest quartile was used (0.0-13.3) for the middle income neighborhood.

B. Social Characteristics: The work of Shaw and McKay (1942) and later St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton (1962) and E. Franklin Frazier (1932) all indicated that crime was much more pronounced in lower income, minority areas than in other areas of the city.

In this study, we looked at the nature of the social organization within communities. Some of the characteristics are:

a. Racial Composition. Our communities were more than 60% black. Prior studies have shown that crime rates are higher in black and poor neighborhoods. One reason given is the multiplicity of pool halls, storefront clubs, bars, and liquor stores that exist within the community. We believe that these studies did not look at the extent of community integration within community and did not ask the question of why some of the neighborhoods with the same characteristics are crime free and others are not.

b. Home Ownership. Numerous studies have shown that home ownership is directly correlated with fewer crimes (Shevky and Bell, 1955; Coleman, 1976; Lander, 1954). The underlying assumption is that if people own homes then they have a higher stake in the community and will work harder to reduce crime. Perhaps this is the variable that will distinquish low crime, low income communities from low income high crime communities.

c. Religion. Earlier studies have indicated no relationship between crime and religiousty that exists within communities to see whether or not it has an effect upon crime, perceptions of crime and community integration.

d. Recreation. The number of recreational facilities and their use is generally assumed to make a difference in crime within neighborhoods. We plan to test this assumption within black neighborhoods to see whether or not the same relationships exist.

The kinds of dependent variables used in this study are: perceptions of community crime, including fear of crime;

perceptions of how much the respondent thinks crime is a big problem in the community; safety from crime; increase and decrease of crime within the community; reporting of crime; contact with the police; and attitudes toward the police.

The kinds of independent variables to be considered are: City (Atlanta vs. Washington, D.C.); tract type; respondents age; extent and use of recreational facilities; extent of integration into the community including such items as whether or not the person has relatives in the community; nature of contact with relatives, church attendance, owns or rents the home, member or non-member of a club, and so forth. Scales were used to measure self-esteem and alienation.

CHAPTER IV: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The primary aim of the present investigation is to examine community characteritics as well as individual characteritics as they pertain to individual perceptions of crime, fear of crime, experiences and contact with the police, attitudes toward the police and other such dependent variables. Central to the research is our basic 2 x 2 sample design, whereby census tracts are classified in Atlanta and Washington, D. C. by income (middle versus low) and also by crime rate (high versus low). This yields eight tract types, four per city. How these were selected is described later in this chapter. We are interested in discovering how these different tract types affect individual perceptions of, and reactions to, crime and the police. We are also interested in discovering how individual characteristics such as SES, gender, religion and so on affect such perceptions and experiences, and we are further interested in finding out how various measures of the types of community integration affect these perceptions and crime variables. An added feature of the design as well as the analysis is that tract effects will be assessed while at the same time certain individual characteristics are held constant. Similarly, effects of individual characteristics will be assessed while features of the census tract are at the same time held constant. In this way we will be able to partition out separate effects of individual versus tract characteristics.

The aspects which are of primary concern here have to do with the nature of the social organization and the types of integrative mechanisms which prevail in a geographic area that can be loosely called a "community." The underlying notion is that type of social organization/integration does exert a determinate effect on the incidence or rate of crime in a community as well as on residents' perceptions and responses to crime.

Thus it is argued that where the mode of social organization/integration among sub-groups of Blacks emphasizes ongoing, reciprocal communicative and social contacts (whether based on kinship, occupation, religion or residential proximity), and where interaction among other sub-groups (both within and outside the community) is frequent, these variables will have a negative influence on such things as fear of crime.

"Fear of crime" in this study, however, extends beyond a

mere generalized notion of anxiety over crime. Such "fear," is more or less a universal phenomenon (what Skogan, et al call "formless fear"). Here we are equally interested in how residents perceive crime at the local-community level, not simply what they hear or read about in the media. The study consists, therefore, of an empirical investigation of the types of social organization/ integration that prevail among urban Blacks residing in two basically distinct socioeconomic communities--low-income and middle-income--and how these affect actual involvement in crime and perceptions of and responses to crime. It is hypothesized that different socioeconomic segments of black America (presumably residing in differentiated communities) will exhibit different levels and types of social organization/integration, and consequently, that this disparity will influence differences in community rates of crime, residents' involvement in crime, and fear of crime.

HYPOTHESES AND CORE VARIABLES

Rather than having a highly, specificly focused hypothesis, this study is an exploratory one and thus has what one would call a general research question which guided the inquiry. The focus of the investigation was the survey component. Ancillary to this were two other components (participant observation and interviews with community leaders all described later). The general research question, already specified earlier but which may be restated here, and which served as the main focus on all four components of the study, but especially the survey component, is simply this: How are individuals' perceptions of crime, actual experiences with crime, and attitudes toward the police affected by characteristics of their communities, the integration of these individuals into their communities, and by specific individual social and demographic characteristics? This single question (a research question per se, not an hypothesis) guided the entire project and the analysis of the data.

Specific hypotheses then derive from the general research question. For the survey component, the hypotheses represent our statements of the relationships we expect to find between specified independent variables and specified dependent variables. These variables, and our focus on them, grew out of the literature review and overall conceptualization of the project.

While a complete listing and discussion of both the main independent as well as dependent variables is found in the presentation of the survey results, a brief listing might be given here. This classification is as follows:

Variables used as dependent are: Perceptions of community crime, including fear of crime; perceptions of how much the respondent thinks crime is a big problem in the community;

responses to a specific checklist of community crimes (drinking, etc.; perception of crime safety, including whether or not the respondent perceives that crime in his or her own community has increased or decreased, and how safe one feels in one's own community by day as well as by night; whether or not the individual reports burglaries, robberies, and assaults in his or her own area; how these crimes are perceived, and how extensive they are perceived to be; the individual respondent's actual contact with, as well as trouble, with the police; and finally, respondent's attitudes toward the police.

Variables employed as independent (as well as, in certain places, control variables) were these (it will be helpful for the reader to consult the codebook in the appendix): City (Atlanta versus Washington, D. C.); tract type (the 2 x 2 sampling design distinction, namely income (middle, low) by crime rate (high, low); respondent's age; extent and use of recreational facilities in the community (a good number of questionnaire items were used to get at this); a large range of items intended to measure the extent of the individual's integration into the community (primarily functional integration, but communicative and normative, as well), including (as examples only) such items as whether or not the person has relatives in the community; extent of contact with these relatives; whether or not the individual works in the community; whether or not the individual attends a church in the community and how active he or she is in the church's affairs; whether or not the individual owns or rents his or her dwelling (interestingly, as we will see below, when the findings are reviewed, this variable ended up being one of our best predictors of the dependent variables); whether or not a person is a member of some club in the neighborhood; and other such community integration variables to be detailed later when the results are reviewed. Additional independent variables included these relatively standard survey variables: A set of scales to measure alienation; a set of scales to measure the individual's self-evaluation; the individual's gender, education, income, family income, occupation and so on; marital status; religion; total persons per household; persons per room; whether the head of the household is male or female; father's occupation, education, and income; various measures of intergenerational mobility (respondent's occupation versus that of the parent); self-named SES (of what social class the individual perceives himself or herself to be); and information on folk religion and religious practices.

The specific hypotheses, then, are simply deductions arrived at by systematically pairing the independent with the dependent variables. While it is obviously overly pedantic to list each such comparison, it should nonetheless be stated here that the core hypothesis of the entire study is: The greater the extent of integration (of whatever type) of the individual into the immediate community, then the less the extent to which the individual will fear crime, the less

crime he will perceive to be occurring in his immediate community, the more favorable will be his or her attitudes toward the police, the safer that person will feel both at night as well as during the day, the less trouble that individual will have had with the police, the less trouble that individual's friends will have had with the police, the less the extent to which the individual will report robberies, burglaries and assaults to have occurred in his or her tract (independently of the official statistical records), and others. This is the core hypothesis of the entire survey component. Further explication and elaboration of this core hypothesis occurs in the presentation of the survey findings.

SITE SELECTION

Two major cities, Atlanta and Washington, D.C., were used to collect the survey data.

Four census tracts were selected within each city. These census tracts (using criteria described later) were as follows: 1) low income, low crime, 2) low income, high crime, 3) middle income, low crime, and 4) middle income, high crime. Basically, the method of selection involved the following:

(1) Using census tract and zoning information procured from the planning departments of the respective cities, communities were arbitrarily and operationally defined as census tracts.

(2) Using local and regional census information, the racial composition of each tract was determined. Only tracts with a majority of black residents (60 percent or more) were selected for further consideration.

(3) Using the most recent U. S. census figures on national incomes, indices for lower and middle-income families were devised. The 1978 figures classified as "poor" a non-farm family with earned income of $8,000 or less. Thus for each of the predominantly black tracts all reported incomes were grouped as follows: (a) low-income - $8,000 or less, (b) middle-income - $8,100 to $25,000, and (c) upper-income - $25,100 and above.

(4) Using local and regional police statistics on number of reported crimes, crime rates per 1,000 population were calculated for each tract. All of the predominantly black census tracts were then designated in terms of "high" and "low" rates of crime -- depending on their deviation (in standard deviation units) from the mean crime rate for the city as a whole.

(5) Eight tracts (four in each city) which met the required combinations (i.e., in terms of income and crime rate) were then selected. In cases where more than one tract met a

particular combination (such as having identical highest/lowest crime rates and similar incomes), final selection was arbitrarily based on external considerations--e.g., proximity to research personnel.

Site Selection - Washington, D. C.

Before a comparison of census tracts was begun, all census tracts classified as non-residential were eliminated. The degree of residentiality was determined by zoning. If the percentage of land in the tract zoned for residential use was equal to or greater than the percentage for the city as a whole (45.2 percent) then the area was classified as residential. Similarly, those tracts classified as predominantly non-residential had less than 45.2 percent of their total acreage zoned residential (Crime and Justice Profile: The Nation's Capitol, 1979). Using the census tract map for 1970, of the possible 150 census tracts in D. C., 56 census tracts had to be eliminated due to the preponderance of non-residential zoning in those tracts. This left 94 census tracts to be compared on the basis of population, percentage of Black population, income, density and crime rate.

Population

All census tracts were listed and the population breakdowns enumerated. The information used was obtained from the District of Columbia's Office of Planning and Development (Population Estimates, Washington, D. C., 1977). Population was the last determining factor used in the selection process. The majority of census tracts had over a sixty percent Black population. However, there were fewer census tracts that met both middle-income criteria and the over sixty percent Black population. The total non-white population in 1977 was estimated to be over seventy-five percent of the total population, which is actually a decline of about two percent since 1975.

Crime Rate

The number of reported offenses or offenses "known to the police," was used in the determination of crime rate in residential neighborhoods (Criminal Justice Profile: The Nation's Capitol, 1977). The offenses used for our classification were Index offenses (or Part I crimes) minus negligent manslaughter. The total number of Index offenses for each census tract was assigned and ranked. This was also done for the number of reported violent crimes per census tract, and the number of property crimes per census tract. Index total, property crime total and violent crime total were all ranked for the census tracts. In addition, the crime rate per 1,000 population for each census tract was determined on the basis of number of Index offenses. The mean crime rate for all residential tracts was found to be 65.3 offenses per 1,000 population with a standard deviation of $\pm$ 34.2.

Income

Information on income was obtained from the Office of Planning and Development in the District of Columbia. Based on an analysis of 1977 tax returns, adjusted gross income was tabulated for each individual census tract. This information was then inserted on a chart for each census tract for the comparison. In addition, the mean income was calculated from these figures. In the District of Columbia in 1977, the mean income was $13,451.33. The standard deviation was found to be $\pm$ $5,469.95. Low income for the purposes of this study has been defined as $10,000 and below. Middle income likewise has been defined as ranging from $10,000 - $30,000.

Density

Density for the two cities was calculated differently. In Washington, D.C., relative density was determined by a quartile distribution based upon population per acre. The highest density was found to range from 42.5 persons per acre and over, the next highest quartile was in the range of 22 - 42.2 persons per acre, the next quartile ranged from 13.4 - 21.9 persons per acre, and the lowest quartile of density ranged from .0 - 13.3 persons per acre. The highest quartile of density (42.5 persons per acre) was used as the criterion in the low income neighborhood and the lowest quartile of density (.0 - 13.3) was used for the middle income neighborhood.

Selection of Low Income - High Crime Neighborhood -

Washington, D.C.

Using Appendix I and the quartile distribution of crime rates in the Crime and Justice Profile (1977), all the census tracts which had a crime rate of less than 77.64 per 1,000 population were eliminated from consideration in the low-income high crime neighborhood selection. Using high crime rate, sixty percent or more Black population, low income ($9,500 and below for a family of four), and highest quartile of density as the main criteria, the census tracts shown in Table I qualified for selection.

Table I
Census Tracts in Washington, D. C. Meeting
Selection Criterion (Low Income)

Census Tract	Population	
	Total Population	Black Population
28	6,800	6,200
30	2,600	2,500
37	4,800	4,500
44	3,300	3,300
46	5,200	5,200
49.1	2,800	2,800

In order to determine whether or not our selection may be distorted based upon our definition of income, the ceiling figure for low income was then raised to $11,149 to determine whether or not it would change the sample drastically. With the same criteria as listed above, the additional census tracts that would then qualify for low income are shown in Table II along with total population and number of Black population.

Table II
Additional Census Tracts
Meeting Low Income Criterion

Census Tract	Population	
	Total Population	Black Population
38	4,200	3,300
39	5,000	3,400
50	6,200	5,200
52.1	4,500	2,900

In considering all of the above census tracts, the first elimination was made on the basis of those tracts which fell to the west of the 14th Street corridor because this area has been in transition with the refurbishing of run-down housing (this is explained in greater detail later).

The following sites were eliminated on that basis:

Census tracts - 28
37

38
39
52.1

The following sites were conditionally eliminated due to their being on the eastern boundary of the 14th Street corridor:

Census tracts - 30
44
50

The following census tracts were eliminated due to insufficient total population (less than 3,000 people):

Census tracts - 30
49.1

The following census tracts were eliminated due to the relatively small number of Blacks in the population:

Census tracts - 38
39
50
52.1

After implementing all of the foregoing elimination procedures, the following census tracts remained:

Census tracts - 28
37
44
46

However, both census tracts 28 and 37 came within the 14th Street boundary and thus should be eliminated. The remaining census tracts are 44 and 46. Census tract 44 borders on the western boundary of the 14th Street corridor, although not directly within it; thus, the affects of the transition might still be felt in that area. In addition, census tract 44 has a relatively small population (3,300) and barely meets our criterion for total population. Consequently, census tract 46 appears to be suited for our purposes and is the only census tract that was not eliminated by some other factor in our set of criteria. As can be seen from the prior information, many of the low-income census tracts had to be eliminated on the basis of a number of criteria.

Census Tract 46

Geographically, census tract 46 is located in the northeast section of Washington, D. C.; it is bordered on the east by New York Avenue, on the north by Florida Avenue and on the west by New Jersey Avenue. Graphically displayed it looks like this:

Florida Ave. - - North Capitol Street

New Jersey Ave. - - New York Ave.

As of 1977, the estimated population of this census tract was 5,200, with less than 100 whites living in that area. The adjusted gross income in 1977 was $8,698.00. It ranks 88th in terms of income in the city (out of a possible 94 residential tracts). The total number of reported Index crimes in 1978 was 427, this being the 16th highest in the city. The number of reported violent crimes in 1978 was 122, which ranked tenth (10th) in the city. The number of reported property crimes was 305, which ranked 26th in the city.

The crime rate calculated for this tract was 80 offenses per 1,000 population. The mean crime rate for the city was calculated to be 65.3 for all residential tracts. This tract was found to deviate by a factor of + 4.3 standard deviation units from the mean for the city. In terms of income, this tract was found to deviate from the mean for the city ($13,451) by - 1.0 standard deviation units.

This tract contains two high schools (Dunbar and Armstrong). It is also known as "Hustler's Graveyard." In addition, it is sometimes referred to as the center for the black market trade within the city.

Selection of Middle-Income Low Crime Neighborhood

Using Appendix I and the quartile distribution of crime rates in the Crime and Justice Profile (1977), the census tracts considered to be "low" in crime are those that had a rate of crime ranging from 0.0 - 39.41 per 1,000 population. All tracts with crime rates exceeding this rate were eliminated from consideration for the middle-income category. Then, using the quartile of density (as determined by the Office of Criminal Justice Plans and Analysis Crime and Justice Profile) determined to be the lowest of the residential tracts in the city (0.0 - 13.3 people per acre) and the income distribution f $11,000 and over, the census tracts listed in Table III qualified for selection.

Table III
Census Tracts in Washington, D. C. Meeting
Selection Criteria (Middle-Income, Low-Crime)

Census Tract	Population	
	Total Population	Black Population
6	4,300	300
8	7,400	400
9	8,500	500
13	8,500	500
16	5,100	3,000
95.3	3,900	3,000

It can be easily seen from Table III that all but census tracts 16 and 95.3 would have to be eliminated due to insufficient numbers of Blacks in the population. In light of the fact that tract 16 has only sixty percent Black population, it would be preferable to use census tract 95.3. A comparison of the two tracts in relationship to crime is shown in Table V.

Table IV
Comparison of Census Tracts 16 and 95.3
Relative to Number of Reported Index Crimes

Tract	Crime Index Total	Rank	Number Violent Crimes	Rank	Number Property Crimes	Rank
16	201	68	19	61	182	55
95.3	125	81	7	68	118	79

In relationship to crime, census tract 95.3 has less crime than census tract 16. Since we are looking for a middle-income neighborhood with a low crime rate, it is important to note that the crime rate per 1,000 population in census tract 95.3 is 30 and in tract 16 it is 40 per 1,000 population. Census tract 16 deviates from the mean for the city by less than one standard deviation unit (-.73), while tract 95.3 deviates from the mean by just over one unit (-.1.3). Statistically, tract 95.3 would provide a better sample than tract 16.

In terms of income, the tracts are at divergent points. Census tract 95.3 has an adjusted gross income of $15,434 and tract 16 has an adjusted gross income of $24,788 (1977). With the mean income for the city being $13,451.33, tract 95.3 deviates from the mean for the city by +.36 standard deviation units, and tract 16 deviates from the mean for the city by +2.07. The income for census tract 16 approaches upper income

in terms of our study. Seeing that we need a tract that approaches middle income, again tract 95.3 would be more appropriate.

Census Tract 95.3

Geographically, census tract 95.3 is located in the extreme northern part of the city (it borders on Maryland). It is bordered on the north by Eastern Avenue, on the east by Michigan Avenue and 16th Street, on the south by Otis Avenue and on the west by Sargent Road and 13th Street.

Graphically displayed it looks like this:

Eastern Avenue

Sargent Road Michigan Avenue

95.3

13th Street 16th Street

Otis Street

As of 1977, the estimated population of this census tract was 3,900, with 3,000 of the residents being Black. The adjusted gross income was $15,434, giving this census tract a ranking of twenty-second highest in terms of income. The mean income for the city was found to be $13,451.33, and this tract deviates from the mean for the city by +.36 standard deviation units.

The total number of reported Index crimes in 1978 was one hundred twenty-five, giving this tract a crime rate of thirty offenses per 1,000 population and a ranking of eighty-one in terms of violent crimes (census tract 95.3 ranked sixty-eighth with only seven reported violent crimes). Reported property crime totalled one hundred eighteen for 1978, and this gave the tract a ranking of seventy-ninth out of the ninety four residential census tracts. With the mean crime rate calculated to be 65.3, this tract was found to deviate from the mean for the city (residential tracts only) by -1.3 standard deviation units.

In addition, the relative density was found to range from 0.0 - 13.3 people per acre. This is the lowest quartile for density (Crime and Justice Profile, 1977).

Finally, census tract 95.3 contains the Holy Name College,

Franciscan Monastery, Bunker Hill School, St. Gertrudes School of Arts and Crafts and the Benedictine Foundation.

Selection of Low-Income Low-Crime Neighborhood

Chart I shows all census tracts that qualified for low-crime (40 and below) rate and income less than $11,500 ($11,500 was used so as not to distort the maximum number of possibilities and because, relatively speaking, the cost of living is higher in Washington, D. C. than in Atlanta, Georgia) and population of census tracts that had sixty percent or over Black populations. The first elimination was then made based upon density and total population. All census tracts that did not have the highest quartile of density and from 3,000 - 5,000 people were eliminated. The remaining census tracts, after this elimination, were:

Census Tract	Number of Violent Crimes	Number of Property Crimes	Income
22.1	22	88	$11,466
32	45	170	9,942
68.1	31	89	9,426
79.1	46	169	9,282
80.1	50	159	10,322

The next elimination was then made on the basis of income. All tracts with incomes exceeding $10,000 were eliminated. The remaining census tracts were then: 32, 68.1 and 79.1. The crime data was then addressed. All the tracts had similar crime rates (40); thus, it was necessary to look at gross numbers. Census tract 68.1 had the lowest number of violent and property crimes; consequently, it was selected.

Census Tract 68.1

Census tract 68.1 is located in the southeast quadrant of the city. The tract is bordered on the east by the National Guard Armory, the District of Columbia jail and D. C. General Hospital. Upon inspection, the area seems to be very quiet with little observable activity during the day.

Census tract 68.1 has a crime index total of one hundred twenty reported offenses and ranks eighty-one out of a possible ninety-four tracts. The number of violent crimes for this tract in 1978 was reported to be thirty-one, giving it a ranking of fifty-four. For property crimes, there were eighty-nine reported, and this ranks eighty-third. The adjusted gross income for a family of four in this tract was $9,426.00 per year (1977). There are approximately 3,100 people, and approximately 3,000 of them are Black.

The tract's northwest border is East Capitol Street, the western border is 15th Street, the northeast border is

19th Street and the southern border is Massachusetts Avenue. Graphically depicted it looks like this:

East Capitol St. - - 19th Street

68.1

15th Street - - Massachusetts Ave.

Selection of Middle Income - High Crime Neighborhood

Chart II shows all census tracts that qualified for high crime using a crime rate of 80 and over and income of less than $35,900 (to avoid distortion). The first elimination was then made to delete all tracts with less than sixty percent Black population and those tracts that deviated from a population of 3,000 - 5,000. The remaining census tracts were the following:

Census Tract	Crime Rate	Income	Density
27.2	90	$10,595	2
69	80	12,833	3
76.3	100	15,051	1
83.2	80	13,793	4

The next elimination was then accomplished for density, highest income and highest crime rate. As can be easily seen from the chart, census tract 76.3 fits the criteria best. It has the highest crime rate, lowest density and highest income. Thus, it was selected as the middle-income, high-crime site. The major draw back as using this particular site is that the Black population is just barely sixty percent. It is interesting to note that it appears that in middle-income communities, the greater the number of Blacks in a tract, the lower the crime rate. The highest crime rates for middle-income tracts were found in areas that had an over fifty percent white population. Examples of this can be seen on Chart II in census tracts 2, 4, 40, 42.2, 53.1 and 66. Because of this phenomenon, it was difficult to find a tract that fit our other criteria and had a high crime rate with an over sixty percent Black population.

Census Tract 76.3

This census tract is located in the southeast quadrant of the city. It is bordered on the east by the state of Maryland, on the west by Alabama Avenue, on the north by Pennsylvania Avenue, and on the south by Naylor Road. Graphically displayed it looks like this:

Pennsylvania Avenue -

Alabama Ave.- - Southern Ave. (Maryland border)

76.3

Naylor R. -

The tract neighbors Anacostia and contains the Hillcrest recreation center. In 1978, this tract had four hundred fifteen reported crime index offenses, giving it a ranking of eighteen. It had eighty-three reported violent crimes and ranked twenty-second. The number of reported property crimes was three hundred thirty-two with a corresponding ranking of tenth. It has a density range from 0.0 - 13.3 persons per acre and a crime rate of 100. The adjusted gross income for 1977 was $15,051. There are approximately 4,000 residents of this tract and 2,600 of them are Black.

Site Selection - Atlanta

Selection of Low-Income, High-Crime Neighborhood

In determining census tracts which qualified for the low-income, high-crime site, the first consideration was crime rate as it relates to income level, sixty percent Black population and density. The following census tracts shown in Table I qualified for selection.

Table I

Census Tract	Income	Percentage of Black Population	Crime Rate	Density
22	$8,192	100	200	12.66
36	6,693	99	430	11.19
45	6,161	97	360	4.99
46	7,025	99	340	6.61
47	8,787	95	440	9.24
66.02	9,617	73	320	9.15

The above census tracts met the majority of the requirements used in our criteria. The following tracts were eliminated on total population size.

Census Tract

36
45
46

47
66.02

Although these tracts are much higher in crime rate than tract 22, they did not meet our total population criterion of 3,000 - 5,000, which is important in drawing a sample size of 300 households per tract. Because of this, census tract 22 was selected based on the total population size. Tract 22 has a population of 2,772 as of 1979 and met all of the other criteria except total population size. It was the tract which came closest to our 3,000 - 5,000 criterion and for this reason was selected.

Census Tract 22

Geographically, census tract 22 is located in the central section of Atlanta. It is bordered on the north by Bankhead Avenue, on the south by Simpson Street, on the east by Ashby Street and on the west by Northside Drive. Graphically displayed, the tract shows the following boundaries:

Bankhead Avenue

Ashby Street — Northside Drive

22

Simpson Street

As of 1979, the estimated population of this tract was 2,772, with a one hundred percent Black population. The average income as of 1975 was $8,192. It ranked seventy-seventh in terms of income out of a possible ninety tracts (highest to lowest).

The total number of known offenses in 1979 totalled 557 (see appendix under Crime Index). The number of reported violent crimes was one hundred ninety-five which ranked sixth in the city, and property crimes numbered three hundred sixty-two which ranked thirtieth in the city.

The rate of crime per 1,000 population was two hundred. The mean crime rate for the city was calculated at one hundred fifty-four for residential tracts. This tract deviated by a factor of +3.76 standard deviation units from the mean for the city. In terms of income, tract 22 averaged $8,192 annually for a family of four, the mean income for the city being $12,179. This tract deviated from the mean by -.71 standard deviation units.

Tract 22 ranked 13th in the city in density rate out of a possible 90 tracts. The density rate based on person's per acre is 12.66. The mean for the city is 8.46. This tract deviated

by a factor of +5.62 standard deviation units from the mean for the city.

Tract 22 is made up of forty-two industrial dwellings, thirty commercial dwellings, no public dwellings and no parks or recreation areas as of 1980.

Selection of Low-Income, Low-Crime

In determining the tracts which qualified for low-income, low-crime, the following census tracts were considered.

Census Tract	Income	Percentage of Black Population	Crime Rate	Density
53	$9,414	60	70	8.06
60	$9,684	82	40	12.17
84	$9,580	99	60	14.65
86.01	$9,536	94	60	6.46

The following tracts were eliminated based on their high crime rates.

Census Tracts

53
84
86.01

Census tract 60 was selected as the low-income, low-crime site based on its low-crime rate, percentage of Black population, income and density.

Census Tract 60

Georgraphically, census tract 60 is located in the southwest section of Atlanta. It is bordered on the north by Derry Avenue, on the south by Beecher Street, on the east by Gordon Street and on the west by South Gordon Street and Westmeath Drive. Graphically displayed the tract shows the following boundaries:

Laurel Avenue

Derry Ave.

Westmeath Dr.

Gordon Street

60

South Gordon Street

Beecher Street

As of 1979, the estimated population of this tract was 4,662, with an 82% Black population. The average income for a family of four as of 1975 was $9,684. It ranked 46th in terms of income out of a possible 90 tracts. The total number of known offenses in 1979 totalled 19. The number of reported violent crimes was 45 which ranked 91st in the city from highest to lowest; property crimes numbered 124, which ranked 88th in the city. The rate of crime per 1,000 population was 40. The mean crime rate for the city was calculated at 154 for residential tracts. This tract deviated by a factor of -9.33 standard deviation units from the mean for the city. In terms of income, tract 60 averaged $9,684 annually, the mean income being $12,179. This tract deviated from the mean by -.44 standard deviation unit.

The density rate based on person's per acre is 12.17. The mean for the city is 8.46. This tract deviated by a factor of +5.23 standard deviation units from the mean for the city.

Tract 60 is made up of no industrial dwellings, 17 commercial dwellings, 3 public dwellings and no parks or recreation areas as of 1980.

Site Selection of Middle-Income, High-Crime

Census tracts which qualified for middle-income, high-crime rates are as follows:

Census Tract	Income	Percentage of Black Population	Crime Rate	Density
68	$22,197	69	120	4.69
76.02	19,658	79	100	3.76
81.01	15,371	75	130	5.87
82.02	10,627	100	180	2.36

The following tracts were eliminated based on their low crime rates.

Census Tracts

68
76.02
81.01

This left census tract 82.02 which appeared to be the most viable tract for purposes of the study.

Census Tract 82.02

Geographically, tract 82.02 is located in the northwest section of Atlanta. It is bordered on the north by Bankhead Highway, on the south by Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive and

Collier Drive, on the east by Interstate 285 and on the west by the Cobb/Fulton County lines. Graphically displayed, the tract shows the following boundaries:

Bankhead Highway

Cobb/Fulton County line	82.02	Interstate 285

Martin Luther King Jr., Dr.	Collier Dr.

As of 1979, the estimated population of this tract was $4,183, with a 100 percent Black population. The average income as of 1975 was $10,627. It ranked 39th in terms of income (out of 90). The total number of known offenses in 1979 was 749 (see appendix). The rate of crime per 1,000 population was 180. The mean crime rate for the city was calculated at 154. This tract deviated by a factor of +2.13 standard deviation units from the mean for the city. In terms of income, tract 82.02 averaged $10,627 annually for a family of four. This tract deviated from the mean by -.27 standard deviation unit for income.

The density rate based on person's per acre is 12.17 for tract 82.02. The mean for the city was calculated at 8.46. This tract deviated by a factor of +5.23 standard deviation units from the mean.

Tract 82.02 is made up of 47 industrial dwellings, 30 commercial dwellings, 37 public dwellings and 47 parks and recreation areas as of 1980.

Selection of Middle-Income, Low-Crime

In determining census tracts which qualified for the middle-income, low-crime rate, again (as in all other tracts), the first consideration was crime rate as it related to the income level, 60% or more Black population and density. The census tracts shown below all qualified for selection.

Census Tract	Income	Percentage of Black Population	Crime Rate	Density
71	$13,557	98	70	6.87
73	13,557	82	90	3.58
76.01	12,817	79	60	8.02
77.01	20,375	80	40	3.76
79	24,018	87	60	2.01
83.01	10,508	100	90	6.65

The above census tracts met a majority of the criteria used for the study. The following tracts were eliminated

based on total population. These tracts were larger in population than was allowed in our criterion.

Census Tracts

73
76.01
77.01

After this elimination process, the following census tracts were examined.

Census Tracts

71
79
83.01

Both tracts 71 and 83.01 were higher in crime rate than tract 79. They were also higher in density than tract 79 and, for these reasons, they were eliminated. This left tract 79 which appeared to be the most viable tract for the purposes of our study.

Census Tract 79

Geographically, tract 79 is located in the southwestern section of Atlanta. It is bordered on the north by Utoy Creek, on the south by Cascade Road, on the east by Willis Mill Road and on the west by A.C.L. Railroad. Graphically displayed, the tract shows the following boundaries:

Utoy Creek

A.C.L. Railroad

79

Willis Mill Rd.

Cascade Road

As of 1979, the estimated population of this tract was 4,268, with an 87% Black population. The average income as of 1975 was $24,018. It ranked 5th in terms of income (out of 90). The total number of known offenses in 1979 was 239. The rate of crime per 1,000 population was 60. The mean crime rate for the city was calculated at 154 for residential tracts. This tract deviated by a factor of -4.91 standard deviation units from the mean for the city. In terms of income, tract 79 averaged $24,018 annually for a family of four. This tract deviated from the mean by +2.09 standard deviation units for income.

The density rate based on person's per acre is 2.01 for tract 79. The mean for the city was calculated at 8.46. This tract deviated by a factor of -3.65 standard deviation units from the mean. Tract 79 ranked 84th in the city (highest to lowest) out of a total 90.

Tract 79 is made up on 3 industrial dwellings, 8 commercial dwellings, 24 public dwellings and 22 parks and recreation areas as of 1980.

Sample Size

Four census tracts were selected in each city based upon certain criteria, one of which being a population range of 3,000 - 5,000 people. This range was selected for the following reasons: 1. it provided a workable number of people from which to select potential respondents; 2. most census tracts fall within the range of 3,000 - 5,000 people; 3. selecting census tracts with populations that exceeded that number would have made the random selection process too time-consuming; and 4. selecting census tracts with populations less than that number would not have provided a sufficient number of potential respondents through random selection.[1]

Since the study called for the comparison of four different tracts within each of the two cities, it was important that all areas be described with equal accuracy. The number of interviews per tract that was necessary was 100. This figure was established for the following reasons: 1. in the eight week period allowed for data collection, one interviewer was to complete interviews in two tracts bringing the total number of completed interviews per interviewer to 200. It was calculated that 5 interviews could be completed in one day (25 per week). Although this was a high expectation, it did not prove to be too far from what actually was achieved; 2. initial budget contraints allowed for the hiring of two summer graduate assistants; as the study changed and expanded, two more summer graduate assistants were needed. The maximum number that could be employed that summer was four.

General Considerations

At the first stage of sampling, a random selection of

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[1]During the sample selection process a random sample was performed on a selected census tract in Atlanta that had met all the other criteria besides population (the total population was less than 3,000). In attempting to oversample by 200, a random selection was run by computer using all possible streets and addresses within the tract. This yielded less than 100 potential respondents. Another tract was then selected. This is discussed in greater detail under General Considerations.

both streets and households was attempted. A 1979 city directory was used to enumerate all streets and all addresses (businesses were not omitted at this point) within the tract. A computer run was then made to randomly select 300 (representing an oversample of 200) potential households. After the computer run, the selected addresses were listed and business addresses were omitted. Due to the short length of many of the streets, many of the addresses were chosen more than once. Therefore, the sample resulted in less than 100 potential households. The random selection process was abandoned for the following reasons:

1. Problems with computer programming. The program used for this selection had numerous flaws. The computer could not be programmed to randomly select streets and households in any kind of order. Therefore, manual interpretation of streets and addresses from the printout took in excess of 24 man-hours for the completion of one tract.

2. The selection process resulted in duplication of selected numbers due to many streets having only one or two homes on them and the number of businesses located within the tract (when a business came up, the next household was chosen).

3. Even though the oversampling strategy required that at least 300 choices of households be given, the random selection process yielded less than 100 potential respondents. (This could also be accounted for by the small population of the tract).

Both sampling theory and survey experience suggest that the next best sampling design is a systematic sample. For our purposes a two-stage systematic sample was chosen. Our target number of completed interviews per tract was 100.

First Stage Sampling Frame

Different kinds of data were required for describing census tracts. It was necessary to know the street names, the number of streets, number of households, beginning and ending numbers of each street and the boundaries of each tract. The data were available in Washington, D.C. through the District of Columbia Directory of Street Addresses by Census Tracts published by the Executive Office of the District of Columbia, 1970. Since there was no comparable publication for Atlanta, the streets were determined by using a 1979 City Directory and a 1980 road map of the City of Atlanta. The census tract boundaries for this study in both cities were 1970 boundaries.

It was not necessary for the purposes of this study to determine the homogeneity of various streets within the tract, as the tracts selected fit certain criteria. Variations within the tract were expected and would not have significant

impacts on our study. Although the census tract boundaries were 1970, all other data used for this study was 1978 or later. It was not deemed necessary to actually go out and investigate the number of homes on a street due to the over-sampling strategy of 200 households per tract.

Street Selection

Since we had decided to oversample by 200, we needed a total sample of 300 households. The total number of streets in a tract (without regard to length of the individual streets) was divided by 10. The number of streets in a given tract ranged from 12 (low) to 44 (high). The streets in the tract were then arranged alphabetically and in the case of the tract with 44 streets, every fourth street was chosen. In the case of the tract with only 12 streets, every street was used.

Household Selection

The selection of addresses on a street was determined by totalling all addresses on a street (each apartment was counted separately). Businesses were also counted in the total number of addresses on a street. Since the total number of streets in a tract was divided by 10, the total number of addresses on those selected streets was then divided by 30 (10 x 30 = 300). The total number of addresses per street ranged from zero to 300. The potential addresses were taken from the 1980 Haines Inverse Directory for Washington, D.C. and from the City Directory for Atlanta. All addresses were listed in the directory, including those whose names and/or phone numbers were unknown. No addresses were omitted. In the final selection process, if a business address came up on the appointed number, the next available household was chosen.

Instructions to Interviewers

The following is an explanation of instructions given the interviewers:

1. Make telephone contact first (if possible) to arrange a mutually convenient time for an appointment. The interviewers were given a standard response sheet to follow with the telephone calls. This technique was tried initially in the field test. Approximately 30 people were called for appointments and interviews were granted by only six (6). Of those six (6), only three (3) respondents kept the appointments. It was originally thought that making appointments by telephone would save the interviewers time, provide legitimacy to the interview visit and reduce the number of refusals. After the field test, the interviewers were given the option of using telephone appointments or abandoning them. Three of the interviewers tried the calls initially in the low

income neighborhoods but all three abandoned the technique after a two week period because: 1. it was time consuming to call; 2. people found it easier to refuse to participate over the phone; and 3. many numbers did not belong to anyone that lived in the tract (apparently many people had moved or changed their numbers after the directory was printed).

2. The interviewers were given lists of names, addresses and phone numbers (when such information was listed) and instructed to randomly select three homes on each of the streets for their first attempts to conduct interviews. A sample street list can be seen below:

Tract 46

Philadelphia Street, S.W.

301	J. Jones	441-0560	
303	Fred Smith	541-0349	
305	X X X	?*	This designation implied the address existed but the name and number of the occupants were unknown.

In order to get a representative cross-section of the entire tract, interviewers were instructed to obtain a minimum of 3 interviews from every street listed (if possible). If 100 interviews could not be completed with three per street, then a long street(s) could be randomly selected and households chosen at random from the list. Each interviewer was specifically instructed to obtain only 1 interview per household.

3. The interviewers were instructed to give three call backs per potential respondent. A "no answer" to a knock on the door was to be considered call number 1. Two subsequent visits to that household had to be completed. A household was to be considered out of the interview process if after three attempts (on different days) there was no response. All of the interviewers were given refusal sheets to complete weekly. All refusals to participate as well as households where three call-backs were completed, had to be documented on these sheets. A "no answer" to a phone call was not to be considered an attempt to contact.

4. If an interview was interrupted and couldn't be completed at that time, the interviewer was instructed to make two subsequent visits in an attempt to keep an appointment with the respondent. If the attempts to keep two appointments with the respondent yielded no result, the interviewer was instructed to abandon her/his efforts and turn in the incomplete questionnaire.

5. The sample was to be stratified by age and the stratification was left chiefly to the interviewers to accomplish. This stratification was based upon age group representation in nationwide crime statistics for 1979. In the age group of 15-18 years old, 27 completed interviews per tract was needed. In the age group of 19-24 year olds, 26 interviews were needed. The age range of 25 and over was to account for 47 of the interviews completed in a tract. The interviewers were instructed to obtain interviews with 15-18 year olds as a first priority, followed by 19-24 year olds and then those 25 and over. The interviewers were further instructed to ask at every household for a 15-18 year old; if one lived there, then they were to interview him. If no one lived between the ages of 15-18 lived in the house, they were then to ask for a 19-24 year old and so on. The rationale in trying to get all the 15-18 year olds first is that they would be the hardest to locate and pin down to an interview. It was correctly assumed that the 25 and over group would be easiest to interview.

The decision to stratify by age was made for the following reasons:

a. One of the purposes of the questionnaire was to masure self-report data as compared with reported crime index offenses. In this regard, juveniles between the ages of 15-18 are overrepresented in the crime statistics in proportion to their total population. For example, in 1978, crime statistics show that 15 years old was the modal age for arrestees in the District of Columbia.[2]

b. A separate section of the questionnaire was devoted to measuring attitudes and perceptions about school, peers, leisure activities and goals of high school students. This section was to be answered by juveniles between the ages of 15-18 who either had just graduated from high school, were still enrolled in high school or were still enrolled but planned not to go back to school in the fall. This section was fundamental to our study efforts and if too few juveniles were interviewed, no reliable results on this section could be obtained.

c. It is generally acknowledged by all survey and sampling experts that when interviews are conducted during the hours of 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. (weekdays) the majority of poeple found at home will be older females. The results of our survey would have been less than valid if only one age group and sex predominated the interview process.

d. The interviewers were told to limit their inter-

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[2]Crime and Justice Profile: The Nations's Capital, Office of Criminal Justice Plans and Analysis, 1979, p. V.

view attempts during the hours of 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. during the week. They were told to concentrate their efforts on weekdays from 5:30 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.; on weekends they could work 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. It was envisaged that more men as well as juveniles would be home during the dinner hour and on weekends. In some cases, the evening hours were impractical for the interviewers as they were in high crime neighborhoods (two of them were). Both of the interviewers in the low crime communities were warned by residents to stay away from the communities at night.

Interview Process

Four interviewers were chosen from universities in Atlanta and Washington, D.C. Three of the four interviewers were working on Ph.D.'s and the fourth interviewer had just graduated from college with a B.A. All four interviewers were women. The interviewers received training during a three day training session in Atlanta on interviewing techniques and procedures, as well as specific instructions relating to our data collection. Two of the interviewers were then assigned to Atlanta and two were assigned to Washington, D.C. The interviewers were assigned to the low income neighborhoods first and spent four weeks in the low income neighborhoods. During this time, they were responsible for conducting 100 interviews and completing participant observation (this will be discussed more fully in another section). After four weeks, the interviewers in Washington, D.C. had completed 77 interviews in the low income, high crime community and 57 in the low income, low crime community (4 additional interviews were completed for this tract by one staff member). For the same time period in Atlanta, 72 interviews were completed in the low income, high crime community (an additional 2 were completed by staff members, and 14 were completed by additional help that was hired and paid on a per interview basis). In the low income, low crime community, 65 interviews were completed by the interviewer, 11 by staff members and 10 by part-time help.

In the middle income communities in Washington, D.C., the middle income, high crime community had 80 completed interviews and the middle income, low crime had 37 completed interviews. It should be noted here that data collection for the middle income communities went on for six weeks instead of the originally scheduled four weeks due to the fact that it was more difficult to obtain interviews in the middle income communities. In Atlanta, the middle income, high crime community had 94 completed interviews (37 of these interviews were completed by the interviewer that had been originally hired but she resigned in the middle of data collection for that tract. Other interviews (57) completed in this tract were accomplished by part-time help hired and paid on a per interview basis). In the middle income, low crime community in Atlanta, the interviewer completed 70 interviews (part-time workers

completed an additional 8 interviews). See Chart II for a breakdown of completed interviews and age categories.

Noninterviews

Occasionally an interview for a sample unit could not be obtained. These were classified as noninterviews. Reasons for not obtaining interviews included the following:

1. The unit was not occupied at the time.

2. The unit was occupied by persons not eligible for interviews (e.g., when a specific age category was filled, no more interviews were to take place in that age group; in the case of households occupied by whites, the occupants were not to be interviewed).

3. The unit was occupied by eligible persons, but an interview was not obtained (as in the case of refusal to participate).

4. The unit had been demolished or was no longer used as living quarters.

5. The address listed turned out to be a business.

Data Collection

The following procedures were used to develop and maintain the quality of interviewing:

1. A three-day training session was held in Atlanta in which the interviewers were taught interviewing techniques and sampling procedures for the interview process. During this time, the questionnaire was field tested by the interviewers and direct observation was made of the interviewers.

2. For the first two weeks of data collection in Washington, D.C., a staff member was sent to Washington, D.C. to supervise the initial efforts of data collection. A temporary office was provided us by the University of Maryland and used by the supervisor to meet with the interviewers. The telephone there could be used to arrange interviews and the questionnaires were stored there.

3. During the first two weeks, staff members in the office in Atlanta carefully scrutinized returned questionnaires for incorrect interpretations of questions, incomplete questionnaires, the following of correct skip patterns and specificity of answers. Incorrect or incomplete questionnaires were returned to the interviewer for follow-up interviews.

4. Throughout the data collection process, staff members in Atlanta logged in the questionnaires as they were returned and recorded ages so that each interviewer could keep abreast of where she stood in filling the age group quotas. In addition, questionnaires were randomly selected throughout the process and scrutinized for interviewer errors.

5. The staff in Atlanta began the editing process well before all the data was collected.

6. Verification of interviews by calling respondents was completed intermittently throughout the process.

7. Two months after the interview process was completed, 10 respondents in Atlanta were randomly selected in order to re-test for reliability of the questionnaire.

CHAPTER V: SURVEY RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

In the presentation of the results of the community survey component of the project, we will proceed as follows. The first concern will be with the presentation of the results of two multivariate techniques which were employed for the purposes of assessment of item validity. Our approach to item validity, which is a standard approach for surveys of this kind, will be to examine the interrelationships (intercorrelations) within sets of questionnaire items and then determine the extent to which the items in any given set form a homogeneous or "unidimensional" grouping or cluster of items. To do this, we shall employ factor analysis (for items which are either continuous or nearly so) and also Guttman scaling (for items which are dichotomies in raw data form, or for items which are meaningfully dichotomized even though the raw scores may be in three or four categories).

The intent of these initial scale-validation procedures is to prepare the data for the next phase of the analysis, the prediction analyses. In this series of analyses (which employ bivariate cross tabulation), the essential purpose is to see what independent variables are significantly related to which dependent variables, given a pre-selected list of dependent variables. The hypotheses already discussed in the prior chapter have permitted us to focus upon a rather explicit and clear set of dependent variables, all of which refer to perceptions of crime, how crime is thought of and defined by the respondent, how crime is perceived in the community, how fearful one is of crime, how extensively the police are used, attitudes toward police, moral attitudes pertaining to crime, and others as well. What we are after is a series of answers to the following question: What are individual, community and structural correlates of how our respondents in Atlanta and Washington, D. C. feel and behave on these kinds of dependent variables.

The final phases of the data analysis will entail the use of two multivariate techniques: Contextual effects analysis, where we examine selected effects of community (tract) variables while holding constant counterpart individual variables; and second, further three-way cross tabulations or "test-variable" runs, to examine how the prior-observed predictive results hold up under controls.

Factor Analyses

In order to assess the overall validity and dimensionality of a number of the sets of scales and questions that appeared in our survey of both the Atlanta and Washington, D. C. samples, and also to reduce the number of items in a set down to a more workable number (this being called data-reduction), two techniques are appropriate for our data: Factor analysis and Guttman scaling. Factor analysis is used when a continuous variable is obtained for the response categories for a particular item on the questionnaire. For example, if a set of items may be answered by the respondent as "strongly agree," "agree," and so on, thus giving a five-point distinction (this being an ordinal, but not an interval, level of measurement), then factor analysis was used. While it is sometimes advised that factor analysis be used only on true interval scales, given recent discoveries of the robustness of the technique, factor analysis is now widely and justifiably used on fivepoint and seven-point ordinal scales, such as the ones which we have employed in our survey. (Bohrnstedt and Carter, 1977; Bohrnstedt, 1981.)

Guttman's analysis, on the other hand, is used when items may be meaningfully answered by only "yes" or "no," a dichotomous distinction, or at least when the nature of the data is such that only a dichotomous distinction can be meaningfully made. Guttman analysis can also be used on trichotomies (for example, "yes," "no," and "maybe"), but as it turns out there was no need for this in our analysis. Both of the techniques -- factor analysis and Guttman scaling -- are employed in our study as means of reducing the information yielded by a set of questionnaire items down to a fewer number of items, and also to aid in the selection of what are called criterion items -- items that end up being a "key" item (i.e., the most valid) in a set of items. Just how this was done will become clear as we proceed.

The results of the factor analyses are reported in this section, while the results of the Guttman analyses are reported in the following section. The results of both are given prior to the presentation of the overall basic findings of the study (the "prediction analyses").

Procedures

The general idea behind factor analysis is to first examine the intercorrelations among a set of questionnaire items and then algebraically create a new variable (called a "factor") which is correlated highly with some items in the set, but correlated less with others. In this way, one can identify "subsets" (or clusters) of items which "hang together" in the sense that they measure the same underlying concept. For example, the two variables height and weight of person tend to be positively correlated (the more one's height, then on the

average, the more one's weight); they thus form a "subset" (and will thus have a "factor"), which we might then call "stature," or something like that. "Stature" would then be the underlying concept, something which is indicated by both height and weight. If we measure a third variable, say for example a person's income in dollars, then we would probably find that while height and weight correlate strongly, neither of these would correlate much with a person's income. This would mean that height and weight indicate one thing (thus one factor), but income would probably indicate quite another (thus another factor -- probably something like socioeconomic status, which would not be correlated with height or weight).

This is the essential idea behind the way factor analysis was applied to our data. The specifics are as follows: We used the Factor Analysis sub-routine of the SPSS package on the Georgia State University installation (in fact all of our analyses are done using some sub-routine of SPSS at Georgia State). Four previously-identified scale subsets were subjected to factor analysis: (a) Our attitude-toward-police scales (variables 087 through 095, representing questionnaire items 31a through 31i; results are given in Table 1 following). (b) The items intended to measure alienation, represented by variables 183 through 190 (and questionnaire items 54a through 54h), given in Table 2. (c) Items intended to measure self-evaluation (variables 191 through 199; questionnaire items 55a through 55i, given in Table 3 below). Finally, (d) our new crime-morality scale, represented by variables 176 through 182, and items 53a through 53g, in Table 4 below.

The method of factor extraction used was principal factoring with iteration (procedure PA2 in the SPSS manual), with varimax employed as the rotational technique. Thus all factors given below are orthogonal (the factors within a given analysis are uncorrelated). We used pairwise deletion of missing data, and selected as output the following statistics: The correlation matrix, communalities, eigenvalues, percents of explained variance, the rotated factor matrix, and the transformation factor matrix. All that is presented here, for the sake of clarity, are the rotated matrices and communalities, with the percent of variance explained figures entered at the bottom.

Results

All results of all factor analyses were interesting, interpretable and clear. This is not always the case in projects which elect to employ factor analysis. The clarity and usefulness of the results from factor analysis is attributable to a well-designed questionnaire (at least for the item subsets in question) and a good preliminary selection and pretesting on the part of the research staff.

We call your attention to Table 1. This table gives the

factor analysis results for the questionnaire items originally designed and developed to measure the respondents' attitudes toward "the police" as an attitude-object. As already noted in an earlier portion of this report, these scales are based on the Osgood Semantic Differential technique, and we have borrowed bipolar items from this instrument. Our set contains nine items, ranging from "honest - dishonest" (variable 087) to "tough - soft" (variable 095). It will be helpful at this point for the reader to consult the Codebook as well as the original questionnaire (which you will recall is keyed to the variable numbers by means of the Codebook).

In Table 1, initial item polarities are given (on the far left); factor loadings after rotation are given in the main body of the table (these represent the simple correlation between item and factor); and communalities (h^2) are given on the far right. (These h^2 values represent the averaged item-to-factor correlations, for a given item.) The percents of variance explained are given along the bottom. These are important, as they are a measure of the "strength" of the particular factor -- how much of the variance in all of the questionnaire items is explained by the particular factor. The percent labeled "cum" (for "cumulative") is the total percent of variance explained by all factors taken together, which is simply the sum of the other percents, since the factors are forced to be orthogonal, that is, uncorrelated.

The results are interesting and strong. The first factor (called Factor 1) explains fully one-third of the item variance (35.2%). In other words, all nine of the questionnaire items tend to reflect some main underlying dimension (this is called the "principal factor"), and about one-third of all the item variance is indeed this one dimension. What is it? This is assessed by first looking at the specific item which correlates most highly with Factor 1. As the reader will note, this is the "good - bad" item. The item correlating next highest (regardless of sign) is the "hardworking - lazy" item! What this means is that the respondents in our study, across all tracts in both Atlanta and in Washington, D. C., evaluate police in what might be described as a "good" vs. "bad" distinction as well as a "hardworking" vs. "lazy" distinction. Furthermore, if someone rated the police as "good," then he or she very probably rated them as "hardworking" as well (this is due to the high correlation of both items with Factor 1). It also means that if someone rates the police as "bad," they then also rate them as "lazy."

This is an interesting finding within the framework of our study, for it tells us just how and in what terms our respondents tend to conceptualize and think of the police. It should also be pointed out that the good-bad item (the one correlating highest with Factor 1) becomes our criterion item, by virtue of its high correlation with Factor 1 (i.e., it becomes the criterion for measuring whatever it is that

we decide is being measured by Factor 1 as opposed to Factors 2 and 3). It should also be carefully noted that in past studies which use the Semantic Differential technique (the technique from which we got our items), the good-bad item generally comes out correlating highly with the first factor (as with our results). This means that our first factor, like that in past research, measures what would be called an "evaluative" dimension of attitudes (as distinct from other dimensions commonly found in the literature such as "activity" and "potency"). Note, finally, that our initial selection of items was in terms of an "evaluative" dimension; the fact that the good-bad item correlates highest with Factor 1 thus validates this selection.

We thus have labeled Factor 1 the "evaluative" factor in Table 1. As a general rule, one names a factor on the basis of the content of the item which correlated highest with a factor. Thus we see that variable 092 (friendly-unfriendly) correlates highest (among all items) with Factor 2. We would thus label Factor 2 "friendliness," or something like that. By similar logic Factor 3 becomes "toughness," since the tough-soft item correlates highest (among other items) with Factor 3.

Note that Factor 2 explains 13.7 percent of the item variance (quite a bit less than Factor 1), and that Factor 3 explains 9.5 percent of the item variance. All three factors together explain 58.4 percent of the item variance -- almost 60 percent -- which is very respectable. It means basically that our three factors account for almost two-thirds of what our respondents say in the original nine items. So we have basically reduced nine items down to three, and only lost about one-third of the information in so doing. (This is why factor analysis is called a technique of data-reduction.)

So in sum, what we have is this: Our respondents in Atlanta and Washington, D. C. expressed their opinions toward police in terms of three dimensions: Evaluative, friendliness and toughness. A good part of what they think is captured by the evaluation factor, which in turn is indicated by the criterion item "good-bad." Remember that since all three factors are orthogonal (uncorrelated), whether a respondent says the police are "good" versus "bad" does not tell us what he thinks in regard to any item measuring "friendliness," nor any item measuring "toughness." The three modes of judgment are independent from each other.

We move on to Table 2, which contains the factor analysis results for our items designed to measure the concept "alienation". The results here (in terms of explained variances) are strikingly similar to the results just seen above: Three factors account for fully 60 percent of the item variance; the first factor (Factor 1) accounts for 33 percent of the variance in (all) the items -- quite respectable. The criterion item

comes out to be variable 186 (mistrust; it is question number 54d on the original questionnaire), since it correlates highest with Factor 1. (Note also that this same item [variable 186] has the highest h^2 among all the items.) Thus we can label Factor 1 "mistrust" (I have labeled it "dependence - mistrust" since another item, variable 183 [dependence] also correlates highly with Factor 1).

The second factor, explaining 15.5 percent of the item variance, has two items correlating highly with it -- the only two items which pertain specifically to black people. One (variable 187) asks the respondent to give his or her opinion as to whether or not it is fair to bring children into the world, given the outlook for black people. Another (variable 188) asks about the person's perception of the condition of the average black person. Both of these items are the only ones which pertain specifically to blacks, and this is confirmed by the fact that they both load (correlate) on the same factor (Factor 2). This factor can thus be labeled "black situation," or "perception of condition of blacks."

The third factor, which explains 11.5 percent of the item variance, is labeled "luck versus ability" by virtue of its high correlation with the item (variable 183) which asks the person whether or not success is more dependent upon luck rather than ability.

To summarize Table 2: Three factors explain 60 percent of the item variance; the largest factor pertains to dependence and mistrust, and the criterion item (for Factor 1 only) is variable 186, which measures a kind of general, overall degree of "mistrust" on the part of the respondent. In fact, there are thus three separate criterion items (one for each of the three factors) here, each independent of the other, and each representing a separate aspect of what is the general concept of "alienation." In terms of scale validity, for our study and our respondents in Atlanta and Washington, D. C., this means that "alienation" is of three rather distinct types: Dependence-mistrust, condition for blacks, and luck versus ability.

We proceed now to Table 3 which presents the factor analysis for the nine items which are intended to measure self-evaluation. The first factor explains 35.7 percent of the item variance, thus in effect, validating the scales for measuring whatever dimension is conceptualized by Factor 1. Given the very high correlation (.838) between Factor 1 and variable 191 (which reads: "I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others;" then agree-disagree on a five-point scale), this variable (191) is clearly the criterion item. Thus the factor is labeled "self-worth." Note also that this item has, by a good margin, the highest communality, meaning that of all nine items compared to each other, it is the most valid of all the other eight in terms

of capturing the meaning of the three separate factors.

The second factor (Factor 2 in Table 3) is labeled "self-esteem," given its .562 correlation with variable 199 (which reads: "At times I think I am no good at all"). Note, interestingly, that given the relative orthogonality of the factors, a person feeling he or she is a "person of worth" (variable 191) does not necessarily disagree with the item, "I think I'm no good at all" (variable 199). This is because the factors with which these two items correlate are themselves uncorrelated. (This can be further verified by examining the original correlation matrix [not shown here]. In fact, the raw correlation between variables 191 and 199 is .21, which is quite low). The third factor in Table 3 is labeled "positivity of attitude;" it correlates most highly with variable 196, which is the item, "I take a positive attitude toward myself." But then this factor only explains 10.4 percent of the item variance.

The end result is this: We can conclude that our self-evaluation items do indeed consist of a reasonably homogeneous set of scales, given that 35.7 percent of the item variance is explained by the first factor. The criterion item is variable 191, self-worth.

We arrive finally at the results of our crime-morality scales, for which are presented in Table 4. The results are similar to those of our prior analyses, despite the fact that a fewer number of original items (seven) were entered into the analysis. It is encouraging to see that 63.8 percent of all the item variance is explained by the three factors that were retained for rotation, with the first factor explaining 35.4 percent of the item variance. This is especially encouraging because this set of scales represents a somewhat new attempt to construct a scale measuring a person's overall feelings about the "permissiveness" of different sorts of crimes under different conditons that might justify crime. This is why we have chosen to call it our "crime-morality" scale.

The results show a strong first factor (35.4% of item variance explained), which correlates most highly on (criterion) variables 181 and 180. Variable 181 pertains to prisoner uprisings under deprived conditions wherein a prison guard is killed. Variable 180 pertains to a woman who becomes a prostitute in order to provide food for her children. Both of these variables correlate on Factor 1; this factor is, therefore, labeled "permissiveness-repression." (We invite the reader to label this factor; while the meaning and content seems clear, labeling it proved somewhat of a challenge.) The second factor appears to measure a materialism-wealth dimension of the moral issues raised in this set of questionnaire items (note that variables 176, 179 and 182, all of which pertain to material wealth and material belongings, all correlate

with this factor). Factor 2 is thus labeled "materialism." Factor 3 seems to pertain to whether or not a crime is justified (it correlates most highly with variable 177); thus, it is (tentatively) labeled "justification."

In sum, our set of scales here reveal an overall factor structure similar to the ones analyzed above -- about two-thirds of all item variance is explained; an interpretable first factor emerges and explains a highly respectable amount of the item variance (about a third); and criterion items are easily and sensibly identifiable. But a number of intriguing aspects to the analysis of these particular scales also emerge. They are:

(a) The three emerging factors seem to cover vastly differing substantive meanings and concepts. But this is not especially surprising, as morality issues are generally seen by the public as more complex than, say, are issues involving alienation or, as we saw, even attitudes toward police.

(b) However, despite the complexity of the crime-morality scale, it is nonetheless true that three factors explained almost two-thirds of all item variance, thus making this set of items a reasonably homogeneous set of items. Recall also that the main (first) factor explained half of this (i.e., one-third of the total item variance).

(c) It seems clear that some kind of "permissiveness" dimension underlies these scales. This is an important conclusion in regard to the aims of the study as a whole. It tells us something about how people in Atlanta and Washington, D.C. think of crime and how they perceive crime.

(d) An especially important finding emerged with regard to this crime-morality scale set; this will be noted again below when we take up the results of the Guttman Scale analyses. The crime-morality scale was (unlike the other scale sets) subjected to both factor analysis and to Guttman analysis. A result was that the same item in both analyses (variable 181) came out to be the criterion item! Recall that this item is the one which asks the respondent whether or not it is right for prisoners deprived of basic conveniences such as toilet paper, etc., to riot and as a result kill one of the guards. What this means, from both the factor analyses as well as the Guttman analyses, is that this item is a very key one in getting at peoples' moral attitudes in regard to crime.

As an aside, the reader might be interested in the marginals here: For this single item, 30 percent of our total sample of 621 thought it was either "quite right" or "somewhat right" to have the prison riot! In contrast, only 7% thought the "angry black arsonist" in variable 176 was either "quite right" or "somewhat right."

TABLE 1 -- VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX: ATTITUDE-TOWARD-POLICE SCALE

Initial Polarity	Evaluative (Good-Bad) Factor 1	Friendliness Factor 2	Toughness Factor 3	h^2
(+) V087 honest-corrupt	-0.48227	0.20616	-0.15005	.29760
(-) V088 good-bad	0.65586	-0.16275	0.04376	.45987
(-) V089 fair-unfair	0.45512	-0.26159	0.13597	.29523
(-) V090 lazy-hardworking	0.52898	-0.22875	0.00769	.33220
(+) V091 smart-dumb	-0.37455	0.35318	0.35298	.26778
(+) V092 friendly-unfriendly	-0.31594	0.68137	-0.13858	.58390
(+) V093 kind-unkind	-0.31234	0.58795	-0.18499	.47745
(-) V094 harsh-easy	0.17983	-0.31815	0.47900	.36300
(-) V095 tough-softhearted	0.00133	-0.00901	0.65092	.42378
	35.2%	13.7%	9.5%	58.4%

TABLE 2 -- VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX: ALIENATION SCALE

	Interers Dependence-Mistrust	Black Situation	Luck vs. Ability	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	h^2
(+) V183 dependence	0.62900	0.10940	0.09585	.41680
(+) V184 luck	0.08309	0.14119	0.53519	.31327
(+) V185 negative future	0.35980	0.30501	0.03029	.21340
(+) V186 mistrust	0.80985	0.18801	0.06644	.69562
(+) V187 black children	0.20796	0.55578	0.14538	.37327
(+) V188 black situation	0.10549	0.57059	0.14850	.35896
(+) V189 public officials	0.20294	0.47789	0.12304	.28470
(+) V190 stand. of living	0.03268	0.40948	0.36904	.30493
	33.0%	15.5%	11.5%	60.0%

TABLE 3 -- VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX: SELF-EVALUATION SCALE

	Self-Worth	Self-Esteem	Positivity of Attitude	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	h^2
(+) V191 self-worth	0.83793	-0.07957	0.12511	.72411
(+) V192 good qualities	0.59719	-0.16651	0.24095	.44242
(-) V193 failure	-0.36607	0.49724	-0.24659	.44206
(+) V194 self-confidence	0.38761	-0.18721	0.19294	.22251
(-) V195 lack of pride	-0.30425	0.32230	-0.26437	.26634
(+) V196 positive attitude	0.34201	0.16236	-0.63937	.55212
(+) V197 satisfaction	0.10022	0.17068	-0.44012	.23288
(-) V198 uselessness	-0.02315	0.55720	-0.14047	.33074
(-) V199 low self-esteem	-0.17841	0.56196	-0.11919	.36183
	35.7%	12.9%	10.4%	59.0%

TABLE 4 -- VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX: CRIME-MORALITY SCALE

	Permissiveness - Repression	Materialism	Justification	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	h^2
(+) V176 black arsonist	0.27340	0.47917	-0.10450	.31527
(-) V177 unusual holdup	-0.11863	-0.17989	0.59118	.39593
(-) V178 black killing	-0.46520	-0.06742	0.38191	.36681
(+) V179 resistance	0.23133	0.43191	-0.26769	.31172
(+) V180 prostitute	0.48038	0.27568	-0.16206	.33303
(+) V181 prisoner	0.68015	0.11986	0.07271	.43226
(+) V182 book fixer	0.02862	-0.66414	0.10108	.45221
	35.4%	15.5%	12.9%	63.8%

Guttman Scale Analysis

As with factor analysis, the main intent of Guttman scale analysis is to determine the extent to which a set of items together form a relatively homogeneous (unidimensional) grouping. However, there are two differences between the techniques which are of interest to us here. First, factor analysis is not easily performed on dichotomies (questions which, for example, require only a "yes" or "no" answer), whereas Guttman analysis is designed for dichotomies. Second, Guttman analysis can determine whether or not a cumulative property underlies a set of questionnaire items. (Factor analysis is not capable of assessing cumulativity, even if it is done on correlations such as ϕ - coefficients resulting from dichotomies.)

The following example will illustrate the cumulative property of a set of items. Assume that you are giving a spelling test, and that you ask each person to spell three words: "catastrophe;" "cattle;" and "cat." Now, if a person spells "catastrophe" correctly, then we certainly would expect that he would correctly spell "cattle" and "cat." If the person does not spell "catastrophe" correctly but nonetheless gets "cattle," then we would expect him to get "cat." And so on. This is what is meant by the cumulative (also transitive) property of a Guttman scale. The following arrangement (Table 5) of the spelling words clarifies this example; this is what is called a Guttman ordering or a Guttman display:

TABLE 5 -- HYPOTHETICAL SPELLING TEST

Catastrophe	Cattle	Cat	Scale Score
1	1	1	3
0	1	1	2
0	0	1	1
0	0	0	0

Here a "1" means that the word is correctly spelled, and a "0" means that the word was not correctly spelled. Notice that the patterns are arranged in cumulative and descending order. Notice, also, that we can read the scale backwards: A person who cannot spell "cat" will also probably miss "cattle" and "catastrophe." And a person who gets "cat" but misses "cattle" will probably miss "catastrophe."

The "scale score" numbers on the right simply represent the number of words spelled correctly. But they also mean something more: Someone getting a score of "2" means not only that he got two words correct; it means that he got two specific words correct -- namely, cattle and cat (and he got catastrophe wrong). If by chance we come across somebody who, for whatever reason, spells catastrophe and cat correctly but misses cattle, then in the language of Guttman

analysis this would be called an error response and would be so counted in evaluating the whole scale.

In other words, the idea is to see to what extent one has a Guttman scale by first looking at a particular item ordering and then taking into account the number of error responses one obtains. Obviously, if there are too many errors, then one does not have a good Guttman scale; one would conclude that "these items do not form a Guttman scale." If the number of errors relative to the total number of items (and the sample size) is low, then one would conclude that the items do indeed form a Guttman scale. Just what constitutes "too many" errors is decided by the coefficients that are calculated (see below), one of which is called the reproducibility coefficient.

The essential idea in Guttman analysis with survey items such as ours is to try to discover whether any sets of items one has might indeed form a Guttman scale. This usually means experimenting with different sets of items and with different orderings. We have done some of this experimentation, and we have come up with a couple of reasonable (though far from perfect) Guttman scales. Remember that while the results of our Guttman analyses given below are interesting in themselves, the major reason for doing a Guttman analysis is to examine how these items behave in regard to one another, whether they form a good scale, and -- importantly -- whether or not the analysis yields a good criterion item which would then be employed in the later prediction analsysis. Once again, Guttman analysis is being used here as a technique of data-reduction: We are essentially taking a set of items and asking the question: "Can the information that this entire set of items gives us for a given person be boiled down to one or two criterion items or, perhaps, to a scale score." It is absolutely necessary to engage in such data-reduction analysis prior to the prediction analysis in a survey such as this; otherwise, the number of variables entered into the prediction analysis would be totally unmanageable and interpretation of the data would be out of hand and virtually impossible.*

Procedures

On the basis of preliminary conferences among research staff members and on the basis of the literature on Guttman analysis, it was decided that the following five sets of dichotomous items would be subjected to Guttman analysis to see whether and to what extent they would form acceptable Guttman scales (i.e., would they yield sufficient "reproducibility"):

* Later analysis, not presented here, would, of course, use the scale score as the single (criterion) variable -- and treat it as a continuous variable.

(a) Variables 012 through 021, which we have called the Community Crime Scale, a series of items which ask respondents to indicate whether or not such things as confusion among neighbors, fear of crime, excessive drinking in public, and so on are a problem in the neighborhood. Thus, these items assess the respondent's own perception of the occurrences of such an array of crimes in his or her own community. Please refer to the Codebook and to the instrument for the wordings of the items.

(b) Variables 022 through 027, which pertain to what a person would do by way of crime prevention in regard to their own house, such as stop mail delivery, have a neighbor watch the house and so on. These variables are grouped under what we call below the House Watch (future) items.

(c) Variables 028 through 033 pertain to the exact same items, except that they indicate to whether or not the respondent has actually done these things in the past. These are referred to as the House Watch (actual) items in the following analysis.

(d) Variables 037 through 042 pertain to various kinds of perceptions of crime both in one's own community as well as in the United States in general. We were curious whether, as suggested by the overall conceptualization and hypotheses, an individual's perceptions of crime in his or her own community are scalable with his or her perceptions of crime in general. (We touched on this issue already in the factor analyses above; the Guttman analysis further explores this issue.)

(e) Recall our findings in regard to the factor analysis of the Crime-Morality scale above, which contained variables 176 through 182. The Guttman analysis was performed on a subset of these (upon variables 176, 179, 180 and 181) since greatly unbalanced marginals plus polarity problems dictated that a Guttman analysis of all seven original items would not be feasible. In any case, we did in fact try a Guttman analysis of all items and found that, as expected, these problems permitted no good scalable ordering. Thus, the results presented below pertain only to the four variables specified.

The specific procedure we used, and the SPSS option elected, was to initially order the items on the basis of the marginal frequencies and percentages (i.e., upon simply the number of individuals agreeing or not agreeing with the particular item). In general, the best first approximation of a Guttman ordering is simply to order the items on the basis of "yes's" to an item (which is exactly the same as ordering items in the above spelling test example on the basis of how many people spell the word correctly; that is, order the items (the words) according to their degree of difficulty). This is what we did. The next step was to see what overall

error patterns resulted when the items were classified in this way. It should be noted also that in Guttman analysis, one's results will depend upon where one places the "cutpoints" on the raw data; that is whether one dichotomizes the item between "yes" versus "no," or between a "yes" and "maybe" together versus a "no," and so on.

Each set of items below, after being ordered on the basis of the marginals, is subjected to the rigorous tests of standard Guttman analysis. These involve the use of the following four coefficients, all of which appear in Tables 6 through 10 following:

(a) Coefficient of reproducibility. This is an overall measure of the proportion of errors one gets when one orders the items in a particular way (such as according to the marginals, as we have done). In general the higher this coefficient, the better the scale (the more valid the scale). The general guideline used today is that a reproducibility of .90 or above indicates a strong (valid) scale. A reproducibility between .85 and .90 is of some validity; a coefficient of less than .85 is not considered acceptable. Technically, reproducibility is defined as 1 minus the number of errors over the total number of possible responses, where the number of possible responses is defined as N (the number of respondents) times the number of items used in the scale.

(b) Minimum marginal reproducibility. This is the lowest that the reproducibility coefficient could get based on the marginals alone.

(c) Percent improvement. This is simply reproducibility minus minimum marginal reproducibility; that is, "a" minus "b."

(d) Coefficient of scalability. This measure combines the percent improvement measure with marginal reproducibility. It is defined as percent improvement divided by 1 minus marginal reproducibility. This coefficient should be .60 or above to be able to conclude that one has a valid scale. Anything in the .50 to .60 range is so-so. Anything less than .50 indicates that the items in question do not form an acceptable Guttman ordering.

Results

Overall, the results using Guttman analysis were somewhat encouraging, but not as encouraging as the results of the factor analyses. As it turns out, of the five sets of questionnaire items subjected to Guttman analysis, two of these yielded reasonably valid scales. Let us examine the actual results.

Examine Table 6. The ordering of items analyzed was from variable 017, "fear of crime" (on the right side of the

table) on down through "bad elements" (variable 016). This means that if these items were to end up forming a good Guttman scale, then anyone who answered that "fear of crime" was either "not a problem" (thus getting the designation of zero, or "0;" cf. our spelling test example above) would also feel that all the other things were also not a problem (such as trespassing, public drug usage, excessive drinking in public and so on -- all in that order). Note that with reference to our spelling test example above, one must read Table 6 from right to left, not left to right. Hence, someone indicating that fear of crime was a problem but that the next scale item (trespassing) was not, then (again if the items are scalable) that person would indicate that all the other items were also not a problem. And so on for all the remaining items through item 016, the last (left most) item, which is "bad elements." Note also that since this is the last item, this is the one which showed the most people (respondents) agreeing with it: Fully 88 percent of the cases used in the analysis felt that "bad elements" in their community were "not a problem." (The total number of cases used was 513 out of our total sample of 621, due to listwise rather than pairwise deletion of missing data.)

Unfortunately, the pertinent coefficients do not indicate a valid Guttman scale. While reproducibility is at least modest (.8390), marginal reproducibility is also high (.8090), which means that improvement is only modest (.0300 percent) and thus, the coefficient of scalability is very low (.1571).

We proceed to Tables 7 and 8, both of which involve the House Watch (house protection) items. The results here are interesting and useful. While the items in Table 7 (which pertain to what the respondent would do) do not form an impressive scale (note that reproducibility is .7999, or about .80, and scalability is .2849, or about .29 -- more impressive than the prior scale but still not quite good enough), the items in the next table, Table 8, certainly do. Table 8 pertains to what the respondent has actually done in the past. These items do scale. Reproducibility is respectable (.87); there is a 14.4 percent improvement; and scalability is .53.

Notice the item ordering, across the top of the table. Since the items form a relatively respectable Guttman scale, we may make the following inferences: Only 12 percent of our sample has actually notified the police in the past to watch their home (look at the marginal percents at the bottom of the table). However, if a person has actually done this, then he or she has also done the following in this order: Postponed mail (variable 029); given a key to a neighbor (variable 032); had a neighbor bring in newspapers or mail (031); had a neighbor keep a general look out (030), and finally, actually left a light on in the house (variable 033; note that 78 percent of our respondents in both Atlanta and

Washington, D. C. have done this). Note also the very low number of "error" responses (in fact zero errors for the first scale pattern).

Continuing to interpret the scale, if someone has not actually notified the police (variable 028) but has postponed mail (029), then that person (with few errors) has also done all the others.

Looking at Tables 7 and 8 together permits the following conclusions:

(a) The things that one actually does in regard to protecting one's house form a considerably better scale than what one says that one might do. The former form a better unidimensional set of items than do the latter.

(b) These particular items have a cumulative (Guttman) quality when asked in regard to what the respondent has actually done in the past, but not when the items pertain to what one might do.

(c) The scale scores (numbers on the far left of the table) are the overall index scores of simply the number of items to which the person responded "yes." It is an overall index (it is an "unweighted" index since it weights all items equally) of whatever property the scale is measuring. In this case, the index score simply measures the extent to which the person reports that they protect their home by means of the items asked.

Table 9 presents the findings pertaining to the items intended to measure perceptions of crime, broadly defined, in terms of the items in question (variables 037 through 042). The ordering displayed in Table 9 does not yield sufficient reproducibility and scalability to enable one to conclude that the items form a valid Guttman scale.

Table 10 tells another story, however. Recall that the items displayed in this scale represent a subset of all the crime-morality items which were already subjected to factor analysis above. This resulted in variable 181 (prisoner uprising) being designated as a criterion variable. It is now interesting to note its relative scale position here -- it is the left-most item, that is, the one showing the greatest percent of agreement with it; of the 393 cases that were included, 35 percent answered the "prisoner uprising" item in the affirmative. This item thus combines two properties: First, its marginal percent is not severely skewed (35 percent is not "too small"); and secondly, it occupies a position at one extreme end of the scale. In this sense it is a "criterion" item for the Guttman scale (in addition to being so via factor analysis). This means that this single item is playing an important role for us in our study.

Returning to Table 10, we note that variable 176 (angry black arsonist) defines the other extreme end of the scale; it shows the lowest percent of agreement. Since reproducibility is sufficiently high (.89), as is scalability (.50), we may interpret the results thusly: A person who answers "yes" (i.e., "quite right" or "somewhat right") to the "angry black arsonist" item also answers yes to all the others. Anyone who answers "no" to arsonist but "yes" to the purchase of hot merchandise then says "yes" to the remaining two items -- with a low probability of error. The "prostitute" item comes next, and as already noted, the prisoner uprising item comes last. Note that we may also read the scale in the other direction: Someone who said "no" (i.e., anything other than "quite right" or "somewhat right") to the prisoner uprising item also says no to all the others, and so on. (Note, finally, that a lower scale score [0 through 4] indicates greater "moral conservatism," or some such concept.)

So, in sum, in regard to Table 10: We see that the crime-morality subset does indeed form a reasonably valid Guttman scale. The information yielded by it is useful for the additional (predictive) analysis to come later, since it not only yields a criterion item, but also yielded the same criterion item as did the factor analysis procedure. But in addition, these Guttman results are interesting in their own right: They tell us not only that these items have a cumulative property, but the analysis also tells us the ordering of the items. The scale position of the "arsonist" item is interesting. It is useful to know, for example, that given our sample, our sample design and our Atlanta and Washington, D. C. populations, and assuming representativeness of the sample (and other appropriate statistical assumptions), that anyone deciding that it is OK to burn the store described in our item will also -- with a very high probability -- go along with: Purchasing hot merchandise, prostitution for purposes of feeding one's children, and the prisoner uprising involving the killing of a guard. This is interesting; it tells us a lot about the concept (crime-morality) that we are measuring here; and it gives us a good idea of how to measure it as a dependent variable in the predictive analysis, to which we now turn.*

---

* Additional analyses might experiment with additional positive-polarity items added in (for the crime-morality scale), then the negative-polarity items, and finally, experimentation with different cut-points. The experimenting which we ourselves did yielded, as the best scale, the one presented here.

TABLE 6: COMMUNITY CRIME SCALE

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

```
* * * * * * * *  GUTTMAN  SCALE  (CRIMEPER)  USING  * * * * * * * * *
12      COMMUNITY TROUBLE MAKERS                DIVISION POINT =     2.00
13      CONFUSION AMONG NEIGHBORS               DIVISION POINT =     2.00
14      EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC               DIVISION POINT =     2.00
15      INSULTING REMARKS                       DIVISION POINT =     2.00
16      BAD         ELEMENTS                    DIVISION POINT =     2.00
17      FEAR OF CRIME                           DIVISION POINT =     2.00
18      TRESPASSING IN YARDS                    DIVISION POINT =     2.00
19      PEOPLE FIGHTING                         DIVISION POINT =     2.00
20      PROPERTY DAMAGE                         DIVISION POINT =     2.00
21      PUBLIC DRUG       USAGE                 DIVISION POINT =     2.00
* * * * * * * * * *  RESP = 1 FOR VALUES EQUAL TO DIVISION POINT AND ABOVE  * * * * * * * * * *
```

ER..	V016		V013		V020		V015		V019		V012		V014		V021		V018		V017		
SP..	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	TOTAL
10	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	3
9	1	5	1	5	0	6	0	6	0	6	0	6	1	5	0	6	3	3	0	6	6
8	2	5	3	4	3	4	1	6	1	6	0	7	1	6	0	7	2	5	1	6	7
7	3	9	4	8	8	4	3	9	3	12	3	9	2	10	1	11	7	5	3	7	12
6	5	6	9	5	6	8	5	9	8	8	5	9	3	11	4	10	6	8	4	10	14
5	20	8	17	11	18	10	15	13	15	13	14	14	11	17	10	18	14	14	6	22	28
4	29	5	26	7	23	10	23	10	21	12	21	12	9	24	11	22	17	16	19	14	33
3	40	10	40	10	37	13	44	6	42	8	34	16	31	19	25	25	25	25	32	18	50
2	55	4	58	11	61	8	58	11	61	8	58	11	59	10	54	15	40	29	38	31	69
1	136	6	107	5	100	12	104	8	106	6	106	6	106	6	104	8	90	22	79	33	112
0	179	0	179	0	179	0	179	0	179	0	179	0	179	0	179	0	179	0	179	0	179

TABLE 6: (CONTINUED)

SUMS	452	61	444	69	435	78	432	81	431	82	420	93	402	111	388	125	383	130	363	150
PCTS	88	12	87	13	85	15	84	16	84	16	82	18	78	22	76	24	75	25	71	29
ERRORS	0	58	1	61	3	65	4	57	7	47	22	45	27	35	51	23	114	22	184	0

621 CASES WERE PROCESSED
108 (OR 17.4 PCT) WERE MISSING

STATISTICS..

COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY = 0.8390
MINIMUM MARGINAL REPRODUCIBILITY = 0.8090
PERCENT IMPROVEMENT = 0.0300
COEFFICIENT OF SCALABILITY = 0.1571

TABLE 7: HOUSE WATCH (FUTURE)

```
* * * * * * * * *   G U T T M A N   S C A L E   ( F U T H O U S E )   U S I N G   * * * * * * * * *
V022        FUTURE POLICE WATCH                          DIVISION POINT =      2.00
V023        FUTURE MAIL POSTPONEMENT                     DIVISION POINT =      2.00
V024        FUTURE NEIGHBOR WATCH                        DIVISION POINT =      2.00
V025        FUTURE NEIGHBOR MAIL DELIVERY                DIVISION POINT =      2.00
V026        FUTURE NEIGHBOR HOUSE CK                     DIVISION POINT =      2.00
V027        FUTURE HOUSE LIGHT                           DIVISION POINT =      2.00
* * * * * * * * * *  RESP = 1 FOR VALUES EQUAL TO DIVISION POINT AND ABOVE  * * * * * * * * *

ITEM.. V024      V027      V025      V022      V026      V023

RESP..  0    1 I  0    1 I  0    1 I  0    1 I  0    1 I  0    1 I TOTAL
-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I
F    I         I         I         I         I         I         I
U  6 I  0   12I  0   12I  0   12I  0   12I  0   12I  0   12I    12
T    I------ERRI         I         I         I         I         I
H    I         I         I         I         I         I         I
O  6 I  6   91I  6   91I  0   15I  2   13I  1   14I  0   15I    15
U    I        I------ERRI         I         I         I         I
S    I         I         I         I         I         I         I
E  4 I 20   51I 14   11I  6   19I  6   19I  1   24I  3   22I    25
     I         I         I------ERRI         I         I         I
     I         I         I         I         I         I         I
   3 I 70   91I 48   31I 42   37I 31   48I 22   57I 24   55I    79
     I         I         I         I------ERRI         I         I
     I         I         I         I         I         I         I
   2 I 134  21I 122  14I 90   46I 64   72I 81   55I 53   83I   136
     I         I         I         I         I------ERRI         I
     I         I         I         I         I         I         I
   1 I 138  11I 132  7I 123  16I 119  20I 99   40I 84   55I   139
     I         I         I         I         I         I------ERRI
     I         I         I         I         I         I         I
   0 I 127  0I 127  0I 127  0I 127  0I 129  0I 127  0I    127
     I--------I---------I---------I---------I---------I---------I
SUMS   495  38  449  84  388 145  349 184  331 202  291 242    533
PCTS    93   7   84  16   73  27   65  35   62  38   55  45
ERRORS   0  26    6  63    6  99   39  92  105  40  164   0    640

   621 CASES WERE PROCESSED
    88 (OR 14.2 PCT) WERE MISSING

STATISTICS..

COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY = 0.7999
MINIMUM MARGINAL REPRODUCIBILITY = 0.7201
PERCENT IMPROVEMENT = 0.0797
COEFFICIENT OF SCALABILITY = 0.2849
```

TABLE 8: HOUSE WATCH (PAST-ACTUAL)

```
* * * * * * * * *  G U T T M A N   S C A L E   ( P A S H O U S E )   U S I N G  * * * * * * * * *
V028        PAST POLICE WATCH                              DIVISION POINT =      2.00
V029        PAST MAIL POSTPONEMENT                         DIVISION POINT =      2.00
V030        PAST NEIGHBOR WATCH                            DIVISION POINT =      2.00
V031        PAST NEIGHBOR MAIL DELIVERY                    DIVISION POINT =      2.00
V032        PAST NEIGHBOR HOUSE  CK                        DIVISION POINT =      2.00
V033        PASTHOUSE LIGHT                                DIVISION POINT =      2.00
* * * * * * * * * * *  RESP = 1 FOR VALUES EQUAL TO DIVISION POINT AND ABOVE  * * * * * * * * * * *

ITEM.. V033      V030      V031      V032      V029      V028
RESP.. 0    1 I 0    1 I 0    1 I 0    1 I 0    1 I 0    1 I TOTAL
-------I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I
P      I         I         I         I         I         I         I
A  6 I  0   451I  0   451I  0   451I  0   451I  0   451I  0   451I    45
S    I------ERRI         I         I         I         I         I
M    I         I         I         I         I         I         I
O  5 I 49   291I 21   571I  3   791I  3   751I  2   761I  0   781I    78
U    I         I------ERRI         I         I         I         I
S    I         I         I         I         I         I         I
E  4 I 85   181I 87   161I 18   851I  8   951I  5   981I  3   1001I   103
     I         I         I------ERRI         I         I         I
     I         I         I         I         I         I         I
   3 I 100   231I 118    51I 77    461I 48   751I 17   1061I 9   1141I   123
     I         I         I         I------ERRI         I         I
     I         I         I         I         I         I         I
   2 I 129    31I 130    11I 119   121I 100   311I 31   1001I 16   1151I   131
     I         I         I         I         I------ERRI         I
     I         I         I         I         I         I         I
   1 I 37    21I 39    01I 38    11I 32    71I 26    131I 25    161I    39
     I         I         I         I         I         I------ERRI
     I         I         I         I         I         I         I
   0 I 15    01I 15    01I 15    01I 15    01I 15    01I 15    01I    15
     I---------I---------I---------I---------I---------I---------I
SUMS   414  120  410  124  270  264  206  328   96  438   68  468    534
PCTS    78   22   77   23   51   49   39   61   18   82   12   88
ERRORS   0   75   21   22   21   59   59   38   55   13   51    0    414

    621 CASES WERE PROCESSED
     87 (OR 14.0 PCT) WERE MISSING

STATISTICS..

COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY = 0.8708
MINIMUM MARGINAL REPRODUCIBILITY = 0.2266
PERCENT IMPROVEMENT = 0.1442
COEFFICIENT OF SCALABILITY = 0.5274
```

TABLE 9: PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME

```
* * * * * * * * *  GUTTMAN  SCALE  (CRIMEIND)  USING  * * * * * * * * *
V037        U.S. CRIME INCREASE                    DIVISION POINT =     2.00
V038        COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE               DIVISION POINT =     2.00
V039        PER       OF COMMUNITY CRIME           DIVISION POINT =     4.00
V040        COMMUNITY CRIME RATE                   DIVISION POINT =     4.00
V041        SAFE ALONE     DURING DAY              DIVISION POINT =     3.00
V042        SAFE ALONE DURING NIGHT                DIVISION POINT =     3.00
* * * * * * * * * * * *  RESP = 1 FOR VALUES EQUAL TO DIVISION POINT AND ABOVE  * * * * * * * * * * * *
```

ITEM..	V041		V039		V037		V042		V040		V038		
RESP..	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	TOTAL
ERR													
6	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	1
ERR													
5	5	11	1	51	0	61	0	61	0	61	0	61	6
ERR													
4	23	111	18	161	11	231	6	281	9	251	1	331	34
ERR													
3	121	41	79	461	70	551	72	531	23	1021	10	1151	125
ERR													
2	157	31	150	101	140	201	120	401	49	1111	24	1361	160
ERR													
1	77	11	73	51	78	01	57	211	55	231	50	281	78
ERR													
0	12	01	12	01	12	01	12	01	12	01	12	01	12
SUMS	395	21	333	83	311	105	267	149	148	268	97	319	416
PCTS	95	5	80	20	75	25	64	36	35	64	23	77	
ERRORS	0	20	1	77	11	75	78	61	81	23	85	0	512

621 CASES WERE PROCESSED
205 (OR 33.0 PCT) WERE MISSING

STATISTICS..

COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY = 0.7949
MINIMUM MARGINAL REPRODUCIBILITY = 0.7584
PERCENT IMPROVEMENT = 0.0365
COEFFICIENT OF SCALABILITY = 0.1509

TABLE 10: CRIME-MORALITY SCALE

```
* * * * * * * * *  G U T T M A N  S C A L E  ( C R I M E M O R )  U S I N G  * * * * * * * * *
V176        ANGRY BLACK ARSONIST                          DIVISION POINT =      3.00
V179        HOT MERCHANDISE                               DIVISION POINT =      3.00
V180        DESTITUTE PROSTITUTE                          DIVISION POINT =      3.00
V181        PRISONER UPRISING                             DIVISION POINT =      3.00
* * * * * * * * * * *  RESP = 1 FOR VALUES EQUAL TO DIVISION POINT AND ABOVE  * * * * * * * * * * *

ITEM.. V181       V180       V179       V176

RESP..  0    1 I  0    1 I  0    1 I  0    1 I TOTAL
-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I-ERR-----I
C    I         I         I         I         I
R  4 I   0  188I   0  188I   0  188I   0  188I   188
I    I------ERRI         I         I         I
M    I         I         I         I         I
E  3 I  47  511I  36  621I  11  871I   4  941I    98
M    I         I------ERRI         I         I
O    I         I         I         I         I
R  2 I  59  151I  61  131I  19  551I   9  651I    74
     I         I         I------ERRI         I
     I         I         I         I         I
   1 I  23   21I  21   41I  21   41I  10  151I    25
     I         I         I         I------ERRI
     I         I         I         I         I
   0 I   8   01I   8   01I   8   01I   8   01I     8
     I---------I---------I---------I---------I
SUMS   137  256  126  267   59  334   31  362   393
PCTS    35   65   32   68   15   85    8   92
ERRORS   0   68   36   17   30    4   23    0   178

   621 CASES WERE PROCESSED
   228 (OR 36.7 PCT) WERE MISSING

STATISTICS..

COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY = 0.8868
MINIMUM MARGINAL REPRODUCIBILITY = 0.7754
PERCENT IMPROVEMENT = 0.4113
COEFFICIENT OF SCALABILITY = 0.4958
```

Prediction Analyses: Introduction

After having examined the degree to which questionnaire items in a pre-designated set end up relating to each other, the next task -- the major task of the presentation of the findings of the survey research component of this project -- is a detailed account of the correlates of crime perception and experience, namely the prediction analysis component. The basic question asked is general and simple: Given the sets dependent variables which we have identified (those variables pertaining to perception of crime and experience and contact with crime in the community), and which we list in detail later, what are the individual and structural variables which are statistically related to them? In other words, which independent variables predict which dependent variables? All the following analyses and tables are designed to answer this basic question.

There are, of course, a wide variety of statistical techniques and tests which one might employ in prediction analysis. Essentially, the task is to examine the relationships among pairs of variables, taking one independent and one dependent variable at a time. This is called bivariate analysis. After examining these relationships, the next stage is to introduce additional variables into the picture, either as control variables (sometimes referred to as "test variables") or as additional independent variables, to see what they explain in combination with the prior independent variables (for example, investigation of statistical interaction is of this sort). These latter analyses, which employ three or more variables simultaneously in a given table or analysis, are called multivariate analyses. (In fact, the factor analyses and Guttman analyses just summarized are both multivariate techniques -three or more variables were entered simultaneously into a given test or procedure).

A variety of techniques are available for both bivariate and multivariate prediction analysis. Some of the more common and well known ones are bivariate and multivariate cross-tabulation, one-way analysis of variance (which is bivariate) and multiple analysis of variance (called MANOVA, a multivariate technique), and the various varieties of bivariate regression and multivariate regression, including Path Analysis and other forms of causal analysis.

Which technique one initially chooses for one's analysis will depend upon many things, such as the levels of measurement of the variables one has (whether nominal, ordinal, interval or ratio), the nature and size of the sample, whether the study is cross-sectional (as is ours) or longitudinal (which ours is not), the nature of assumptions about the population and other such matters. The most important among these, at least in the initial stages, is the level of measurement question. An additional and important consideration is whether,

and to what extent, one has preliminarily designated variables as independent (that is, presumed or suspected causal factors) versus dependent (presumed effects). In certain cases, one can (as with many of our variables) designate a variable as independent on the basis of temporal priority (as with age and gender; both are predetermined variables). In certain cases, intervening (or "mediating") variables are preliminarily designated also. In fact, it is generally known and agreed upon that no meaningful analysis of data of any kind whatever can take place unless some preliminary decisions are made in regard to what are the independent and/or dependent variables to be investigated. (Certain analysis techniques, such as cross-logged correlations, can be used to estimate causal priority in cases where the temporal priority of variables is not ascertainable.)

Our project has been designed to allow the conceptualization, literature review and basic goals of the study to dictate fairly clearly what the preliminary designation of independent and dependent variables looks like. While this, of course, is detailed variable-by-variable in the text following, the reader should at this stage recognize that we are treating the following kinds of phenomena as dependent variables in our study, all of which pertain, in one way or another, to the individual's own perceptions of, feelings about, and experiences with crime in his or her community: Perceptions of trouble in one's neighborhood; fear of crime in one's area; awareness of criminal activity going on in one's area; how one perceives crime in one's own community in relation to the entire country; whether or not one feels safe at night; what one does to one's home to protect it from criminal activity; whether one is aware of reported crimes; whether one actually utilizes police services such as calling the police; whether one has been criminally involved with the police; whether one's friends have been involved with the police; one's psychological attitudes toward the police and how one thinks of the police; the image the police have with the individual; one's own moral attitudes about crime and how it is defined; and other such variables.

The following examples of variables, on the other hand, constitute independent variables (and in some cases, control variables): The particular city, that is, Atlanta vs. Washington, D. C. (we want to know how our respondents differ on all the above kinds of dependent variables in Atlanta as opposed to Washington, D. C.); the particular kind of tract as defined by our 2 x 2 classification of middle vs. low-income and high vs. low crime; the respondent's age; SES characteristics of the responden;, the respondent's gender (male or female); information about the respondent's use of recreational facilities in his or her community; information about the individual's integration into the community and his or her ties to the community (we will see that this cluster of variables, which we have fortunately measured in many

different ways and from many different "angles," will end up being perhaps the most important set of predictors in our entire study); and other variables such as the respondent's degree of alienation, the respondent's self-evaluation, the respondent's home situation in terms of own/rent, number of rooms, etc., and the respondent's religion, church attendance and participation in religious-related activities (as we shall see, this latter set of variables will end up being a surprisingly strong set of predictors). This is, of course, only a brief sampling of the rich list of independent variables which we employ below. As the reader will note, certain of these are unambiguously predetermined and are thus causally prior to our measurement of the dependent variables. Such predetermined variables are: city; tract type; gender; and certain SES characteristics, such as father's occupation.

Given the mix of levels of measurement in our study, the large number of variables and the very exploratory nature of the survey, we have employed bivariate and multivariate crosstabulation, adapted to both nominal and ordinal levels of measurement, for our basic analysis technique for the prediction analyses. (Some multiple ANOVA analyses and one or two selected multiple regression analyses, would be advisable, though they are not yet presented here.) We have already engaged in some data-reduction analyses (factor analysis and Guttman scaling) which will greatly aid the prediction analysis, but still the task has been massive. All told, well over five thousand crosstabulation tables were run -- and these were done after the number of possible tables was first narrowed down on the basis of data-reduction analysis and preliminary selection of variables to be run based on the literature review and other substantive considerations. The tables which follow represent only a small part of the total analysis. Yet the tables to be given below do represent an extensive picure of what we have indeed found, and we have tried not to burden this report unnecessarily with tables which are of minor importance. Nor have we chosen to present only those tables showing statistical significance; we also present non-significant tables (though relatively few) when contrasts are appropriate.

Each table below was subjected to Chi Square analysis in order to determine the level of significance under the null hypothesis. A number of association measures were computed for each crosstabulation table, each having different properties and advantages and disadvantages. We will focus for the most part on Cramer's V and upon the Pearson Contingency Coefficient, C, both of which give a good overall picture of the degree of association or correlation of the two variables in question. We also have calculated the following for each table, as supplementary: Lambda (asymmetric and symmetric); Kendall's Tau; Gamma; Sommer's D; and even Pearson's R. Not all are, of course, appropriate for any given table (which one used will depend among other things upon the level of

measurement of both of the variables). But Cramer's V and the Pearson's C are appropriate for all cross tabulation tables, and we thus use both for each table. We will use V and C as well as any other where appropriate.

All tables following are bivariate. All three-way (or higher) crosstabulations are presented in the next major section of this report. It was decided that in the interests of clarity of presentation, all simple bivariate results will be given first, in that these are the "guts" of the exploratory analysis. Following these bivariate presentation, two kinds of multivariate crosstabulations will be given: The contextual (compositional) analyses, where structural effects of the characteristics of the census tracts are assessed with counterpart individual variables being held simultaneously constant, and finally, further "test" analysis, designed to examine the effect of control variables on the previously-observed bivariate results.

A. PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY CRIME

Our first task is to examine what variables are related to those dependent variables which pertain to the individual's overall perceptions of specific crime activities that take place in his immediate "life space" or the environment immediately surrounding him. The preliminary set of dependent variables consists of the following: Variables 012 through 021. These involve measuring what the respondent indicated on a three-point scale of "not a problem," "somewhat of a problem" and "big problem" (including "don't know" and "no answer") for such things as "troublemakers hanging around" (variable 012 and questionnaire item number 3), "neighbors not getting along" (013), "public drinking" (014), and what, on the basis of the marginals and on the basis of conceptualization, has ended up being our criterion here, variable 017, "fear of crime." (Note that we actually measure fear of crime in a number of different ways, all to come later. This is simply the criterion for this particular set of crime-perception variables which are being discussed at the moment.)

The reader will recall that the Guttman analysis of this same set of variables did not yield a sufficiently scalable set, although the results did come close. It was thus decided to incorporate not only the criterion item (fear of crime) but the others as well, on the logic that since they all do not scale well, they all measure somewhat differing aspects of perceptions of, and fear of, crime. This, in fact, is an advantage and not a disadvantage in using this set of variables, for the findings that can emerge will, as a result, be somewhat richer and more broadly defined.

We proceed, then, to the first actual prediction data table of the report, Table A-1, given below. This table shows the relationship between variable 003 (tract type, using the four-category classification) and variable 017, the criterion variable, fear of crime. From here on, the independent variable will be given on the left side (thus as the rows of the table), and the dependent variable will be given at the top (thus constituting the columns). This is read as "variable 003 BY variable 017" (that is, the independent variable is stated first, in keeping with the now well-established SPSS computer convention).

Before elaborating on this table, variable 002 (Atlanta vs. Washington, D. C.) did not end up being significantly related to any of these dependent variables. This, therefore, means that for our samples in the two cities, the people did not differ in regard to any of these variables. This is, indeed, interesting; we would expect at least some differences, but we found none. As we will see later, however, respondents in Atlanta and Washington, D. C. certainly do differ on other dependent variables to come.

Table A-1 shows a significant (P = .0312 = .03), though not tremendously strong relationship (C = .17) between tract type and fear of crime: In general, those in the middle-income, low-crime tract had the least fear of crime (that is, they showed the highest percent (75%) stating fear of crime was "not a problem"). Those in the low-income, high-crime tract show the highest relative fear of crime (17%, the highest row-calculated* percent in the column, indicated fear was a "big problem"). The importance of this finding lies not only in the combined effects of both tract income and tract crime rate, which are suggested here, but these findings serve as well as a kind of "validation" of our classification of the tract. (Note the separate effects of crime rate for the same income categories and of income category for the same crime rate categories.)

The next interesting thing to note with regard to these variables is that each and every one of the remaining dependent variables is related to tract type in exactly the same way! (We do not show these tables simply in the interest of saving space. On occasion we will follow the procedure of showing the criterion table only, if in fact it indeed reveals the same pattern (and significance) of results as the other tables for the set of dependent variables. In cases where the patterns differ, or when one is significant and another not, then we show those tables as well.)

In other words, the middle-income, low-crime tract showed the highest percent of "not a problem" for the following: Community trouble-makers; confusion among neighbors; public drinking; insulting remarks; "bad elements;" trespassing in yards; people fighting; property damage; and public drug usage. This finding was consistent over all ten tables. Obviously, despite the fact that these dependent variables themselves measure somewhat differing aspects of awareness and perception of crimes in one's area (recall that they do not form a completely uniform Guttman scale), they nonetheless show a clear pattern of correlation with tract type. As we will see, tract type ends up being a very important predictor in the entire study. Just as interestingly, the Atlanta-Washington, D. C. distinction, while it will show up as a moderately good predictor, does not predict as well (relatively) as the tract distinction. Thus, in general, as we will discover as we proceed, differences between tracts within the city predict

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* In any cross tabulation table which puts the independent variable on the left (i.e., by row), the correct percent to use is that computed by row (not by column or by grand total). Thus, for example, in Table A-1: The 70.5% is the result of 103 divided by 146, not by 420. So from now on, for all tables following, the meaningful percent is the topmost one in each cell, i.e., the row percent.

better than differences between the cities (and even for differences between cities controlling for tract type).

We proceed to Table A-2 which shows a significant relationship (P = .005) between the respondent's age category (variable 007) and variable 014, public drinking. In this case, all the other tables except the one for fear of crime (variable 017) were significant. Table A-2, as well as the other tables (not shown), all show this: The older one is, the less one sees crime as a problem. The exact same pattern also shows up for our other measure of respondent's age (variable 260, wherein age was recorded in raw form and then later recategorized on the basis of the marginals -- simply a way of refining our measure of age beyond that categorization exhibited by variable 007): The older the respondent, the less he or she perceives crime to be a problem in the community.

This set of preliminary findings foreshadows what we will soon discover is a general pattern of results that runs throughout our data, and which, indeed, together constitute a main, focused, emergent finding of the entire survey component of the study: That the more ties the individual has with the community, the more clubs he or she is in, the more church attendance, the more involved the individual is with the day-to-day activities of the community -- in other words the more integration of the person into the immediate community social network -- then the less fear that person will have of crime, the safer he will feel during the day and night, the more positive will be his or her attitude toward the police and so on and on for an impressive list. But all this will emerge later, when we will also note some interesting exceptions.

We press on to Tables A-3 through A-12. In this instance, we have decided to present all ten tables which show the relationship between variable 161, which is whether or not the person is a member of a community club (such as a youth organization, sports club, etc.) and some dependent variables (variables 012 all the way through 021). We present all these tables here in order to allow the reader to appreciate the full range of findings.

Table A-3 shows that those who are members of some club -- those who are (thus) "tied to" or involved with the community in this way -- are more likely to report that community troublemakers are "not a problem" (84.2%) than are those who are not members of some club (71.6%) and furthermore, that members are less likely than non-members to say that community troublemakers are a "big problem." While the percent differences are not great, they are nonetheless in the predicted direction and furthermore, the same pattern of findings is present in all but one of the following tables for these variables (the only nonsignificant relationship is in Table A-7, for "bad elements"). Let us look at these patterns a

bit more closely.

Table A-4 shows that club members feel that confusion among neighbors is less of a problem than do non-members (90.5% vs. 79.2%). This relationship is significant (P = .011) and of only moderate magnitude (V = .12, C = .16). Note that the remaining tables show precisely the same pattern. Those who are members of some kind of club are, relative to non-members, more likely to indicate "not a problem" for all of the following: Excessive public drinking; insulting remarks (note the particularly impressive significant level here, P < .0001 [Table A-6] and the relatively stronger degree of association, C = .22); fear of crime (the criterion item); trespassing in yards; people fighting (another impressive significance level here, in Table A-10); property damage; and finally (in Table A-12), public drug usage, showing P = .0017 and C = .18. While 73.9% of club members feel that drug usage is "not a problem" in their community, 60.1% of the non-members feel this way.

In sum then, the overall pattern is that for those who are members of some kind of community club, and thus more functionally integrated into the life of the community (at least by this one indicator, club membership), these persons consider the crimes listed to be significantly less of a problem, as far as they are concerned, than are persons who are not members of any club. These findings thus fit the general pattern that seems to be emerging from the data pertaining to the relationship between community integration and perception and awareness of community crime.

Tables A-13 through A-22 all pertain to the effects of another independent variable, whether or not the person indicated that he or she was actually a member of a neighborhood church. The effects are not as well-patterned as was the case with club membership, but five out of the ten dependent crime-perception variables showed a significant effect. Those who are members of their neighborhood church see the following crimes as less troublesome than those who are not church members: Troublemakers; confusion among neighbors; public drinking; people fighting; and public drug usage. The remaining variables do not reveal a significant relationship to church membership/non-membership. These non-significant tables are shown here for the sake of illustration. Nonetheless, the basic pattern seems to emerge here, too: To the extent that membership in a church in one's community is an indicator of community ties, then to that extent the effect of this upon the tendency for the individual to see crime as less troublesome is a tentative confirmation of the emerging pattern.

In fact, being a member of a church may be no different from being a member of a club in the community, at least in terms of the role both of these variables play with regard

to the dependent variables. Both seem to work the same way on these crime-perception variables. In this sense, the church is simply a kind of club.

Moving to Tables A-23 through A-26, we encounter results which supplement the foregoing, this time in regard to church attendance. In three instances, for the crimes of community troublemaker, insulting remarks and fighting, the more frequently the individual attends church, the more likely he or she is to indicate that the particular crime asked about is not a problem. Equivalently, the more the church attendance, the less likely one is to indicate that the particular crime is a "big problem." The table for the criterion variable (fear of crime, Table A-25) does not, however, reveal a significant relationship, although the other three do. In fact, a tendency for there to be what is called a monotonic relationship may be seen: Note that in Table A-24, for example, in the first column, except for "don't know/no answer," the percents decrease "stepwise" from 90.3% for "once a week" to 87.3% for "two or three times a month" to 77.6% for "once a month" to, finally, 64.5% for "never." This shows us that there is a smooth, clear decrease in the percent of those who feel that insulting remarks are not a problem, as a function of decreasing church attendance. Note also some monotonicity in the third column ("big problem"), in the increasing direction, of course. (Note also that the differences are smaller due to the considerably smaller marginal total.) The significance level for the table is extremely good ($P < .0001$) and $C = .26$. The other two tables which also reveal some monotonicity are Tables A-26 (for "people fighting") and also A-23 (for "community troublemakers").

So it seems that not only does church membership predict these perceptions of crime reasonably well, so, too, does actual amount of church attendance. Once again we have evidence that the more the involvement of the individual with the community (this time as reflected by amount of church attendance), the less problematic crime is seen to be by that individual. There is, however, one qualification which must be placed on this interpretation. Variable 249 represents a question asked of the respondent about church attendance in general, and does not specify whether or not the attendance was at a church in one's own neighborhood. In fact, many of the responses clearly involve churches which could well be outside the neighborhood, given that only a small percent actually indicated membership in a neighborhood church (see the marginal percent in Tables A-13 through A-22 just reviewed).

We arrive at yet another church-related indicator of community involvement and integration into the community: Variable 250, participation in church activities, whose relationship to three of the crime variables is displayed in Tables A-27 through A-29 (in this case only three dependent crime variables showed a significant relationship to the independent

variable). In general, those who participate in church activities are less likely to see troublemakers, fighting and property damage as problems. These findings nicely compliment the prior ones.

We arrive now at still another set of results which tend to confirm the emerging pattern. There are, no doubt, quite a few ways to measure an individual's involvement in the community. One of these, which we did not anticipate in the earlier stages of the study, including the hypothesis-formulating stage, was whether or not the individual (or the head of household) owns or rents his home or room. An individual who owns is more "involved" and "tied" to the community; he has more of a stake in it; he has more of a vested interest in it. It thus makes considerable sense to treat home ownership as an indicator of community integration. If so, then this variable should predict our crime-perception variables in the same way that the previous independent variables have.

This is, in fact, what we obtained, as seen in Tables A-30 through A-33. In each of the following instances, those who own were more likely to say "not a problem" than were those who rent in regard to: Confusion among neighbors; public drinking; bad elements; and our criterion item, fear of crime. All relationships are at an impressive level of significance, and the degrees of association are respectable though not spectacular (the C coefficients are in the .17 to .18 range). But once again, the findings are sufficient to point out the overall effect of community integration on perceptions of the dangerousness and fearsomeness of crime in one's community.

All remaining tables in this section pertain to the effects of two social-psychological variables: Alienation and self-evaluation. These are both treated as independent variables in the analysis. As can be seen from a perusal of the tables (Tables A-34 through A-45), both of these social-psychological variables predict reasonably well -- in fact, somewhat better than we initially suspected. While these two variables themselves may not actually be treated as direct indicators of community integration (and there is, of course, no reason that they should; not all of our predictor variables pertain only to community integration!), they nonetheless provide useful information about the correlates of crime perception. At the very least they are indicators of an individual's overall involvement with society in general: The more the alienation, and/or the lower the self-evaluation, the (perhaps) less the extent to which the individual "fits" into society.

Tables A-34 through A-39 use variable 185, "negative future perspective," as the independent variable. This is one item from the set of items which measure alienation, although it is not the criterion item (the criterion did not show a significant relationship to the dependent crime variables). In general, the tables show that the more negative one's

perspective (the more alienated one is, as indicated by an "agree" or "strongly agree" response to the item), then the more likely one is to indicate that fear of crime, public drinking and so on are problems in the community. The more alienated the respondent, the more likely he or she was to indicate that crime was a problem, especially for "fear of crime;" see Table A-39.

How an individual feels about himself or herself is also evidently predictive of that person's perception of crime in the community in the same way as is alienation. Tables A-40 through A-45 generally show that the more negatively a person feels about himself or herself (the more the degree of agreement on variable 198, feelings of uselessness -- not, incidentally, the criterion item), then the more fear of crime, public drinking and so on are perceived to be a "big problem" in the community. Note, too, the nearly monotonic percents in the "big problem" column in some of these tables (in A-40, A-42 and A-44). This is all indeed quite interesting and informative. How a person feels about himself or herself tells us how worried he or she is about crime in his or her community! It is thus tempting to speculate that how individuals perceive crime and how fearful they are of it in their own neighborhoods is at least in part a function of how they feel about themselves!

This, then, nearly completes the subsection. We note, in summary, what independent variables are reasonably good predictors of how fearful and worried people get about crime in their own neighborhoods: Tract type; age; whether or not the person is a member of some club; whether or not the person is a member of a neighborhood church (suggesting that church membership and club membership play the same kind of role in regard to the dependent variables); amount of attendance at religious services; actual amount of participation in church-related activities; and whether or not one owns or rents his or her home. All these are, directly or indirectly, indicators of the extent of involvement and integration of the individual into his community. The more the evidence of these kinds of involvements, then the less fearful the individual is of neighborhood crime and the less the extent to which crime in the neighborhood is perceived as a problem. Finally, individual alienation, as well as certain kinds of self-evaluation, are predictive of how individuals perceive crimes in their own communities.

Having listed what our predictors are, we might now mention and list the independent variables which did not predict our dependent perception-of-crime variables. There are a few surprises here. Here is the list of variables which, while they were entered into our prediction analysis, did not end up being at all significantly related to the dependent variables: City (Atlanta vs. Washington, D. C.; this is a bit of a surprise); recreation facility availability and use; contact

with relatives in the community; respondent's education; respondent's occupation; respondent's other SES characteristics; all the SES characteristics of the respondent's father or main guardian; maritial status (surprise!); the respondent's own gender -- male vs. female (surprise!); number of persons in the household; who the head of the household was; whether employed or not (surprise!); number of bedrooms in the house; self-named SES; and finally, the respondent's religion. Note very carefully that all other religion-related and church-related variables do predict well. The respondent's actual religion (whether he or she is Baptist, Catholic, etc.) does not predict the dependent variables in this subsection of the report. So it is a matter of how often one goes to church, how involved one is with church activities, etc., that predicts perceptions and fear of crime, not what religion one is. It is always fun to find out these kinds of little surprises. This is what behavioral science research is all about!

TABLE A.1

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

VC03 TRACTID BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME

* PAGE 1 OF

V003	V017 — COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	101	26	6	1	134
	ROW PCT	75.4	19.4	4.5	0.7	21.6
	COL PCT	24.0	20.8	9.4	8.3	
	TOT PCT	16.3	4.2	1.0	0.2	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	103	25	15	3	146
	ROW PCT	70.5	17.1	10.3	2.1	23.5
	COL PCT	24.5	20.0	23.4	25.0	
	TOT PCT	16.6	4.0	2.4	0.5	
3. MIC IN	COUNT	115	43	15	4	177
	ROW PCT	65.0	24.3	8.5	2.3	28.5
	COL PCT	27.4	34.4	23.4	33.3	
	TOT PCT	18.5	6.9	2.4	0.6	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	COUNT	101	31	28	4	164
	ROW PCT	61.6	18.9	17.1	2.4	26.4
	COL PCT	24.0	24.8	43.8	33.3	
	TOT PCT	16.3	5.0	4.5	0.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		420	125	64	12	621
		67.6	20.1	10.3	1.9	100.0

4 OUT OF 16 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.329
CHI SQUARE = 18.38421 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0312
CRAMER'S V = 0.09928
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16948
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02928 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02016
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01084 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.01662 WITH V017 DEP
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01314
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.10950 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0010
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.08843 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0010
GAMMA = 0.16071
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.13506 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.08877 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.10713
ETA = 0.14408 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.10762 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.10501 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0044

TABLE A.2

VCC7 AGE CATEGORY OF RESPONDENT BY V014 EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC

PAGE 1 OF 1

VCC7	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V014 1.0 NOT A PROBLEM	2.0 SOMEWHAT A	3.0 BIG PROB	9.0 DON'T KNOW-NO ANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. TEENAGE		77	25	11	3	116
		65.3	21.2	11.0	2.5	18.0
		17.0	29.8	22.8	11.5	
		12.4	4.0	2.1	0.5	
2. YOUNG ADULT		83	18	21	7	129
		64.3	14.0	16.3	5.4	20.8
		18.9	21.4	36.8	26.9	
		13.4	2.9	3.4	1.1	
3. ADULT		228	26	20	11	288
		79.2	10.1	6.9	3.8	46.4
		50.2	34.5	35.1	42.3	
		36.7	4.7	3.2	1.8	
9. SENIOR		58	12	3	5	78
		74.4	15.4	3.8	6.4	12.6
		12.8	14.3	5.3	19.2	
		9.3	1.9	0.5	0.8	
9. DON'T KNOW-NO ANSW		8	0	0	0	8
		100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3
		1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	
		1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		454	84	57	26	621
		73.1	13.5	9.2	4.2	100.0

5 CUT OF 20 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.335
CHI SQUARE = 28.38073 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0049
CRAMER'S V = 0.12394
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.20908
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00300 WITH VCC7 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00200
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01801 WITH VCC7 DEPENDENT. = 0.02781 WITH V014 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02186
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.11000 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0010
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.08052 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0010
GAMMA = -0.19369
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.13818 WITH VCC7 DEPENDENT. = -0.08756 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.10720

TABLE A.3

CROSSTABULATION OF V161 CELL AFFILIATION BY V012 COMMUNITY TROUBLE MAKERS — PAGE 1 OF 1

V161	V012	1. NOT A PROBLEM	2. SOMEWHAT A PR	3. BIG PROBLEM	9. DONT KNOW-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. YES	COUNT	207	21	13	4	241
	ROW PCT	85.9	8.7	5.4	1.7	38.8
	COL PCT	42.5	27.6	27.1	21.1	
	TOT PCT	32.7	3.4	2.1	0.6	
2. NO	COUNT	262	55	35	14	366
	ROW PCT	71.6	15.0	9.6	3.8	58.9
	COL PCT	53.8	72.4	72.9	73.7	
	TOT PCT	42.2	8.9	5.6	2.3	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	COUNT	13	0	0	1	14
	ROW PCT	92.9	0.0	0.0	7.1	2.3
	COL PCT	2.7	0.0	0.0	5.3	
	TOT PCT	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		478 77.0	76 12.2	48 7.7	19 3.1	621 100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.428
CHI SQUARE = 17.35698 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0081
CRAMER'S V = 0.11822
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16489
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02185 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.02149 WITH V012 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02167
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.11838 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0010
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.07806 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0010
GAMMA = 0.28039
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.13498 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.10377 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.11733
ETA = 0.05899 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.10642 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.09760 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1181

TABLE A.4

CROSSTABULATION OF V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY V013 CONFUSION AMONG NEIGHBORS

V161	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V013 1.1 NOT A PROBLEM	2.1 A SOMEWHAT BIG PROBLEM	3.1	9.1 DONT KNOW-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. YES		219	15	4	2	241
		90.5	6.2	2.5	0.8	38.8
		41.9	23.4	23.1	18.2	
		35.1	2.4	1.0	0.3	
2. NO		290	48	20	8	366
		79.2	13.1	5.5	2.2	58.9
		55.8	75.0	76.9	72.7	
		46.7	7.7	3.2	1.3	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		12	1	0	1	14
		85.7	7.1	0.0	7.1	2.3
		2.3	1.6	0.0	9.1	
		1.9	0.2	0.0	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		520	64	24	11	621
		83.7	10.3	3.9	1.8	100.0

4 CUT OF 12 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.248
CHI SQUARE = 16.53842 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0111
CRAMER'S V = 0.11539
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16106
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01789 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.02329 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02029
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.13998 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.07692 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
GAMMA = 0.37125
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.17809 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.10158 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.12935
ETA = 0.08367 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.10903 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.07895 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0246

TABLE A.5

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F
V161 CLUB AFFILIATIONS BY VC14 EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC
PAGE 1 OF 1

V161	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VC14: NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. YES	COUNT	194	32	11	4	241
	ROW PCT	80.5	13.3	4.6	1.7	38.8
	COL PCT	42.7	38.1	19.3	15.4	
	TOT PCT	31.2	5.2	1.8	0.6	
2. NO	COUNT	248	52	45	21	366
	ROW PCT	67.8	14.2	12.3	5.7	58.9
	COL PCT	54.6	61.9	78.9	80.8	
	TOT PCT	39.9	8.4	7.2	3.4	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	COUNT	12	0	1	1	14
	ROW PCT	85.7	0.0	7.1	7.1	2.3
	COL PCT	2.6	0.0	1.8	3.8	
	TOT PCT	1.9	0.0	0.2	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		454	84	57	26	621
		73.1	13.5	9.2	4.2	100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.586
CHI SQUARE = 21.16400 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0017
CRAMER'S V = 0.13054
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.18154
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02608 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.02341 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02467
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12985 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.09119 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
GAMMA = 0.28615
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.13910 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.12122 WITH VC14 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.12954
ETA = 0.08553 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.14297 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.06266 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0594

TABLE A.6

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY VO15 INSULTING REMARKS

* PAGE 1 OF 1

V161	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VO15: NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NO ANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
YES	1.	209	27	5	0	241
		86.7	11.2	2.1	0.0	38.8
		41.3	32.9	19.2	0.0	
		33.7	4.3	0.8	0.0	
NO	2.	286	54	21	5	366
		78.1	14.8	5.7	1.4	58.9
		56.5	65.9	80.8	71.4	
		46.1	8.7	3.4	0.8	
DONT KNOW NO ANS	9.	11	1	0	2	14
		78.6	7.1	0.0	14.3	2.3
		2.2	1.2	0.0	28.6	
		1.8	0.2	0.0	0.3	
	COLUMN TOTAL	506	82	26	7	621
		81.5	13.2	4.2	1.1	100.0

5 OUT OF 12 (41.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
...IMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.158
...I SQUARE = 32.77708 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.14245
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.22391
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH VO15 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02244 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.02802 WITH VO15 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02504
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.11009 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0024
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.06582 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0024
GAMMA = 0.28383
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.13853 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.08749 WITH VO15 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.10725
ETA = 0.19883 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.18033 WITH VO15 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.17525 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

TABLE A.7

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   [illegible]

V161 [illegible] AFFILIATION [illegible] BY V016 [illegible] ELEMENTS

V016

V161	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW NO ANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
YES	1.	205	23	8	5	241
		85.1	9.5	3.3	2.1	38.8
		39.4	44.2	33.3	20.0	
		33.0	3.7	1.3	0.8	
NO	2.	304	29	15	18	366
		83.1	7.9	4.1	4.9	58.9
		58.5	55.8	62.5	72.0	
		49.0	4.7	2.4	2.9	
DONT KNOW NO ANS	9.	11	0	1	2	14
		78.6	0.0	7.1	14.3	2.3
		2.1	0.0	4.2	8.0	
		1.8	0.0	0.2	0.3	
	COLUMN TOTAL	520	52	24	25	621
		83.7	8.4	3.9	4.0	100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.541
CHI SQUARE = 9.05976 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1702
CRAMER'S V = 0.08541
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.11991
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00961 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.01202 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01068
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.03878 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1587
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.02211 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1587
GAMMA = 0.10219
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.05111 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.02942 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03734
ETA = 0.11601 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.10208 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.09696 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0078

TABLE A.8

CROSSTABULATION OF V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME

PAGE 1 OF 1

V161	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V017 NOT A PROBLEM 1.1	SOMEWHAT 2.1	BIG PROB 3.1	DONT KNO W-NOANSW 9.1	ROW TOTAL
1. YES		160	57	23	1	241
		66.4	23.7	9.5	0.4	38.8
		38.1	45.6	35.9	8.3	
		25.8	9.2	3.7	0.2	
2. NO		249	67	41	9	366
		68.0	18.3	11.2	2.5	58.9
		59.3	53.6	64.1	75.0	
		40.1	10.8	6.6	1.4	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		11	1	0	2	14
		78.6	7.1	0.0	14.3	2.3
		2.6	0.8	0.0	16.7	
		1.8	0.2	0.0	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		420 67.6	125 20.1	64 10.3	12 1.9	621 100.0

0 CUT OF 12 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.271
CHI SQUARE = 19.89143 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0029
CRAMER'S V = 0.12855
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.17617
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01734 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.01978 WITH V017 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01895
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.00721 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4252
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.00537 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4252
GAMMA = -0.01459
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.00729 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = -0.00718 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.00723
ETA = 0.16995 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.09760 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.09574 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0085

TABLE A.9

CROSSTABULATION OF V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY V018 TRESPASSING IN YARDS — PAGE 1 OF 1

V161 CLUB AFFILIATION	V018 NOT A PR OBLEM	V018 SOMEWHAT A	V018 BIG PROB LEM	V018 DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. YES	171	53	15	2	241
	71.0	22.0	6.2	0.8	38.8
	38.1	43.1	40.5	16.7	
	27.5	8.5	2.4	0.3	
2. NO	268	68	22	6	364
	73.6	18.6	6.0	2.2	58.9
	59.7	55.3	59.5	66.7	
	43.2	11.0	3.5	1.3	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	10	2	0	2	14
	71.4	14.3	0.0	14.3	2.3
	2.2	1.6	0.0	16.7	
	1.6	0.3	0.0	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL	449	123	37	12	621.
	72.3	19.8	6.0	1.9	100.0

0 CUT OF 12 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.271
CHI SQUARE = 14.73808 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0224
CRAMER'S V = 0.10893
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.15226
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V018 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00599 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00955 WITH V018 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00776
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.01327 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3695
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.00929 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3695
GAMMA = -0.02824
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.01427 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = -0.01215 WITH V018 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.01324
ETA = 0.15045 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.10692 WITH V018 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.10527 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0043

TABLE A.10

CROSSTABULATION OF V161 GANG AFFILIATION BY V019 PEOPLE FIGHTING

V161 GANG AFFILIATION	V019 PEOPLE FIGHTING: 1. NOT A PROBLEM	2. SOMEWHAT A PROBLEM	3. BIG PROBLEM	9. DONT KNOW-NO ANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. YES	209	24	6	0	241
	86.7	10.8	2.5	0.0	38.8
	41.4	32.1	21.4	0.0	
	33.7	4.2	1.0	0.0	
2. NO	288	55	22	5	366
	77.6	15.0	6.0	1.4	58.9
	56.2	67.9	78.8	71.4	
	45.7	8.9	3.5	0.8	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	12	0	0	2	14
	85.7	0.0	0.0	14.3	2.3
	2.4	0.0	0.0	28.6	
	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL	505	81	28	7	621
	81.3	13.0	4.5	1.1	100.0

5 CUT OF 12 (41.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.158
CHI SQUARE = 36.49108 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.16652
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.22923
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02619 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.03202 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02879
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.10737 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0029
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.06447 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0029
GAMMA = 0.23758
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.13452 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.09570 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.10970
ETA = 0.19566 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.17198 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.16933 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

TABLE A.11

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *   C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
   V161     [illegible] AFFILIATION                              BY  V020      PROPERTY DAMAGE
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * PAGE  1 OF  1

                   V020
            COUNT  I
            ROW PCT INOT A PR SOMEWHAT BIG PROB DONT KNO   ROW
            COL PCT IOBLEM    A        LEM      W-NOANSW  TOTAL
            TOT PCT I     1.I     2.I     3.I      4.I
V161        --------I--------I--------I--------I--------I
               1.   I   205  I    24  I    10  I     2  I   241
  YES               I  85.1  I  10.0  I   4.1  I   0.8  I  38.8
                    I  40.2  I  34.3  I  35.7  I  15.4  I
                    I  33.0  I   3.9  I   1.6  I   0.3  I
                   -I--------I--------I--------I--------I
               2.   I   294  I    45  I    18  I     9  I   366
  NO                I  80.3  I  12.3  I   4.9  I   2.5  I  58.9
                    I  57.6  I  64.3  I  64.3  I  69.2  I
                    I  47.3  I   7.2  I   2.9  I   1.4  I
                   -I--------I--------I--------I--------I
               9.   I    11  I     1  I     0  I     2  I    14
  DONT KNOW NO ANS  I  78.6  I   7.1  I   0.0  I  14.3  I   2.3
                    I   2.2  I   1.4  I   0.0  I  15.4  I
                    I   1.8  I   0.2  I   0.0  I   0.3  I
                   -I--------I--------I--------I--------I
            COLUMN     510       70       28       13      621
             TOTAL    82.1     11.3      4.5      2.1    100.0

   3 OUT OF    12 ( 25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
 MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY =  0.293
 CHI SQUARE =     14.18839 WITH    6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM   SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0276
 CRAMER'S V =     0.10688
 CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT =     0.14986
 LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.00000 WITH V161     DEPENDENT.          =  0.00000 WITH V020     DEPENDENT.
 LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) =  0.00000
 UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.01024 WITH V161     DEPENDENT.          =  0.01249 WITH V020     DEPENDENT.
 UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) =  0.01124
 KENDALL'S TAU B =     0.06312  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0521
 KENDALL'S TAU C =     0.03736  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0521
 GAMMA =     0.16236
 SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.08024 WITH V161     DEPENDENT.          =  0.04966 WITH V020 .   DEPENDENT.
 SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) =  0.06135
 ETA =  0.14179 WITH V161     DEPENDENT.          =  0.12432 WITH V020     DEPENDENT.
 PEARSON'S R =  0.12286  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0011
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TABLE A.12

CROSSTABULATION OF V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY V021 PUBLIC DRUG USAGE

V161	V021 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NOT A PROBLEM 1.1	A BIG PROB 2.1	SOMEWHAT OF A PROB 3.1	DONT KNOW-NO ANSW 9.1	ROW TOTAL
YES	1.	178	35	19	9	241
		73.9	14.5	7.9	3.7	38.8
		93.9	37.6	29.2	17.0	
		28.7	5.6	3.1	1.4	
NO	2.	220	58	45	43	366
		60.1	15.8	12.3	11.7	58.9
		53.7	62.4	69.2	81.1	
		35.4	9.3	7.2	6.9	
DONT KNOW NO ANS	9.	12	0	1	1	14
		85.7	0.0	7.1	7.1	2.3
		2.9	0.0	1.5	1.5	
		1.9	0.0	0.2	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		410	93	65	53	621
		66.0	15.0	10.5	8.5	100.0

3 CUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.195
CHI SQUARE = 21.13823 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0017
CRAMER'S V = 0.13094
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.18143
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V021 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02583 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.01965 WITH V021 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02232
KENDALL'S TAU_B = 0.12634 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0009
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.09710 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0009
GAMMA = 0.25277
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.12367 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.12907 WITH V021 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.1263
ETA = 0.06760 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.16308 WITH V021 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.04965 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1333

TABLE A.13

CROSSTABULATION OF

V172 NEIGHBORHOOD-CHURCH. BY V012 COMMUNITY TROUBLE MAKERS

V172	V012 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1.0 NOT A PROBLEM	2.0 SOMEWHAT A PROBLEM	3.0 BIG PROBLEM	9.0 DON'T KNOW-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
0.		264	55	35	13	367
		71.9	15.0	9.5	3.5	59.1
		55.2	72.4	72.9	68.4	
		42.5	8.9	5.6	2.1	
1.		78	8	3	0	85
YES		87.2	9.4	3.5	0.0	13.7
		15.8	10.5	6.3	0.0	
		11.9	1.3	0.5	0.0	
9.		140	13	10	6	169
		82.8	7.7	5.9	3.6	27.2
		29.3	17.1	20.8	31.6	
		22.5	2.1	1.6	1.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		478	76	48	19	621
		77.0	12.2	7.7	3.1	100.0

1 CUT OF 12 (8.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.661
CHI SQUARE = 15.98988 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0138
CRAMER'S V = 0.11385
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.15841
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01659 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.02038 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01829
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.11953 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.08317 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007
GAMMA = -0.27480
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.14378 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.09537 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.11752
ETA = 0.10436 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.10672 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.02688 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2539

TABLE A.14

V172	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1.1	2.1	3.1	4.1	ROW TOTAL
0.		292	47	20	8	367
		79.6	12.8	5.4	2.2	59.1
		56.2	73.4	76.9	72.7	
		47.0	7.6	3.2	1.3	
1.		78	5	1	1	85
		91.8	5.9	1.2	1.2	13.7
		15.0	7.8	3.8	9.1	
		12.6	0.8	0.2	0.2	
5.		150	12	5	2	169
		88.8	7.1	3.0	1.2	27.2
		28.8	18.8	19.2	18.2	
		24.2	1.9	0.8	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		520	64	26	11	621
		83.7	10.3	4.2	1.8	100.0

3 CUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.956
CHI SQUARE = 12.14328 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0588
CRAMER'S V = 0.09888
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.13946
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01334 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01810 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01565
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.11823 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0009
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.07088 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0009
GAMMA = -0.32151
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.16510 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.08467 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.11193
ETA = 0.09225 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.09850 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.08129 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0035

TABLE A.15

[illegible] BY V014 PASSIVE ORIENTING PUBLIC

V172	V014	1.1	2.1	3.1	9.1	ROW TOTAL
	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NOT A PR OBLEM	SOMEWHAT OF A PR OBLEM	BIG PROB LEM	DON'T KNO W-NO ANSW	
0.		250	52	45	20	367
		68.1	14.2	12.3	5.4	59.1
		55.1	61.9	79.9	76.9	
		40.9	8.4	7.2	3.2	
1.		73	8	2	2	85
YES		85.9	9.4	2.4	2.4	13.7
		16.1	9.5	3.5	7.7	
		11.8	1.3	0.3	0.3	
9.		131	24	10	4	169
		77.5	14.2	5.9	2.4	27.2
		28.9	28.6	17.5	15.4	
		21.1	3.9	1.6	0.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		454	84	57	26	621
		73.1	13.5	9.2	4.2	100.0

1 CUT OF 12 (8.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 3.550
CHI SQUARE = 18.31883 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0055
CRAMER'S V = 0.12185
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16927
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01751 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01927 WITH V014 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01835
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.11842 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.08772 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007
GAMMA = -0.25353
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.13380 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.10981 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.11755
ETA = 0.10229 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.12491 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.08331 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0190

TABLE A.16

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F

V172 NEIGHBORHOOD CHURCH BY V015 INSULTING REMARKS

V172	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
	0.	287	54	21	5	367
		78.2	14.7	5.7	1.4	59.1
		56.7	65.9	80.8	71.4	
		46.2	8.7	3.4	0.8	
YES	1.	76	8	1	0	85
		89.4	9.4	1.2	0.0	13.7
		15.0	9.8	3.8	0.0	
		12.2	1.3	0.2	0.0	
	9.	143	20	4	2	169
		84.6	11.8	2.4	1.2	27.2
		28.3	24.4	15.4	28.6	
		23.0	3.2	0.6	0.3	
	COLUMN TOTAL	506	82	26	7	621
		81.5	13.2	4.2	1.1	100.0

4 OUT OF 12 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.958
CHI SQUARE = 9.52954 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1459
CRAMER'S V = 0.08759
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.12294
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00971 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01477 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01173
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.08745 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0103
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.05515 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0103
GAMMA = -0.22104
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.11606 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.06589 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.08406
ETA = 0.07071 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.06222 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.03627 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1835

TABLE A.17

. . . . . CROSSTABULATION OF . . . . . PAGE 1 OF 1

V172 BY V016 FOR ELEMENTS

	V016				
COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1.00 A PROBLEM	2.00 SOMEWHAT A	3.00 BIG PROB LEM	4.00 DON'T KNO W-NOAANSW	ROW TOTAL
V172	1.1	2.1	3.1	4.1	
0.	304	70	15	10	367
	82.8	8.2	4.1	4.9	59.1
	58.5	57.7	62.5	72.0	
	49.0	4.8	2.4	2.9	
1.	74	6	3	2	85
YES	87.1	7.1	3.5	2.4	13.7
	14.2	11.5	12.5	8.0	
	11.9	1.0	0.5	0.3	
9.	142	16	6	5	169
	84.0	9.5	3.6	3.0	27.2
	27.3	30.8	25.0	20.0	
	22.9	2.6	1.0	0.8	
COLUMN TOTAL	520	92	24	25	621
	83.7	8.9	3.9	4.0	100.0

2 CUT OF 12 (16.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 3.285
CHI SQUARE = 2.47182 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.8716
CRAMER'S V = 0.04981
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.06297
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00222 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00340 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00268
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.02499 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2532
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.01505 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2532
GAMMA = -0.04369
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.03478 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.01758 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.02366
ETA = 0.04356 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.05619 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.03459 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1967

TABLE A.18

CROSSTABULATION OF

V172 NEIGHBORHOOD - CHURCH BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME

V172	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V017 NOT A PROBLEM -- 1.1	SOMEWHAT 2.1	BIG PROB 3.1	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.1	ROW TOTAL
NO		251	66	41	9	367
		68.4	18.0	11.2	2.5	59.1
		59.8	52.8	64.1	75.0	
		40.4	10.6	6.6	1.4	
YES		56	22	7	0	85
		65.9	25.9	8.2	0.0	13.7
		13.3	17.6	10.9	0.0	
		9.0	3.5	1.1	0.0	
9.		113	37	16	3	169
		66.9	21.9	9.5	1.8	27.2
		26.9	29.6	25.0	25.0	
		18.2	6.0	2.6	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		420 67.6	125 20.1	64 10.3	12. 1.9	621 100.0

2 CUT OF 12 (16.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.643
CHI SQUARE = 5.49632 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4819
CRAMER'S V = 0.06652
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.09366
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00604 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00631 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00617
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.00948 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4519
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.00952 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4519
GAMMA = 0.00852
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00477 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00420 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00447
ETA = 0.03694 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.04770 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R =-0.00677 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4841

TABLE A.19

CROSSTABULATION OF V172 NEIGHBORHOOD- CHURCH BY V018 TRESPASSING IN YARDS

V172	V018 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. INCT A PROBLEM	2. A PR SOMEWHAT	3. BIG PROB	9. DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
0.		267	70	22	8	367
		72.8	19.1	6.0	2.2	59.1
		59.5	56.9	59.5	66.7	
		43.0	11.3	3.5	1.3	
1. YES		61	17	6	1	85
		71.8	20.0	7.1	1.2	13.7
		13.6	13.8	16.2	8.3	
		9.8	2.7	1.0	0.2	
9.		121	36	9	3	169
		71.6	21.3	5.3	1.8	27.2
		26.9	29.3	24.3	25.0	
		19.5	5.8	1.4	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		449	123	37	12	621
		72.3	19.8	6.0	1.9	100.0

2 CUT OF 12 (16.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.643
CHI SQUARE = 0.99765 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.9859
CRAMER'S V = 0.02828
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.03957
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V018 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00088 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00103 WITH V018 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00095
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.00756 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4200
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.00558 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4200
GAMMA = 0.01510
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00857 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00666 WITH V018 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00750
ETA = 0.02767 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01973 WITH V018 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R =-0.00637 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4371

TABLE A.20

V172 NEIGHBORHOOD - CHURCH BY V019 PEOPLE FIGHTING PAGE 1 OF 1

	V019				
COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	INDI A_PR OBLEM 1.1	SOMEWHAT A 2.1	LTG PROB LEM 3.1	DONT KNO W-NOANSW 9.1	ROW TOTAL
V172					
0.	285 / 77.7 / 56.4 / 45.9	55 / 15.0 / 67.9 / 8.9	22 / 6.0 / 78.6 / 3.5	5 / 1.4 / 71.4 / 0.8	367 / 59.1
1. YES	78 / 91.8 / 15.4 / 12.6	7 / 8.2 / 8.6 / 1.1	0 / 0.0 / 0.0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0 / 0.0 / 0.0	85 / 13.7
9.	142 / 84.0 / 28.1 / 22.9	19 / 11.2 / 23.5 / 3.1	6 / 3.6 / 21.4 / 1.0	2 / 1.2 / 28.6 / 0.3	169 / 27.2
COLUMN TOTAL	505 / 81.3	81 / 13.0	28 / 4.5	7 / 1.1	621 / 100.0

9 CUT OF 12 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.958
CHI SQUARE = 12.00323 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0619
CRAMER'S V = 0.09831
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.13770
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01493 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.02168 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01739
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.09126 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0078
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.05780 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0078
GAMMA = -0.23145
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.12060 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.08908 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.08783
ETA = 0.05519 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.10422 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.02928 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2335

TABLE A.21

CROSSTABULATION OF ... BY V020 PROPERTY DAMAGE ... PAGE 1 OF 1

V172	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V020 NOT A PROBLEM 1.1	SOMEWHAT A PROBLEM 2.1	BIG PROBLEM 3.1	DON'T KNOW-NO ANSW 9.1	ROW TOTAL
0.		295	45	19	5	367
		80.4	12.3	4.9	2.5	59.1
		57.8	64.3	69.3	69.2	
		47.5	7.2	2.9	1.9	
1.		75	7	1	2	85
YES		88.2	8.2	1.2	2.4	13.7
		14.7	10.0	3.6	15.4	
		12.1	1.1	0.2	0.3	
9.		140	18	9	2	169
		82.8	10.7	5.3	1.2	27.2
		27.5	25.7	32.1	15.4	
		22.5	2.9	1.4	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		510	70	28	13	621
		82.1	11.3	4.5	2.1	100.0

3 CUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.779
CHI SQUARE = 4.99738 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.5441
CRAMER'S V = 0.06343
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.08935
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V020 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00518 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00773 WITH V020 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00621
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.04058 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1907
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.02533 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1907
GAMMA = -0.10115
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.03491 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.03027 WITH V020 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.03089
ETA = 0.04575 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.04585 WITH V020 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.03406 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1984

TABLE A.22

V172 NEIGHBORHOOD- CHURCH BY V021 PUBLIC DRUG USAGE

V172	V021 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1.0 NOT A PROBLEM	2.0 A PR	3.0 SOMEWHAT BIG PROB LEM	9.0 DONT KNOW-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
	0.	222	58	45	42	367
		60.5	15.8	12.3	11.4	59.1
		54.1	62.4	69.2	79.2	
		35.7	9.3	7.2	6.8	
YES	1.	76	9	4	2	85
		82.4	10.6	4.7	2.4	13.7
		17.1	9.7	6.2	3.8	
		11.3	1.4	0.6	0.3	
	9.	110	26	16	9	169
		65.8	15.4	9.5	5.3	27.2
		28.8	28.0	24.6	17.0	
		19.0	4.2	2.6	1.4	
	COLUMN TOTAL	410	93	65	53	621
		66.0	15.0	10.5	8.5	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 26.25484 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
CRAMER'S V = 0.12770
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.17773
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V021 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01918 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01789 WITH V021 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01852
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.11830 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0006
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.09589 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0006
GAMMA = -0.22875
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.12214 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.11458 WITH V021 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.11824
ETA = 0.08769 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.15837 WITH V021 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.08651 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0156

TABLE A.23

CROSSTABULATION OF V249 RELIGIOUS SERVICES ATTENDANCE BY V012 COMMUNITY TROUBLE MAKERS

V249	V012	1. NOT A PR OBLEM	2. SOMEWHAT A PROBLEM	3. BIG PROBLEM	9. DONT KNOW-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. ONCE A WEEK O	COUNT	144	15	12	4	175
	ROW PCT	82.3	8.6	6.9	2.3	28.2
	COL PCT	30.1	19.7	25.0	21.1	
	TOT PCT	23.2	2.4	1.9	0.6	
2. TWO OR THREE A M	COUNT	112	8	11	3	134
	ROW PCT	83.6	6.0	8.2	2.2	21.6
	COL PCT	23.4	10.5	22.9	15.8	
	TOT PCT	18.0	1.3	1.8	0.5	
3. ONCE A MONTH	COUNT	132	20	15	6	183
	ROW PCT	72.1	10.4	8.2	3.3	29.5
	COL PCT	27.6	26.3	31.2	31.6	
	TOT PCT	21.3	3.2	2.4	1.0	
5. NEVER	COUNT	56	22	10	5	93
	ROW PCT	60.2	23.7	10.8	5.4	15.0
	COL PCT	11.7	28.9	20.8	26.3	
	TOT PCT	9.0	3.5	1.6	0.8	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	COUNT	34	1	0	1	36
	ROW PCT	94.4	2.8	0.0	2.8	5.8
	COL PCT	7.1	1.3	0.0	5.3	
	TOT PCT	5.5	0.2	0.0	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		478	76	48	19	621
		77.0	12.2	7.7	3.1	100.0

0 OUT OF 20 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.101
CHI SQUARE = 34.57969 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0005
CRAMER'S V = 0.11624
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.22966
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02740 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02065
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02001 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.03927 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02652
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.09439 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0037
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.08819 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0037
SOMER'S D = 0.17294
SOMER'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.13263 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.06717 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
SOMER'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.09916

TABLE A.24

CROSSTABULATION OF V249 RELIGIOUS SERVICES ATTENDANCE BY V015 INSULTING REMARKS

V249	V015 NOT A PROBLEM 1.1	SOMEWHAT A PR 2.1	BIG PROB 3.1	DONT KNO W-NOANSW 9.1	ROW TOTAL
1. ONCE A WEEK O	158	11	6	0	175
	90.3	6.3	3.4	0.0	28.2
	31.2	13.4	23.1	0.0	
	25.4	1.8	1.0	0.0	
2. TWO OR THREE A M	117	12	3	2	134
	87.3	9.0	2.2	1.5	21.6
	23.1	14.6	11.5	28.6	
	18.8	1.9	0.5	0.3	
3. ONCE A MONTH	142	31	10	0	183
	77.6	16.9	5.5	0.0	29.5
	28.1	37.8	38.5	0.0	
	22.9	5.0	1.6	0.0	
5. NEVER	60	23	7	3	93
	64.5	24.7	7.5	3.2	15.0
	11.9	28.0	26.9	42.9	
	9.7	3.7	1.1	0.5	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	29	5	0	2	36
	80.6	13.9	0.0	5.6	5.8
	5.7	6.1	0.0	28.6	
	4.7	0.8	0.0	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL	506	82	26	7	621
	81.5	13.2	4.2	1.1	100.0

8 OUT OF 20 (40.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.406
CHI SQUARE = 45.57706 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.15641
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.26149
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04338 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03436
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02495 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.06050 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03533
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.17559 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.11497 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.34861
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.27223 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.11325 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.

TABLE A.25

CROSSTABULATION OF V249 RELIGIOUS SERVICES ATTENDANCE BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME

V249	V017 NOT-A PROBLEM (1.1)	SOMEWHAT A PR (2.1)	BIG PROBLEM (3.1)	DONT KNOW-NOANSW (9.1)	ROW TOTAL
1. ONCE A WEEK O	124	34	14	3	175
	70.9	19.4	8.0	1.7	28.2
	29.5	27.2	21.9	25.0	
	20.0	5.5	2.3	0.5	
2. TWO OR THREE A M	92	25	16	1	134
	68.7	18.7	11.9	0.7	21.6
	21.9	20.0	25.0	8.3	
	14.8	4.0	2.6	0.2	
3. ONCE A MONTH	117	42	21	3	183
	63.9	23.0	11.5	1.6	29.5
	27.9	33.6	32.8	25.0	
	18.8	6.8	3.4	0.5	
5. NEVER	63	16	11	3	93
	67.7	17.2	11.8	3.2	15.0
	15.0	12.8	17.2	25.0	
	10.1	2.6	1.8	0.5	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	24	8	2	2	36
	66.7	22.2	5.6	5.6	5.8
	5.7	6.4	3.1	16.7	
	3.9	1.3	0.3	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL	420	125	64	12	621
	67.6	20.1	10.3	1.9	100.0

6 OUT OF 20 (30.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.696
CHI SQUARE = 8.89058 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.7122
CRAMER'S V = 0.06908
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.11880
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01598 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01095
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00453 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.00756 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00567
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.04030 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1249
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.03285 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1249
GAMMA = 0.06583
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.05018 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.03236 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03935

TABLE A.26

CROSSTABULATION OF

V249 RELIGIOUS SERVICES ATTENDANCE BY V019 PEOPLE FIGHTING

V249	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V019 1.1 NOT A PROBLEM	2.1 A PR SOMEWHAT BIG	3.1 PROB LEM	9.1 DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. ONCE A WEEK O		153	16	5	1	175
		87.4	9.1	2.9	0.6	28.2
		30.3	19.8	17.9	14.3	
		24.6	2.6	0.8	0.2	
2. TWO OR THREE A M		113	16	4	1	134
		84.3	11.9	3.0	0.7	21.6
		22.4	19.8	14.3	14.3	
		18.2	2.6	0.6	0.2	
3. OINCE A MONTH		146	21	15	1	183
		79.8	11.5	8.2	0.5	29.5
		28.9	25.9	53.6	14.3	
		23.5	3.4	2.4	0.2	
5. NEVER		64	23	4	2	93
		68.8	24.7	4.3	2.2	15.0
		12.7	28.4	14.3	28.6	
		10.3	3.7	0.6	0.3	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		29	5	0	2	36
		80.6	13.9	0.0	5.6	5.8
		5.7	6.2	0.0	28.6	
		4.7	0.8	0.0	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		505	81	28	7	621
		81.3	13.0	4.5	1.1	100.0

8 OUT OF 20 (40.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.406

CHI SQUARE = 32.29396 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0012

CRAMER'S V = 0.13166

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.22233

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02283 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01805

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01526 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.03661 WITH V019 DEPENDENT

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02154

KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.11895 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0004

KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.07821 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0004

GAMMA = 0.23703

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.18359 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.07704 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.10854

TABLE A.27

CROSSTABULATION OF V250 PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH ACTIVITIES BY V012 COMMUNITY TROUBLE MAKERS

V250	V012 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. NOT A PROBLEM	2. SOMEWHAT A	3. BIG PROBLEM	9. DONT KNOW-NOANS	ROW TOTAL
1. YES		199	19	19	4	241
		82.6	7.9	7.9	1.7	38.8
		41.6	25.0	39.6	21.1	
		32.0	3.1	3.1	0.6	
2. NO		232	53	23	12	320
		72.5	16.6	7.2	3.8	51.5
		48.5	69.7	47.9	63.2	
		37.4	8.5	3.7	1.9	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		47	4	6	3	60
		78.3	6.7	10.0	5.0	9.7
		9.8	5.3	12.5	15.8	
		7.6	0.6	1.0	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		478	76	48	19	621
		77.0	12.2	7.7	3.1	100.0

2 OUT OF 12 (16.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.936
CHI SQUARE = 15.28269 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0182
CRAMER'S V = 0.11093
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.15498
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01357 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.01663 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01495
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.08031 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0162
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.05670 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0162
GAMMA = 0.17242
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.09803 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.06580 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.07874
ETA = 0.05944 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.08418 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.04812 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1156

TABLE A.28

V250 PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH ACTIVITIES BY V019 PEOPLE FIGHTING

V250	V019 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1.0 NOT A PROBLEM	1.1 A	2.1 SOMEWHAT BIG PROB	3.1	9.0 DONT KNO W-NOANS	ROW TOTAL
1. YES		232	20	8	1	1	241
		88.0	6.3	3.3	0.4	14.3	38.8
		42.0	24.7	28.6	14.3		
		34.1	3.2	1.3	0.2		
2. NO		250	47	19	4	1.3	320
		78.1	14.7	5.9	1.3	57.1	51.5
		49.5	58.0	67.9	57.1		
		40.3	7.6	3.1	0.6		
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		43	14	1	2	3.3	60
		71.7	23.3	1.7	28.6		9.7
		8.5	17.3	3.6	0.3		
		6.9	2.3	0.2			
COLUMN TOTAL		505	81	28	7		621
		81.3	13.0	4.5	1.1		100.0

4 OUT OF 12 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.676
CHI SQUARE = 19.08939 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0040
CRAMER'S V = 0.12398
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.17269
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01593 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.02385 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01910
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.13362 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.08589 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
GAMMA = 0.30798
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.17917 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.09965 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.12807
ETA = 0.14231 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.11657 WITH V019 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.09223 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0109

TABLE A.29

CROSSTABULATION OF V250 PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH ACTIVITIES BY V020 PROPERTY DAMAGE

V250	V020 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1.I NOT A PROBLEM	2.I SOMEWHAT A	3.I BIG PROBLEM	9.I DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. YES		208	21	9	3	241
		86.3	8.7	3.7	1.2	38.8
		40.8	30.0	32.1	23.1	
		33.5	3.4	1.4	0.5	
2. NO		254	43	18	5	320
		79.4	13.4	5.6	1.6	51.5
		49.8	61.4	64.3	38.5	
		40.9	6.9	2.9	0.8	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		48	6	1	5	60
		80.0	10.0	1.7	8.3	9.7
		9.4	8.6	3.6	38.5	
		7.7	1.0	0.2	0.8	
COLUMN TOTAL		510	70	28	13	621
		82.1	11.3	4.5	2.1	100.0

2 OUT OF 12 (16.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.256
CHI SQUARE = 18.35696 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0054
CRAMER'S V = 0.12157
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16944
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V020 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01210 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.01800 WITH V020 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01447
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.07857 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0191
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.04976 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0191
GAMMA = 0.18682
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.10689 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.05775 WITH V020 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.07498
ETA = 0.14494 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.12249 WITH V020 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.12124 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0012

TABLE A.30

CROSSTABULATION OF V301 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V013 CONFUSION AMONG NEIGHBORS

V301	V013 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. NOT A PROBLEM	2. SOMEWHAT A PROBLEM	3. BIG PROBLEM	9. DONT KNOW-NOANS	ROW TOTAL
1. RENT		135	28	14	4	181
		74.6	15.5	7.7	2.2	29.1
		26.0	43.8	53.8	36.4	
		21.7	4.5	2.3	0.6	
2. OWN		366	33	10	6	415
		88.2	8.0	2.4	1.4	66.8
		70.4	51.6	38.5	54.5	
		58.9	5.3	1.6	1.0	
3. other		19	3	2	1	25
		76.0	12.0	8.0	4.0	4.0
		3.7	4.7	7.7	9.1	
		3.1	0.5	0.3	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		520	64	26	11	621
		83.7	10.3	4.2	1.8	100.0

0 OUT OF 12 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.993
CHI SQUARE = 20.54375 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0022
CRAMER'S V = 0.12861
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.17395
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01982 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01333
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02046 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.02642 WITH V013 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02306
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.12823 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0035
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.07033 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0005
GAMMA = -0.30369
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.16379 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = -0.10039 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.12499
ETA = 0.12981 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.10778 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.05936 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0697

TABLE A.31

CROSSTABULATION OF V301 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V01N EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC

V301	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V01N 1.0 NOT A PROBLEM	2.0 SOMEWHAT A PROBLEM	3.0 BIG PROBLEM	9.0 DONT KNOW-NOANSWR	ROW TOTAL
1. RENT		114	28	28	11	181
		63.0	15.5	15.5	6.1	29.1
		25.1	33.3	49.1	42.3	
		18.4	4.5	4.5	1.8	
2. OWN		320	54	27	14	415
		77.1	13.0	6.5	3.4	66.8
		70.5	64.3	47.4	53.8	
		51.5	8.7	4.3	2.3	
3. other		20	2	2	1	25
		80.0	8.0	8.0	4.0	4.0
		4.4	2.4	3.5	3.8	
		3.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		454	84	57	26	621
		73.1	13.5	9.2	4.2	100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.047
CHI SQUARE = 18.33912 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0061
CRAMER'S V = 0.12050
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16799
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00485 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V01N DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00269
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01816 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.01616 WITH V01N DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01713
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.14297 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.09687 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
GAMMA = -0.29553
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.14775 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = -0.13833 WITH V01N DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.14289
ETA = 0.15538 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.11963 WITH V01N DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.10495 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0045

TABLE A.32

CROSSTABULATION OF V301 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V016 BAD ELEMENTS

V301	V016	1. NOT A PROBLEM	2. A SOMEWHAT BIG PROB	3. LEM	9. DONT KNO WHOADAMS.	ROW TOTAL
1. RENT	COUNT	112	15	9	15	181
	ROW PCT	78.5	8.3	5.0	8.3	29.1
	COL PCT	27.3	28.8	37.5	60.0	
	TOT PCT	22.9	2.9	1.9	2.9	
2. OWN	COUNT	357	36	15	7	415
	ROW PCT	86.0	8.7	3.6	1.7	66.8
	COL PCT	68.7	69.2	62.5	28.0	
	TOT PCT	57.5	5.8	2.4	1.1	
3. other	COUNT	21	1	0	3	25
	ROW PCT	84.0	4.0	0.0	12.0	4.0
	COL PCT	4.0	1.9	0.0	12.0	
	TOT PCT	3.4	0.2	0.0	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		520	52	24	25	621
		83.7	8.4	3.9	4.0	100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.966
CHI SQUARE = 20.84739 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0020
CRAMER'S V = 0.12954
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.18320
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03983 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02636
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02185 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.02659 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02379
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.08822 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0110
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.04858 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0110
GAMMA = -0.22367
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.11218 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = -0.05938 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.08573
ETA = 0.10593 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.16806 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.10179 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0056

TABLE A.33

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F
V301 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME
PAGE 1 OF 1

V301	V017 NOT A PROBLEM (1.)	SOMEWHAT (2.)	BIG PROBLEM (3.)	DONT KNOW-NOANSW (9.)	ROW TOTAL
1. RENT	138	31	27	7	181
	69.1	17.1	14.9	3.9	29.1
	27.6	24.8	42.2	58.3	
	18.7	5.0	4.3	1.1	
2. OWN	288	89	35	3	415
	69.4	21.4	8.4	0.7	66.8
	68.6	71.2	54.7	25.0	
	46.4	14.3	5.6	0.5	
3. FREE other	16	5	2	2	25
	64.0	20.0	8.0	8.0	4.0
	3.8	4.0	3.1	16.7	
	2.6	0.8	0.3	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL	420	125	64	12	621
	67.6	20.1	10.3	1.9	100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.983
CHI SQUARE = 18.93086 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0052
CRAMER'S V = 0.12182
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16978
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01942 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00983
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01721 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.01454 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01576
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.05695 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0655
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.04055 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0685
GAMMA = -0.11411
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.05509 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = -0.05790 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.05649
ETA = 0.10610 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.10269 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.07135 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0384

TABLE A.34

V185 NEGATIVE FUTURE PERSPECTIVE BY V012 COMMUNITY TROUBLE MAKERS — CROSSTABULATION OF — PAGE 1 OF 1

V185	V012	NOT A PROBLEM (1.1)	SOMEWHAT A PR (2.1)	BIG PROB LEM (3.1)	DONT KNO W-NOANSW (9.1)	ROW TOTAL
1. STRONGLY AGREE		91	11	14	3	119
		76.5	9.2	11.8	2.5	19.2
		19.0	19.5	29.2	15.8	
		14.7	1.8	2.3	0.5	
2. AGREE		175	27	19	8	229
		76.4	11.8	8.3	3.5	36.9
		36.6	35.5	39.6	42.1	
		28.2	4.3	3.1	1.3	
3. NO OPINION		29	3	4	4	40
		72.5	7.5	10.0	10.0	6.4
		6.1	3.9	8.3	21.1	
		4.7	0.5	0.6	0.6	
4. DISAGREE		183	35	11	4	233
		78.5	15.0	4.7	1.7	37.5
		38.3	46.1	22.9	21.1	
		29.5	5.6	1.8	0.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		478	76	48	19	621
		77.0	12.2	7.7	3.1	100.0

4 OUT OF 16 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.224
CHI SQUARE = 16.83127 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0514
CRAMER'S V = 0.09505
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16294
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03093 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02260
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00576 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.01571 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01204
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.02807 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2193
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.01920 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2193
GAMMA = -0.05425
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.03733 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = -0.02110 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.02696
ETA = 0.10853 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.11434 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.04154 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1507

TABLE A.35

CROSSTABULATION OF V185 RELATIVE FUTURE PERSPECTIVE BY V013 CONFUSION AMONG NEIGHBORS

V185	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V013 1.1	2.1	3.1	9.1	ROW TOTAL
1. STRONGLY AGREE		92	18	6	3	119
		77.3	15.1	5.0	2.5	19.2
		17.7	28.1	23.1	27.3	
		14.8	2.9	1.0	0.5	
2. AGREE		188	26	13	4	229
		82.3	12.2	5.7	1.7	36.9
		35.4	43.8	50.0	36.4	
		29.6	4.5	2.1	0.6	
3. NO OPINION		33	3	2	2	40
		82.5	7.5	5.0	5.0	6.4
		6.3	4.7	7.7	18.2	
		5.3	0.5	0.3	0.3	
4. DISAGREE		211	15	5	2	233
		90.6	6.4	2.1	0.9	37.5
		40.6	23.4	19.2	18.2	
		34.0	2.4	0.8	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		520	64	26	11	621
		83.7	10.3	4.2	1.8	100.0

7 OUT OF 16 (43.8%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.209
CHI SQUARE = 17.02552 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0483
CRAMER'S V = 0.09560
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16336
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.05928 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04703
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01113 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.02329 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01506
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.13009 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.07644 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
GAMMA = -0.28642
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.20089 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = -0.08428 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.11870
ETA = 0.14533 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.11271 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.09204 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0109

TABLE A.36

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F
V185 POSITIVE FUTURE PERSPECTIVE BY V014 EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC

V185	V014 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
STRONGLY AGREE	1.	80	18	15	6	119
		67.2	15.1	12.6	5.0	19.2
		17.6	21.4	26.3	23.1	
		12.9	2.9	2.4	1.0	
AGREE	2.	168	29	24	8	229
		73.4	12.7	10.5	3.5	36.9
		37.0	34.5	42.1	30.8	
		27.1	4.7	3.9	1.3	
NO OPINION	3.	25	8	4	3	40
		62.5	20.0	10.0	7.5	6.4
		5.5	9.5	7.0	11.5	
		4.0	1.3	0.6	0.5	
DISAGREE	4.	181	29	14	9	233
		77.7	12.4	6.0	3.9	37.5
		39.9	34.5	24.6	34.6	
		29.1	4.7	2.3	1.4	
COLUMN TOTAL		454	84	57	26	621
		73.1	13.5	9.2	4.2	100.0

3 OUT OF 16 (18.8%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.675
CHI SQUARE = 9.74216 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3718
CRAMER'S V = 0.07231
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.12428
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02577 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01902
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00629 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.00907 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00743
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.07111 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0241
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.05179 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0241
GAMMA = -0.12763
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.08886 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = -0.05691 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.06938
ETA = 0.09943 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.07739 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.04231 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1462

TABLE A.37

CROSSTABULATION OF

V185 NEGITIVE FUTURE PERSPECTIVE BY V015 INSULTING REMARKS

V185	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V015 1.0 NOT A PROBLEM	2.0 A SOMEWHAT BIG PROB	3.0 DONT KNOW-NOANSW	9.0	ROW TOTAL
1. STRONGLY AGREE		87	24	7	1	119
		73.1	20.2	5.9	0.8	19.2
		17.2	29.3	26.9	14.3	
		14.0	3.9	1.1	0.2	
2. AGREE		183	34	12	0	229
		79.9	14.8	5.2	0.0	36.9
		36.2	41.5	46.2	0.0	
		29.5	5.5	1.9	0.0	
3. NO OPINION		25	5	1	5	40
		62.5	12.5	2.5	12.5	6.4
		5.0	6.1	3.8	71.4	
		4.0	0.8	0.2	0.8	
4. DISAGREE		207	19	6	1	233
		88.8	8.2	2.6	0.4	37.5
		40.9	23.2	23.1	14.3	
		33.3	3.1	1.0	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		506	82	26	7	621
		81.5	13.2	4.2	1.1	100.0

6 CUT OF 16 (37.5%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.451
CHI SQUARE = 65.10487 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.18654
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.30804
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06443 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04970
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02499 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.04869 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03258
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.12848 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.07965 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
GAMMA = -0.26543
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.18858 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = -0.08754 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.11957
ETA = 0.15427 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.25035 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.05633 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0805

TABLE A.38

CROSSTABULATION OF V185 SOCIETY FUTURE PERSPECTIVE BY V016 PAD ELEMENTS

V185	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V016 1. NOT A PROBLEM	2. SOMEWHAT A PR	3. BIG PROBLEM	9. DONT KNO MENOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. STRONGLY AGREE		55	12	6	6	79
		19.8	10.1	5.0	5.0	19.2
		18.3	23.1	25.0	24.0	
		15.3	1.9	1.0	1.0	
2. AGREE		196	16	7	10	229
		85.6	7.0	3.1	4.4	36.9
		37.7	30.8	29.2	40.0	
		31.6	2.6	1.1	1.6	
3. NO OPINION		29	3	1	5	40
		72.5	7.5	2.5	12.5	6.4
		5.6	5.8	12.5	20.0	
		4.7	0.5	0.5	0.8	
4. DISAGREE		200	21	9	4	233
		85.8	9.0	3.9	1.7	37.5
		38.5	40.4	33.3	16.0	
		32.2	3.4	1.3	0.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		520	52	24	25	621
		83.7	8.4	3.9	4.0	100.0

5 CUT OF 16 (31.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.548
CHI SQUARE = 15.01927 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0905
CRAMER'S V = 0.08977
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.15368
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01586 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01227
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00851 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.01712 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01137
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.03956 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1399
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.02361 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1399
GAMMA = -0.08691
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.06082 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = -0.02573 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.03617
ETA = 0.06234 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.10119 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.06165 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0629

TABLE A.39

CROSSTABULATION OF V185 NEGATIVE FUTURE PERSPECTIVE BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME

V185	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V017 NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A PR 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DON'T KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. STRONGLY AGREE		73	17	27	2	119
		61.3	14.3	22.7	1.7	19.2
		17.9	13.6	42.2	16.7	
		11.8	2.7	4.3	0.3	
2. AGREE		170	37	17	5	229
		74.2	16.2	7.4	2.2	36.9
		40.5	29.6	26.6	41.7	
		27.4	6.0	2.7	0.8	
3. NO OPINION		30	7	0	3	40
		75.0	17.5	0.0	7.5	6.4
		7.1	5.6	0.0	25.0	
		4.8	1.1	0.0	0.5	
4. DISAGREE		147	64	20	2	233
		63.1	27.5	8.6	0.9	37.5
		35.0	51.2	31.3	16.7	
		23.7	10.3	3.2	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		420	125	64	12	621
		67.6	20.1	10.3	1.9	100.0

5 CUT OF 16 (31.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.773
CHI SQUARE = 45.65899 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.15659
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.26165
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.08509 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.05603
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02809 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.03839 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03241
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.00490 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4459
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.00378 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4459
GAMMA = -0.00816
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.00578 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = -0.00416 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.00484
ETA = 0.17133 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.08632 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.03722 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1772

TABLE A.40

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
V198 FEELINGS OF USELESSNESS BY V012 COMMUNITY TROUBLE MAKERS
* PAGE 1 OF 1

V198	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V012: NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
AGREE	2.	153	31	27	6	217
		70.5	14.3	12.4	2.8	34.9
		32.0	40.8	56.3	31.6	
		24.6	5.0	4.3	1.0	
NO OPINION	3.	44	6	3	4	57
		77.2	10.5	5.3	7.0	9.2
		9.2	7.9	6.3	21.1	
		7.1	1.0	0.5	0.6	
DISAGREE	4.	194	32	9	8	243
		79.8	13.2	3.7	3.3	39.1
		40.6	42.1	18.8	42.1	
		31.2	5.2	1.4	1.3	
STRONGLY DISAGRE	5.	87	7	9	1	104
		83.7	6.7	8.7	1.0	16.7
		18.2	9.2	18.8	5.3	
		14.0	1.1	1.4	0.2	
	COLUMN TOTAL	478	76	48	19	621
		77.0	12.2	7.7	3.1	100.0

3 OUT OF 16 (18.8%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.744
CHI SQUARE = 22.08376 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0086
CRAMER'S V = 0.10888
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.18531
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04762 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03455
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01454 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.02388 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01808
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.10722 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0015
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.07365 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0015
GAMMA = -0.20854
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.14329 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = -0.08025 WITH V012 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.10287
ETA = 0.12512 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.08889 WITH V012 , DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R =-0.07377 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0331

TABLE A.41

V198 FEELINGS OF USELESSNESS BY V013 CONFUSION AMONG NEIGHBORS

V198	V013	1. NOT A PR OBLEM	2. SOMEWHAT A	3. BIG PROB LEM	9. DON'T KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
2. AGREE		173	24	16	4	217
		79.7	11.1	7.4	1.8	38.9
		33.3	37.5	61.5	36.4	
		27.9	3.9	2.6	0.6	
3. NO OPINION		45	10	1	1	57
		78.9	17.5	1.8	1.8	9.2
		8.7	15.6	3.9	9.1	
		7.2	1.6	0.2	0.2	
4. DISAGREE		208	24	8	3	293
		85.6	9.9	3.3	1.2	39.1
		40.0	37.5	30.8	27.3	
		33.5	3.9	1.3	0.5	
5. STRONGLY DISAGRE		94	6	1	3	104
		90.4	5.8	1.0	2.9	16.7
		18.1	9.4	3.8	27.3	
		15.1	1.0	0.2	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		520	64	26	11	621
		83.7	10.3	4.2	1.8	100.0

6 CUT OF 16 (37.5%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.010
CHI SQUARE = 16.60628 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0553
CRAMER'S V = 0.09491
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16138
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02361 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01879
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01085 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.02315 WITH V013 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01477
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.09814 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0036
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.05807 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0036
GAMMA = -0.22145
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.15221 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = -0.06328 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.08939
ETA = 0.13025 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.05451 WITH V013 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.09830 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1297

TABLE A.42

* * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * *
V198 FEELINGS OF USELESSNESS BY V014 EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC
PAGE 1 OF 1

V198 / V014 (COUNT, ROW PCT, COL PCT, TOT PCT)	NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NO ANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
AGREE 2.	144	35	29	9	217
	66.4	16.1	13.4	4.1	34.9
	31.7	41.7	50.9	34.6	
	23.2	5.6	4.7	1.4	
NO OPINION 3.	43	4	6	4	57
	75.4	7.0	10.5	7.0	9.2
	9.5	4.8	10.5	15.4	
	6.9	0.6	1.0	0.6	
DISAGREE 4.	185	36	14	8	243
	76.1	14.8	5.8	3.3	39.1
	40.7	42.9	24.6	30.8	
	29.8	5.8	2.3	1.3	
STRONGLY DISAGREE 5.	82	9	8	5	104
	78.8	8.7	7.7	4.8	16.7
	18.1	10.7	14.0	19.2	
	13.2	1.4	1.3	0.8	
COLUMN TOTAL	454	84	57	26	621
	73.1	13.5	9.2	4.2	100.0

2 OUT OF 16 (12.5%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.386
CHI SQUARE = 16.41020 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0588
CRAMER'S V = 0.09385
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16045
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04233 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02936
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01082 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.01592 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01288
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.09815 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0037
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.07031 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0037
GAMMA = -0.17559
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.12066 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = -0.07681 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.09372
ETA = 0.12249 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.07047 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.05167 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0992

TABLE A.43

CROSSTABULATION OF V198 FEELINGS OF USELESSNESS BY V015 INSULTING REMARKS

V198	V015 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1.1 NOT A PROBLEM	2.1 SOMEWHAT A PR	3.1 BIG PROBLEM	9.1 DONT KNOW-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
2. AGREE		166	34	15	2	217
		76.5	15.7	6.9	0.9	34.9
		32.8	41.5	57.7	28.6	
		26.7	5.5	2.4	0.3	
3. NO OPINION		48	6	1	2	57
		84.2	10.5	1.8	3.5	9.2
		9.5	7.3	3.8	28.6	
		7.7	1.0	0.2	0.3	
4. DISAGREE		208	25	8	2	243
		85.6	10.3	3.3	0.8	39.1
		41.1	30.5	30.8	28.6	
		33.5	4.0	1.3	0.3	
5. STRONGLY DISAGREE		84	17	2	1	104
		80.8	16.3	1.9	1.0	16.7
		16.6	20.7	7.7	14.3	
		13.5	2.7	0.3	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		506	82	26	7	621
		81.5	13.2	4.2	1.1	100.0

6 CUT OF 16 (37.5%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.643
CHI SQUARE = 14.44247 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1074
CRAMER'S V = 0.08805
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.15076
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04233 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03245
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00863 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.01750 WITH V015 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01156
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.06508 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0377
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.04051 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0377
GAMMA = -0.13860
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.09593 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = -0.04915 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.06097
ETA = 0.09770 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.07125 WITH V015 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.05433 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0882

TABLE A.44

CROSSTABULATION OF V198 FEELINGS OF USELESSNESS BY V016 RAD ELEMENTS

V198	V016	NOT A PROBLEM 1.1	SOMEWHAT A 2.1	BIG PROB LEM 3.1	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.1	ROW TOTAL
AGREE	2.	169	28	13	11	217
		77.9	11.1	6.0	5.1	34.9
		32.5	46.2	54.2	44.0	
		27.2	3.9	2.1	1.8	
NO OPINION	3.	49	1	2	5	57
		86.0	1.8	3.5	8.8	9.2
		9.4	1.9	8.3	20.0	
		7.9	0.2	0.3	0.8	
DISAGREE	4.	212	18	6	7	243
		87.2	7.4	2.5	2.9	39.1
		40.8	34.6	25.0	28.0	
		34.1	2.9	1.0	1.1	
STRONGLY DISAGREE	5.	90	5	3	2	104
		86.5	8.7	2.9	1.9	16.7
		17.3	17.2	12.5	8.0	
		14.5	1.9	0.5	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		520	52	24	25	621
		83.7	8.4	3.9	4.0	100.0

5 CUT OF 16 (31.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.209
CHI SQUARE = 16.25977 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0617
CRAMER'S V = 0.09342
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.15973
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04967 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03589
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01096 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.02225 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01459
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.05508 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0045
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.05649 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0045
GAMMA = -0.21346
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.04674 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = -0.06155 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.05673
ETA = 0.11916 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.10607 WITH V016 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.05169 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0112

TABLE A.45

CROSSTABULATION OF
V198 FEELINGS OF USELESSNESS BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME

V198	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V017 1.1	2.1	3.1	9.1	ROW TOTAL
2. AGREE		139	44	32	2	217
		64.1	20.3	14.7	0.9	34.9
		33.1	35.2	50.0	16.7	
		22.4	7.1	5.2	0.3	
3. NO OPINION		40	12	1	4	57
		70.2	21.1	1.8	7.0	9.2
		9.5	9.6	1.6	33.3	
		6.4	1.9	0.2	0.6	
4. DISAGREE		170	55	14	4	243
		70.0	22.6	5.8	1.6	39.1
		40.5	44.0	21.9	33.3	
		27.4	8.9	2.3	0.6	
5. STRONGLY DISAGREE		71	14	17	2	104
		68.3	13.5	16.3	1.9	16.7
		16.9	11.2	26.6	16.7	
		11.4	2.3	2.7	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		420 67.6	125 20.1	64 10.3	12 1.9	621 100.0

4 CUT OF 16 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.161
CHI SQUARE = 29.37260 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0006
CRAMER'S V = 0.12556
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.21252
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04762 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03105
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01855 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.02590 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02162
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.03717 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1503
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.02881 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1503
GAMMA = -0.06367
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.04401 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = -0.03140 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.03665
ETA = 0.05349 WITH V198 DEPENDENT. = 0.07701 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R =-0.01444 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3598

B. CRIME PERCEPTION AND SAFETY

We concern ourselves with dependent variables 037 through 042 in this section. Recall that this set of variables was subjected, unsuccessfully, to Guttman analysis: Whether or not the respondent perceives that crime in the United States has increased, decreased or remained about the same (variable 037); whether or not the respondent perceives that crime in his or her own community has increased, decreased or remained about the same (variable 038); whether or not the respondent perceives crime in his or her community as being committed by those who live in the community or by "outsiders" (variable 039); how one's community compares with others in terms of crime rate (variable 040); how safe one feels in one's community during the day (variable 041); and finally, how safe one feels in one's community during the night (variable 042).

Since all these dependent variables do not form an adequate scale, and since they thus reflect different aspects of crime perception and safety, it was decided to enter each one into the prediction analysis. For the most part, only significant tables will be presented, although a few nonsignificant tables will be presented for contrast when deemed advisable. The marginals for variables 038 (community crime increase) and 040 (perception of community crime rate) conform more closely than the others to a 50-50 split, and so we will emphasize results pertaining to them.

The final two variables are of more substantive importance, and hence we emphasize them in analysis as well. They are variable 041, how safe the respondent feels in the community during the day, and variable 042, how safe he or she feels at night. Finally, these latter two dependent variables, which pertain to very "realistic" perceptions, will themselves serve as an apt introduction to the next section of this report, which deals with reports of serious criminal behavior in the community: burglaries; robberies; and assaults.

Our first table, Table B-1, gives us our first encounter of an effect (and a minor effect at that) of whether or not the respondent is in Atlanta or Washington, D. C. (variable 002). People in our Washington, D. C. sample tend to perceive that crime in their immediate community is being committed by outsiders more than do those in Atlanta: 54.7% of the D. C. sample perceives that the crime is committed by outsiders, whereas a lower percent (40.1%) of our Atlanta respondents do. By a similar token, only 8% of the Washington, D. C. sample say "insiders," while 22.5% of the Atlanta sample say this. These combined results show a solid significance level ($P < .0001$) and a very respectable C of .29, showing at least a moderately strong degree of association between the two variables. However, this is the only dependent variable in the set that ended up being significantly related to Atlanta vs. Washington, D. C.. (We will have to wait until the following

section of the report for the next set -- which does show several significant relationships.)

Tables B-2 through B-5 following assess the effect of our next significant predictor variable, tract type. Once again, we note that tract type is emerging as a sound predictor, certainly better than the Atlanta-Washington, D. C. distinction. Table B-2 suggests that individuals in the low-income, high-crime tract are more likely than individuals in the other tracts to perceive that crime in their tracts has indeed increased. Once again, this tends (though only somewhat) to validate our initial tract selection, in terms of what the individuals in the tracts actually perceive to be the case in regard to crime around them. Individuals in the low-income tracts (for both the high and low crime rates) tend to perceive crime in their community as having decreased, relative to the other two tracts. This is a confusing finding and does not completely fit the overall pattern of foregoing (and subsequent) results; nonetheless, this is what the data for this table reveal ($P = .0008$, $C = .21$). In general, findings to come will, contrary to this finding, reconfirm that effects are in the predicted directions in regard to tract income/crime rate effects.

Some reasonably consistent results are revealed in Table B-3 (though still not completely), where it is seen that the low-income, high-crime tract shows the highest percent (15.2%) for those who feel that their community is "more dangerous" than other communities. The biggest contrast is for the middle-income, low-crime tract (remember, this is for Atlanta and Washington, D. C. combined), where fully 42.5% of the people there perceive that their community is "much less" dangerous than others. This table shows a very highly significant relationship as well as the highest association measures yet encountered ($C = .40$, although some of the other association measures for this table are not all that high).

Tables B-4 and B-5, pertaining respectively to how safe the respondent feels during the day and during the night, offer strong contrasts between the tracts. Table B-4 shows that it is the respondents in the middle-income, low-crime tract who feel the safest (77.6% "very safe"), and those in the low-income, high-crime tract who feel the least safe (lowest percent, 62.2% for "very safe" and also the highest percent, 11.0%, who indicated "somewhat unsafe"). The results are even more striking for how safe respondents feel at night. Table B-5 shows that (only) 39.6% of the respondents in the middle-income, low-crime tract indicate they feel "very safe" at night, but this is the highest percent "very safe" for all four tract types. (Note also that in comparing Table B-5 to B-4, the percent of middle-income, low-crime tract respondents indicating "very safe" drops drastically from 77.6% pertaining to "very safe" during the day, to the 39.6% who feel such at night.) Note finally (Table B-5) that a relatively

large percent (40.9%) of those in the low-income, high-crime tract indicate that they feel "very unsafe" at night in their own community. This percent is higher here than in the other three tracts. The significance level is very strong ($P < .0001$) and the degree of association is strong ($C = .40$, which is as we already noted, quite high for this survey).

Again, we can conclude from this that our selection of tracts on the basis of income and crime rate data seems to be validated by the perceptual and experiential data from our survey.

We move on to a new set of predictor variables heretofore not encountered: Existence and use of recreational facilities in the community. Do these variables make a difference in how crime is perceived and how safe the person feels? Let us look at the pertinent tables, Tables B-8 through B-11.

Tables B-8 and B-9 both show that the more recreational facilities there are (as reported by the respondent) in the community, then the safer he or she feels both in reference to day safety (Table B-8) as well as night safety (Table B-9). Note carefully that some of the percents in both tables reveal a monotonic ("stepwise") pattern. Those indicating "very safe" during the day increase in percent, from 64.9% for those reporting no recreational facilities present in the community to 81.1% for those reporting "quite a few" recreational facilities. The "somewhat unsafe" percents reveal a partially monotonic pattern. In Table B-9, those indicating "very unsafe" at night decrease in percent monotonically as the number of reported recreational facilities increases. The relationship in the whole table is highly significant and the degree of association good.

It is indeed interesting that with our data we are able to detect this kind of relationship. There evidently is indeed a relationship between how safe one feels and the degree of presence of recreational facilities -- especially at night (note that the percent differences are somewhat greater and the association measure is somewhat higher for "night" as opposed to "day" safety). If the number of recreational facilities has anything to do with the amount of integration of the individual into the community, then this finding would fit our overall grand pattern. But it is difficult to conceptualize the presence of recreational facilities as being a direct indicator of individual integration; even so, the finding is of great interest in its own right. Recall that very early along in the project, it was hypothesized that the number of such facilities in the community would help people feel safer. This is evidently true to some extent. However, we must note at this juncture that this set of predictor variables fails to predict any remaining dependent variables in the study in subsequent sections. In other words, this is it. All the remaining dependent variables to be reviewed in

the remainder of this report fail to be predicted by either the number of recreational facilties, or by the extent of use of them.

Actual use of recreational facilities is, in fact, related to how safe the respondent feels, but only for safety at night (see Table B-11, showing a very strong monotonic pattern of percents) but not for respondent indications of safety during the day (Table B-10, showing an insignificant relationship between the two variables). Thus, we conclude that actual use of recreational facilities makes a difference in feelings of safety only at night, but not during the day.

We arrive now at what is emerging as a solid and consistent predictor variable: Club affiliation. Recall that this is a direct indicator of integration into the community. Individuals who are club members tend to perceive crime in their community as having decreased (slightly) moreso than do those who are not members of a club (Table B12). Similarly, club members are more inclined than non-members to rate their community as "much less dangerous" than other communities in their city (by 38.2% vs. 16.7%, see Table B-13, $P < .0001$, $C = .25$).

The same kind of pattern holds for the other two dependent variables, how safe the respondent feels during the day and at night (see Tables B-14 and B-15). Club members more often indicate "very safe" than do non-members, both for the "day" (Table B-14) as well as the "night" item (Table B-15). As we noted above, the differences are greater for the item pertaining to night safety. Thus the differences predicted by the variable club affiliation are not only in the expected direction for both day and night safety, but the differences are even more pronounced in the case of night safety.

Our next successful predictor is whether or not the respondent is a member of his or her neighborhood church (variable 172), which, you will recall, is a community integration indicator. Interestingly, those who claim membership in a neighborhood church are more likely to perceive that crime in their community has decreased, whereas non-members are more likely to perceive that it has increased (look at the percents in Table B-16). Similarly, those who are neighborhood church members do, by a good margin, think of their community as "much less dangerous" than other communities in their city (40.0% vs. 16.9%), while non-members tend to report that their community is "more dangerous" and also "about average" moreso than do church members (Table B-17). Note furthermore, from Tables B-18 and B-19, that respondents who are church members tend to feel safer than non-members both during the day (Table B-18) as well as at night (Table B-19), thus confirming, along with the results just reviewed on people's perceptions of community crime rates, the overall emerging pattern pertaining to the effects of community integration.

(It might be noted here, from Table B-20, that amount of church attendance successfully predicts whether one perceives crime as being committed by community "outsiders" or "insiders": The less frequent one's church attendance, the less the percent who indicate that the crimes are committed by "outsiders" and the more the percent who indicate that crime is being committed by people "in the community." Percents in both columns are monotonically ordered. But this independent variable [frequency of church attendance] failed to predict the other dependent variables in this set, including how safe one feels during the day and at night.)

Moving on to a consideration of the effects of whether one owns or rents housing, we note a confusing pattern of relationships to variables 037, 038 and 040 (see Tables B-21 through B-23). While Table B-21 shows a significant relationship, it is in the direction opposite to predictions: Those who own tend to perceive an increase in U. S. crime and those who rent are more likely to perceive a decrease. However, Table B-22, which pertains to perceptions about increase/decrease in crime in the community, reveals a significant relationship in the predicted direction: Those who own are less likely to have perceived an increase in community crime than renters, and more likely to have perceived a decrease (although the level of significance is borderline, at $P = .084$). We would infer from this that crime in the U. S. as a whole may not be perceived to be as relevant or as "close" as crime right in one's own community.

This interpretation tends to be confirmed by Table B-23, which shows that those who own are more likely than those who rent to perceive their own communities as "less dangerous" and "much less dangerous" than other communities in their city, while those who rent are more likely to perceive their own communities as "more dangerous." The relationship here is highly significant ($P < .0001$) and reasonably strong in magnitude ($C = .29$).

Whether one feels safe in the day and night is clearly predicted by own/rent: Those who own are more likely than renters to indicate that they feel "very safe" during the day (Table B-24) as well as at night (Table B-25).

We arrive finally at an examination of the predictability of our two social/psychological variables, namely alienation and self-evaluation. The results are that self-evaluation did not predict any of the dependent variables being considered here, while some of the alienation items did. Some (not all) of these relationships involving alienation are exemplified in Tables B-26 through B-29. While the "negative future perspective" variable does not predict how safe one feels in the day (Table B-26), it does predict how safe one feels at night (Table B-27). There is a very slight (and not particularly clear) tendency for those who are more in agreement

with the item (i.e., the more alienated) to be more afraid, but the ordering of the percents in the cells muddies the relationship, though it is still significant.

Tables B-28 and B-29 pertain to an interesting predictor variable, variable 187, an alienation variable, whether or not the respondent feels that it is fair to bring black children into the world. Not surprisingly, the more the degree of agreement with the item (the more the respondent agrees with the unfairness of bringing children into the world), then the more unsafe he or she feels in the community both in the day (Table B-28) and at night (Table B-29). The differences in Table B-28 are very pronounced and monotonically ordered, as are those in Table B-29.

That completes our look at predictors for the inside/outside perception variables and the question of what best predicts whether or not the respondent feels safe during the day as well as at night. To summarize, the successful predictors are: City (Atlanta vs. Washington, D. C.); tract type; recreation facilities; use of recreation facilities; club membership; church membership; church attendance; own/rent; and alienation, especially the item about black children. Note that recreational facilities and their use ended up being a good predictor here but not in the previous section. Once again, we note that, in general, the successful predictor variables, for the most part, all say something directly or indirectly about the degree of the individual's involvement with his or her community. It is particularly interesting to note that how safe one feels in walking around the streets in the day and at night in one's community is predicted by these community-integration variables -- as well as (to some extent) overall alienation.

We wish to stress once again the variables that do not predict these crime perceptions and feelings of safety. While we will not list all of them here, it would be interesting to list those which were expected to have at least some predictive power, but which instead have none at all: Gender (women do not feel any more or less safe than men, at night or during the day); whether or not one has relatives in the community (this is a community integration indicator which does not predict); whether or not one works in the community (another integration indicator); self-evaluation; respondent's education; all SES and occupational characteristics of both the respondent as well as the respondent's father; marital status (whether or not you are married, single, divorced, separated or whatever is not -- repeat not -- significantly related to how safe one feels in the day and at night, at least for our 621 respondents in Atlanta and Washington, D. C.); religion (remember -- it is beginning to look like religious activities, attendance and so on are the good predictors; what religion one is does not predict); and some others.

We move on next to an analysis of respondent estimates of serious crimes in the community: burglaries; robberies; and assaults.

TABLE B-1

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

V002 CITYID BY V039 PER OF COMMUNITY CRIME

PAGE 1 OF 1

V002	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V039: OUTSIDER IS 2.	EQUALLY BY BOTH 3.	PEOPLE LIVING 4.	DONT KNO W-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
ATLANTA	1.	139	34	78	96	347
		40.1	9.8	22.5	27.7	55.9
		48.1	35.4	78.0	70.6	
		22.4	5.5	12.6	15.5	
D.C.	2.	150	62	22	40	274
		54.7	22.6	8.0	14.6	44.1
		51.9	64.6	22.0	29.4	
		24.2	10.0	3.5	6.4	
COLUMN TOTAL		289	96	100	136	621
		46.5	15.5	16.1	21.9	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 55.18539 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.29810
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.28568
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.14234 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V039 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.06436
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06701 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.03617 WITH V039 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04698
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.19298 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.22462 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = -0.32504
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.16366 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = -0.22756 WITH V039 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.19039
ETA = 0.29810 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.19509 WITH V039 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.19509 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

TABLE B-2

CROSSTABULATION OF VC03 TRACTID BY V038 COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE — PAGE 1 OF 1

VC03	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V038 1.INCREASE	2.SAME	3.DECREASE	9.DONT KNOW-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. TRACTINCOME-LOW-CRI		26	74	22	12	134
		19.4	55.2	16.4	9.0	21.6
		21.7	25.3	14.5	21.4	
		4.2	11.9	3.5	1.9	
2. LOW-INCOME-LOW-CRI		26	66	45	9	146
		17.8	45.2	30.8	6.2	23.5
		21.7	22.5	29.6	16.1	
		4.2	10.6	7.2	1.4	
3. MID-INCOME		26	96	35	18	177
		14.7	54.4	19.8	10.2	28.5
		21.7	33.4	23.0	32.1	
		4.2	15.8	5.6	2.9	
4. LOW-INCOME-HIGHCR		42	55	50	17	164
		25.6	33.5	30.5	10.4	26.4
		35.0	18.3	32.9	3044	
		6.8	8.9	8.1	2.7	
COLUMN TOTAL		120	293	152	56	621
		19.3	47.2	24.5	9.0	100.0

CH. SQUARE = 23.32480 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0008
CRAMER'S V = 0.12330
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.20886
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06982 WITH VOC3 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04016
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01695 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.01897 WITH V038 DEPEND
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01790
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.03283 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1680
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.03102 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1680
GAMMA = 0.04601
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03462 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.03114 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03279
ETA = 0.12159 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.04547 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.03907 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1655

TABLE B-3

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *   C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
    V003      TRACTID                                              BY  V040       COMMUNITY CRIME RATE
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *  PAGE  1 OF  1
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V003	V040 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	MORE DANGEROUS 2.	ABOUT AVERAGE 3.	LESS DANGEROUS 4.	MUCH LESS DAN 5.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	2	24	48	57	3	134
	ROW PCT	1.5	17.9	35.8	42.5	2.2	21.6
	COL PCT	5.1	13.4	22.3	36.3	9.7	
	TOT PCT	0.3	3.9	7.7	9.2	0.5	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	7	47	47	41	4	146
	ROW PCT	4.8	32.2	32.2	28.1	2.7	23.5
	COL PCT	17.9	26.3	21.9	26.1	12.9	
	TOT PCT	1.1	7.6	7.6	6.6	0.6	
3. MID IN	COUNT	5	52	70	49	1	177
	ROW PCT	2.8	29.4	39.5	27.7	0.6	28.5
	COL PCT	12.8	29.1	32.6	31.2	3.2	
	TOT PCT	0.8	8.4	11.3	7.9	0.2	
4. INCOME-HIGHCR	COUNT	25	56	50	10	23	164
	ROW PCT	15.2	34.1	30.5	6.1	14.0	26.4
	COL PCT	64.1	31.3	23.3	6.4	74.2	
	TOT PCT	4.0	9.0	8.1	1.6	3.7	
COLUMN TOTAL		39	179	215	157	31	621
		6.3	28.8	34.6	25.3	5.0	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 117.63022 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.25128
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.39907
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.12162 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.03695 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.08118
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06974 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.06893 WITH V040 DEPENDE
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.06934
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.17205 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.16903 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = -0.23064
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.17446 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = -0.16967 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.17203
ETA = 0.35224 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.09807 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.04231 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1147

TABLE B-4

CROSSTABULATION OF VCO1 TRACTID BY V041 SAFE ALONE DURING DAY

	V041				
COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VERY SAFE 1.0	REASONABLY SAFE 2.0	SOMEWHAT UNSAFE 3.0	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.0	ROW TOTAL
1. LOW-INCOME-LOW CRI	104 77.6 23.9 16.7	25 18.7 18.8 4.0	3 2.2 8.6 0.5	2 1.5 11.8 0.3	134 21.6
2. LOW-INCOME-LOW CRI	109 74.0 24.8 17.4	30 20.5 22.6 4.8	7 4.8 20.0 1.1	1 0.7 5.9 0.2	148 23.5
3. MID IN	122 68.9 28.0 19.6	39 22.0 29.3 6.3	7 4.0 20.0 1.1	9 5.1 52.9 1.4	177 28.5
4. HIGH-INCOME-HIGHER	102 62.2 23.4 16.4	39 23.8 29.3 6.3	18 11.0 51.4 2.9	5 3.0 29.4 0.8	164 26.4
COLUMN TOTAL	436 70.2	133 21.4	35 5.6	17 2.7	621 100.0

OUT OF 16 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MIN EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 3.667
CHI SQUARE = 22.60680 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0071
CRAMER'S V = 0.11016
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.18742
SOMERS D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02477 WITH VCO3 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01749
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01292 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.02126 WITH V041 DEPEN
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01607
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12083 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.09417 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
GAMMA = 0.20678
SOMERS D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.15446 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.09453 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.11728
ETA = 0.15439 WITH VCO3 DEPENDENT. = 0.12666 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.11266 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0025

TABLE B-5

CROSSTABULATION OF VC03 TRACTID BY V042 SAFE ALONE DURING NIGHT

		V042					
COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	IVERY SAFE	REASONABLY SAFE	SOMEWHAT UNSAFE	VERY UNSAFE	DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
	1.	2.	3.	4.	9.	
VC03						
1. INCOME-LOW-CRI	53	42	34	1	4	134
	39.6	31.3	25.4	0.7	3.0	21.6
	25.2	25.6	30.4	0.9	17.4	
	8.5	6.8	5.5	0.2	0.6	
2. LOW-INCOME-LO-CRI	50	30	38	22	6	146
	34.2	20.5	26.0	15.1	4.1	23.5
	23.8	18.3	33.9	19.6	26.1	
	8.1	4.8	6.1	3.5	1.0	
3. MID IN	65	65	15	22	10	177
	36.7	36.7	8.5	12.4	5.6	28.5
	31.0	39.6	13.4	19.6	43.5	
	10.5	10.5	2.4	3.5	1.6	
4. HIGH-INCOME-HI&NCR	42	27	25	67	3	164
	25.6	16.5	15.2	40.9	1.8	26.4
	20.0	16.5	22.3	59.8	13.0	
	6.8	4.3	4.0	10.8	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL	210	164	112	112	23	621
	33.8	26.4	18.0	18.0	3.7	100.0

1 OUT OF 20 (5.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 4.963

CHI SQUARE = 117.24649 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

CRAMER'S V = 0.25087

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.39852

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.15315 WITH VC03 DEPENDENT. = 0.06083 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.10677

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07266 WITH VC03 DEPENDENT. = 0.06879 WITH V042 DEPEND

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.07067

KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.15426 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.15391 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

GAMMA = 0.20279

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.15402 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.15449 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.15426

ETA = 0.34311 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.15976 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.

PEARSON'S R = 0.13738 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003

ERRATUM: THERE ARE NO TABLES NUMBERED B-6 AND B-7

TABLE B-8

CROSSTABULATION OF V096 COMMUNITY RECREATIONAL FACILITIES BY V041 SAFE ALONE DURING DAY

V096	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V041 1. VERY SAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT UNSAFE	9. DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. NONE	COUNT	61	19	11	3	94
	ROW PCT	64.9	20.2	11.7	3.2	15.1
	COL PCT	14.0	14.3	31.4	17.6	
	TOT PCT	9.8	3.1	1.8	0.5	
2. VERY FEW	COUNT	149	51	11	4	215
	ROW PCT	69.3	23.7	5.1	1.9	34.6
	COL PCT	34.2	38.3	31.4	23.5	
	TOT PCT	24.0	8.2	1.8	0.6	
3. A FEW	COUNT	136	36	12	5	189
	ROW PCT	72.0	19.0	6.3	2.6	30.4
	COL PCT	31.2	27.1	34.3	29.4	
	TOT PCT	21.9	5.8	1.9	0.8	
4. QUITE A BU	COUNT	73	16	0	1	90
	ROW PCT	81.1	17.8	0.0	1.1	14.5
	COL PCT	16.7	12.0	0.0	5.9	
	TOT PCT	11.8	2.6	0.0	0.2	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	COUNT	17	11	1	4	33
	ROW PCT	51.5	33.3	3.0	12.1	5.3
	COL PCT	3.9	8.3	2.9	23.5	
	TOT PCT	2.7	1.8	0.2	0.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		436 70.2	133 21.4	35 5.6	17 2.7	621 100.0

4 OUT OF 20 (20.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.903
CHI SQUARE = 31.53403 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0016
CRAMER'S V = 0.13010
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.21983
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00493 WITH V096 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00338
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01690 WITH V096 DEPENDENT. = 0.02923 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02142
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.04664 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0943
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.03619 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0943
GAMMA = -0.07961
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.05936 WITH V096 DEPENDENT. = -0.03664 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.04531

TABLE B-9

CROSSTABULATION OF

V096 COMMUNITY RECREATIONAL FACILITIES BY V042 SAFE ALONE DURING NIGHT

V096	V042	VERY SAF IE	REASONAB LY SAFE	SOMEWHAT UNSAFE	VERY UNS AFE	DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
	COUNT						
	ROW PCT						
	COL PCT						
	TOT PCT	1.1	2.1	3.1	4.1	9.1	
1. NONE	1.	25	14	18	34	3	94
		26.6	14.9	19.1	36.2	3.2	15.1
		11.9	8.5	16.1	30.4	13.0	
		4.0	2.3	2.9	5.5	0.5	
2. VERY FEW	2.	69	61	41	40	4	215
		32.1	28.4	19.1	18.6	1.9	34.6
		32.9	37.2	36.6	35.7	17.4	
		11.1	9.8	6.6	6.4	0.6	
3. A FEW	3.	74	54	28	25	8	189
		39.2	28.6	14.8	13.2	4.2	30.4
		35.2	32.9	25.0	22.3	34.8	
		11.9	8.7	4.5	4.0	1.3	
4. QUITE A BU	4.	35	29	17	6	3	90
		38.9	32.2	18.9	6.7	3.3	14.5
		16.7	17.7	15.2	5.4	13.0	
		5.6	4.7	2.7	1.0	0.5	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	9.	7	6	8	7	5	33
		21.2	18.2	24.2	21.2	15.2	5.3
		3.3	3.7	7.1	6.3	21.7	
		1.1	1.0	1.3	1.1	0.8	
COLUMN TOTAL		210	164	112	112	23	621
		33.8	26.4	18.0	18.0	3.7	100.0

5 OUT OF 25 (12.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.222

CHI SQUARE = 54.97903 WITH 16 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

CRAMER'S V = 0.14877

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.28519

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02217 WITH V096 DEPENDENT. = 0.02433 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02326

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02766 WITH V096 DEPENDENT. = 0.02752 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02759

KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.08814 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0041

KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.08209 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0041

GAMMA = -0.11745

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.08762 WITH V096 DEPENDENT. = -0.08885 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.08814

TABLE B-10

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

V097 RESPONDENT USAGE OF RECREATIONAL FAC BY V041 SAFE ALONE DURING DAY

* PAGE 1 OF 1

V097	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V041: VERY SAFE 1.	REASONABLY SAFE 2.	SOMEWHAT UNSAFE 3.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
NO	1.	153	46	15	6	220
		69.5	20.9	6.8	2.7	35.4
		35.1	34.6	42.9	35.3	
		24.6	7.4	2.4	1.0	
YES	2.	130	40	5	3	178
		73.0	22.5	2.8	1.7	28.7
		29.8	30.1	14.3	17.6	
		20.9	6.4	0.8	0.5	
YES-QUITE OFTEN	3.	89	22	5	2	118
		75.4	18.6	4.2	1.7	19.0
		20.4	16.5	14.3	11.8	
		14.3	3.5	0.8	0.3	
DONT KNOW NO ANS	9.	64	25	10	6	105
		61.0	23.8	9.5	5.7	16.9
		14.7	18.8	28.6	35.3	
		10.3	4.0	1.6	1.0	
	COLUMN TOTAL	436	133	35	17	621
		70.2	21.4	5.6	2.7	100.0

3 OUT OF 16 (18.8%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
INIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.874
HI SQUARE = 13.66013 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1349
RAMER'S V = 0.08563
ONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.14671
AMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V097 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
AMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
NCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00791 WITH V097 DEPENDENT. = 0.01265 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
NCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00973
ENDALL'S TAU B = 0.02708 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2243
ENDALL'S TAU C = 0.02083 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2243
AMMA = 0.04673
OMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03416 WITH V097 DEPENDENT. = 0.02147 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
OMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02637
TA = 0.10389 WITH V097 DEPENDENT. = 0.12197 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
EARSON'S R = 0.09620 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0082

TABLE B-11

CROSSTABULATION OF V097 RESPONDENT USAGE OF RECREATIONAL FAC BY V042 SAFE ALONE DURING NIGHT

V097	V042	1. VERY SAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT UNSAFE	4. VERY UNSAFE	9. DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. NO	COUNT	63	59	39	50	9	220
	ROW PCT	28.6	26.8	17.7	22.7	4.1	35.4
	COL PCT	30.0	36.0	34.8	44.6	39.1	
	TOT PCT	10.1	9.5	6.3	8.1	1.4	
2. YES	COUNT	60	68	31	16	3	178
	ROW PCT	33.7	38.2	17.4	9.0	1.7	28.7
	COL PCT	28.6	41.5	27.7	14.3	13.0	
	TOT PCT	9.7	11.0	5.0	2.6	0.5	
3. YES-QUITE OFTEN	COUNT	58	26	19	11	4	118
	ROW PCT	49.2	22.0	16.1	9.3	3.4	19.0
	COL PCT	27.6	15.9	17.0	9.8	17.4	
	TOT PCT	9.3	4.2	3.1	1.8	0.6	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	COUNT	29	11	23	35	7	105
	ROW PCT	27.6	10.5	21.9	33.3	6.7	16.9
	COL PCT	13.8	6.7	20.5	31.3	30.4	
	TOT PCT	4.7	1.8	3.7	5.6	1.1	
COLUMN TOTAL		210	164	112	112	23	621
		33.8	26.4	18.0	18.0	3.7	100.0

2 OUT OF 20 (10.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 3.889
CHI SQUARE = 66.36979 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.18903
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.31116
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02244 WITH V097 DEPENDENT. = 0.03406 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02833
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04056 WITH V097 DEPENDENT. = 0.03733 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03888
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.01138 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3872
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.01120 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3872
GAMMA = -0.01526
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.01121 WITH V097 DEPENDENT. = -0.01155 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.01138
EYA = 0.20017 WITH V097 DEPENDENT. [illegible] WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.12680 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0008

TABLE B-12

* CROSSTABULATION OF * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY V038 COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE
* PAGE 1 OF 1

		V038				
	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1.INCREASE	2.SAME	3.DECREASE	9.DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
V161						
1. YES		46	119	68	8	241
		19.1	49.4	28.2	3.3	38.8
		38.3	40.6	44.7	14.3	
		7.4	19.2	11.0	1.3	
2. NO		72	165	82	47	366
		19.7	45.1	22.4	12.8	58.9
		60.0	56.3	53.9	83.9	
		11.6	26.6	13.2	7.6	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		2	9	2	1	14
		14.3	64.3	14.3	7.1	2.3
		1.7	3.1	1.3	1.8	
		0.3	1.4	0.3	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		120	293	152	56	621
		19.3	47.2	24.5	9.0	100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.262
CHI SQUARE = 18.94949 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0042
CRAMER'S V = 0.12352
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.17208
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02217 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.01374 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01696
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.03859 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1483
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.03361 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1483
GAMMA = 0.06681
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03334 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.04487 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03818
ETA = 0.07850 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.13975 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R. = 0.04396 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1370

TABLE B-13

CROSSTABULATION OF V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY V040 COMMUNITY CRIME RATE — PAGE 1 OF 1

V161	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V040 1 MORE DANGEROUS	2 ABOUT AVERAGE	3 LESS DANGEROUS	4 MUCH LESS DANGEROUS	5 DONT KNOW-NO ANS	9 ROW TOTAL
1. YES	COUNT	10	58	77	92	4	241
	ROW PCT	4.1	24.1	32.0	38.2	1.7	38.8
	COL PCT	25.6	32.4	35.8	58.6	12.9	
	TOT PCT	1.6	9.3	12.4	14.8	0.6	
2. NO	COUNT	28	116	135	61	26	366
	ROW PCT	7.7	31.7	36.9	16.7	7.1	58.9
	COL PCT	71.8	64.8	62.8	38.9	83.9	
	TOT PCT	4.5	18.7	21.7	9.8	4.2	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	COUNT	1	5	3	4	1	14
	ROW PCT	7.1	35.7	21.4	28.6	7.1	2.3
	COL PCT	2.6	2.8	1.4	2.5	3.2	
	TOT PCT	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		39	179	215	157	31	621
		6.3	28.8	34.6	25.3	5.0	100.0

5 OUT OF 15 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.699
CHI SQUARE = 43.17365 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.18644
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.25496
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.12157 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.04187 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.07262
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04669 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.02555 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03303
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.12462 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.11285 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
GAMMA = -0.20318
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.10353 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = -0.15001 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.12251
ETA = 0.11204 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.03073 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.00690 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4319

TABLE B-14

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
V161   CLUB AFFILIATION   BY V041   SAFE ALONE   DURING DAY
* PAGE 1 OF 1

V161	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VERY SAFE 1.	REASONABLY SAFE 2.	SOMEWHAT UNSAFE 3.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
YES	1.	187	42	7	5	241
		77.6	17.4	2.9	2.1	38.8
		42.9	31.6	20.0	29.4	
		30.1	6.8	1.1	0.8	
NO	2.	237	90	28	11	366
		64.8	24.6	7.7	3.0	58.9
		54.4	67.7	80.0	64.7	
		38.2	14.5	4.5	1.8	
DONT KNOW NO ANS	9.	12	1	0	1	14
		85.7	7.1	0.0	7.1	2.3
		2.8	0.8	0.0	5.9	
		1.9	0.2	0.0	0.2	
	COLUMN TOTAL	436	133	35	17	621
		70.2	21.4	5.6	2.7	100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.383
CHI SQUARE = 16.83528 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0099
CRAMER'S V = 0.11643
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16246
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01921 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.01750 WITH V041 DEPENDEN
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01832
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.11466 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0015
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.08237 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0015
GAMMA = 0.24556
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.12008 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.10949 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.11454
ETA = 0.05016 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.09539 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.04395 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1371

TABLE B-15

CROSSTABULATION OF V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY V042 SAFE ALONE DURING NIGHT

V161	V042	1. VERY SAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT UNSAFE	4. VERY UNSAFE	9. DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. YES	COUNT	95	82	56	23	5	241
	ROW PCT	39.4	25.7	23.2	9.5	2.1	38.8
	COL PCT	45.2	37.8	50.0	20.5	21.7	
	TOT PCT	15.3	10.0	9.0	3.7	0.8	
2. NO	COUNT	111	100	54	85	16	366
	ROW PCT	30.3	27.3	14.8	23.2	4.4	58.9
	COL PCT	52.9	61.0	48.2	75.9	69.6	
	TOT PCT	17.9	16.1	8.7	13.7	2.6	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	COUNT	4	2	2	4	2	14
	ROW PCT	28.6	14.3	14.3	28.6	14.3	2.3
	COL PCT	1.9	1.2	1.8	3.6	8.7	
	TOT PCT	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		210	164	112	112	23	621
		33.8	26.4	18.0	18.0	3.7	100.0

5 OUT OF 15 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 8.519
CHI SQUARE = 32.87564 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
CRAMER'S V = 0.16270
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.22423
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00784 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00300
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03450 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.01809 WITH V042 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02373
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12793 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.11765 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
GAMMA = 0.20701
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.10465 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.13639 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.12540
ETA = 0.15683 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.15350 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.13065 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0006

TABLE B-16

CROSSTABULATION OF V172 NEIGHBORHOOD-CHURCH BY V038 COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE

V172	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	INCREASED 1.	SAME 2.	DECREASED 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
	0.	71	168	82	46	367
		19.3	45.8	22.3	12.5	59.1
		59.2	57.3	53.9	82.1	
		11.4	27.1	13.2	7.4	
YES	1.	14	43	25	3	85
		16.5	50.6	29.4	3.5	13.7
		11.7	14.7	16.4	5.4	
		2.3	6.9	4.0	0.5	
	9.	35	82	45	7	169
		20.7	48.5	26.6	4.1	27.2
		29.2	28.0	29.6	12.5	
		5.6	13.2	7.2	1.1	
	COLUMN TOTAL	120	293	152	56	621
		19.3	47.2	24.5	9.0	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 15.12715 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0193
CRAMER'S V = 0.11036
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.15421
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01421 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01080 WITH V038 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01227
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.04690 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0954
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.04308 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0954
GAMMA = -0.07719
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.04274 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.05148 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.04670
ETA = 0.11384 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.12890 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.10417 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0047

TABLE B-17

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
V172 NEIGHBORHOOD- CHURCH BY V040 COMMUNITY CRIME RATE
* PAGE 1 OF 1

	V040					
	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1 MORE DANGEROUS	2 ABOUT AVERAGE	3 LESS DANGEROUS	4 MUCH LESS DANGEROUS	5 DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
V172		2.1	3.1	4.1	5.1	9.1	
0.	1	28	116	135	62	26	367
		7.6	31.6	36.8	16.9	7.1	59.1
		71.8	64.8	62.8	39.5	83.9	
		4.5	18.7	21.7	10.0	4.2	
1.	1	3	16	30	34	2	85
		3.5	18.8	35.3	40.0	2.4	13.7
		7.7	8.9	14.0	21.7	6.5	
		0.5	2.6	4.8	5.5	0.3	
9.	1	8	47	50	61	3	169
		4.7	27.8	29.6	36.1	1.8	27.2
		20.5	26.3	23.3	38.9	9.7	
		1.3	7.6	8.1	9.8	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		39 6.3	179 28.8	215 34.6	157 25.3	31 5.0	621 100.0

1 OUT OF 15 (6.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 4.243
CHI SQUARE = 41.69292 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.18322
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.25063
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.03695 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02273
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03672 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.02463 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02949
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.10470 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0015
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.10000 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0015
GAMMA = 0.16315
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.09174 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.11969 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.10379
ETA = 0.18554 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.04804 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.00093 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4908

TABLE B-18

CROSSTABULATION OF V172 NEIGHBORHOOD- CHURCH BY V041 SAFE ALONE DURING DAY

V172	V041	1. VERY SAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT UNSAFE	9. DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
0. NO	COUNT	237	91	28	11	367
	ROW PCT	64.6	24.8	7.6	3.0	59.1
	COL PCT	54.4	68.4	80.0	64.7	
	TOT PCT	38.2	14.7	4.5	1.8	
1. YES	COUNT	65	13	5	2	85
	ROW PCT	76.5	15.3	5.9	2.4	13.7
	COL PCT	14.9	9.8	14.3	11.8	
	TOT PCT	10.5	2.1	0.8	0.3	
9.	COUNT	134	29	2	4	169
	ROW PCT	79.3	17.2	1.2	2.4	27.2
	COL PCT	30.7	21.8	5.7	23.5	
	TOT PCT	21.6	4.7	0.3	0.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		436	133	35	17	621
		70.2	21.4	5.6	2.7	100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.327

CHI SQUARE = 17.73403 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0069

CRAMER'S V = 0.11958

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16672

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01760 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01966 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01857

KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.14080 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001

KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.10668 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001

GAMMA = -0.29034

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.15553 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.12746 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.14010

ETA = 0.14995 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.08408 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.

PEARSON'S R = -0.07513 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0307

TABLE B-19

CROSSTABULATION OF V172 NEIGHBORHOOD- CHURCH BY V042 SAFE ALONE DURING NIGHT

V172	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V042: VERY SAFE 1.	REASONABLY SAFE 2.	SOMEWHAT UNSAFE 3.	VERY UNSAFE 4.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
	0.	111	99	55	86	16	367
		30.2	27.0	15.0	23.4	4.4	59.1
		52.9	60.4	49.1	76.8	69.6	
		17.9	15.9	8.9	13.8	2.6	
YES	1.	31	22	20	9	3	85
		36.5	25.9	23.5	10.6	3.5	13.7
		14.8	13.4	17.9	8.0	13.0	
		5.0	3.5	3.2	1.4	0.5	
	9.	68	43	37	17	4	169
		40.2	25.4	21.9	10.1	2.4	27.2
		32.4	26.2	33.0	15.2	17.4	
		11.0	6.9	6.0	2.7	0.6	
	COLUMN TOTAL	210	164	112	112	23	621
		33.8	26.4	18.0	18.0	3.7	100.0

1 OUT OF 15 (6.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 3.148
CHI SQUARE = 24.19644 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0021
CRAMER'S V = 0.13950
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19366
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02166 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01392 WITH V042 DEPEN
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01695
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.11169 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.10834 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007
GAMMA = -0.17254
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.09637 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.12945 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.11049
ETA = 0.16072 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.11643 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.10564 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0042

TABLE B-20

CROSSTABULATION OF
V249: RELIGIOUS SERVICES ATTENDANCE BY V039 PER OF COMMUNITY CRIME
PAGE 1 OF 1

V249	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V039 OUTSIDER 2.1	EQUALLY BY BOTH 3.1	PEOPLE LIVING 4.1	DONT KNO W-NO ANS 9.1	ROW TOTAL
1. ONCE A WEEK O		88	21	19	47	175
		50.3	12.0	10.9	26.9	28.2
		30.4	21.9	19.0	34.6	
		14.2	3.4	3.1	7.6	
2. TWO OR THREE A M		63	19	22	30	134
		47.0	14.2	16.4	22.4	21.6
		21.8	19.8	22.0	22.1	
		10.1	3.1	3.5	4.8	
3. OINCE A MONTH		84	33	32	34	183
		45.9	18.0	17.5	18.6	29.5
		29.1	34.4	32.0	25.0	
		13.5	5.3	5.2	5.5	
5. NEVER		36	20	22	15	93
		38.7	21.5	23.7	16.1	15.0
		12.5	20.8	22.0	11.0	
		5.8	3.2	3.5	2.4	
9. DONT.KNOW NO ANS		18	3	5	10	36
		50.0	8.3	13.9	27.8	5.8
		6.2	3.1	5.0	7.4	
		2.9	0.5	0.8	1.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		289	96	100	136	621
		46.5	15.5	16.1	21.9	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 19.03271 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0877
CRAMER'S V = 0.10107
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.17244
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03881 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V039 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02206
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01031 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.01214 WITH V039 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01115
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.01141 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3675
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.01099 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3675
GAMMA = 0.01573
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01202 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.01082 WITH V039 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01139

TABLE B-21

CROSSTABULATION OF V301 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V037 U.S. CRIME INCREASE — PAGE 1 OF 1

V301	V037	INCREASE	SAME	DECREASE	DONT KNO/NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
		1.	2.	3.	9.	
1. RENT	COUNT	117	26	22	16	181
	ROW PCT	64.6	14.4	12.2	8.8	29.1
	COL PCT	26.2	31.7	35.5	51.6	
	TOT PCT	18.8	4.2	3.5	2.6	
2. OWN	COUNT	311	52	40	12	415
	ROW PCT	74.9	12.5	9.6	2.9	66.8
	COL PCT	69.7	63.4	64.5	38.7	
	TOT PCT	50.1	8.4	6.4	1.9	
3. FREE	COUNT	18	4	0	3	25
	ROW PCT	72.0	16.0	0.0	12.0	4.0
	COL PCT	4.0	4.9	0.0	9.7	
	TOT PCT	2.9	0.6	0.0	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		446	82	62	31	621
		71.8	13.2	10.0	5.0	100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.248
CHI SQUARE = 17.23213 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0085
CRAMER'S V = 0.11779
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16432
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01942 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V037 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01050
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01981 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.01697 WITH V037 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01828
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.09802 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0048
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.06771 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0048
GAMMA = -0.20193
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.09936 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = -0.09669 WITH V037 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.09801
ETA = 0.10805 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.14437 WITH V037 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.09731 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0076

TABLE B-22

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F * * * * * * * * * * * * *
  V301      STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP                                   BY  V038        COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * PAGE  1 OF  1
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V301	V038	INCREASED 1	SAME 2	DECREASED 3	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9	ROW TOTAL
	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT					
RENT 1.	COUNT	40	71	50	20	181
	ROW PCT	22.1	39.2	27.6	11.0	29.1
	COL PCT	33.3	24.2	32.9	35.7	
	TOT PCT	6.4	11.4	8.1	3.2	
OWN 2.	COUNT	76	211	97	31	415
	ROW PCT	18.3	50.8	23.4	7.5	66.8
	COL PCT	63.3	72.0	63.8	55.4	
	TOT PCT	12.2	34.0	15.6	5.0	
FREE 3.	COUNT	4	11	5	5	25
	ROW PCT	16.0	44.0	20.0	20.0	4.0
	COL PCT	3.3	3.8	3.3	8.9	
	TOT PCT	0.6	1.8	0.8	0.8	
	COLUMN TOTAL	120	293	152	56	621
		19.3	47.2	24.5	9.0	100.0

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2 OUT OF    12 ( 16.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY =   2.254
CHI SQUARE =      11.16330 WITH    6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM    SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0835
CRAMER'S V =      0.09481
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT =      0.13289
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.00000 WITH V301      DEPENDENT.          =  0.00000 WITH V038      DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) =  0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.01104 WITH V301      DEPENDENT.          =  0.00679 WITH V038      DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) =  0.00841
KENDALL'S TAU B =   -0.01472  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.3443
KENDALL'S TAU C =   -0.01237  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.3443
GAMMA =    -0.02566
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.01227 WITH V301     DEPENDENT.          = -0.01766 WITH V038      DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.01448
ETA =  0.08616 WITH V301     DEPENDENT.          =  0.09215 WITH V038      DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.01110  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.3912
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TABLE B-23

CROSSTABULATION OF

V301 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V040 COMMUNITY CRIME RATE

V301	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V040 1.0 MORE DANGEROUS	2.0 ABOUT AVERAGE	3.0 LESS DANGEROUS	4.0 MUCH LESS DANGEROUS	5.0 DONT KNOW	9.0 NO ANSWER	ROW TOTAL
1.0 RENT	COUNT	22	61	54	25	19	10	181
	ROW PCT	12.2	33.7	29.8	13.8	10.5	61.3	29.1
	COL PCT	56.4	34.1	25.1	15.9	61.3		
	TOT PCT	3.5	9.8	8.7	4.0	3.1		
2.0 OWN	COUNT	14	112	155	124	10		415
	ROW PCT	3.4	27.0	37.3	29.9	2.4		66.8
	COL PCT	35.9	62.6	72.1	79.0	32.3		
	TOT PCT	2.3	18.0	25.0	20.0	1.6		
3.0 FREE	COUNT	3	6	6	8	2		25
	ROW PCT	12.0	24.0	24.0	32.0	8.0		4.0
	COL PCT	7.7	3.4	2.8	5.1	6.5		
	TOT PCT	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.3	0.3		
COLUMN TOTAL		39	179	215	157	31		621
		6.3	28.8	34.6	25.3	5.0		100.0

2 OUT OF 15 (13.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.248

CHI SQUARE = 52.23779 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

CRAMER'S V = 0.20508

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.27855

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.08252 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.02217 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04246

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.05444 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.02954 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03830

KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.10867 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0014

KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.09495 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0014

GAMMA = 0.18064

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.08710 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.13559 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.10607

ETA = 0.23029 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.02181 WITH V040 DEPENDENT.

PEARSON'S R = 0.01051 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3969

TABLE B-24

CROSSTABULATION OF

V301 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V041 SAFE ALONE DURING DAY

V301	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V041 1 VERY SAFE 1.1	REASONABLY SAFE 2.1	SOMEWHAT UNSAFE 3.1	DON'T KNOW 9.1	ROW TOTAL
1. RENT		113	45	17	6	181
		62.4	24.9	9.4	3.3	29.1
		25.9	33.8	48.6	75.3	
		18.2	7.2	2.7	1.0	
2. OWN		305	84	16	10	415
		73.5	20.2	3.9	2.4	66.8
		70.0	63.2	45.7	58.8	
		49.1	13.5	2.6	1.6	
3. FREE		18	4	2	1	25
		72.0	16.0	8.0	4.0	4.0
		4.1	3.0	5.7	5.9	
		2.9	0.6	0.3	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		436	133	35	17	621
		70.2	21.4	5.6	2.7	100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.684
CHI SQUARE = 11.46493 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0750
CRAMER'S V. = 0.09608
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.13464
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00685 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00256
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01166 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.01054 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01107.
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.10192 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0038
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.07067 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0038
GAMMA = -0.20971
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.10203 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = -0.10092 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.10196
ETA = 0.11084 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.07638 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.05834 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0732

TABLE B-25

CROSSTABULATION OF V301 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V042 SAFE ALONE DURING NIGHT

V301	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V042 1.1 VERY SAFE	2.1 REASONABLY SAFE	3.1 SOMEWHAT UNSAFE	4.1 VERY UNSAFE	9.1 DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. RENT		52	35	33	55	6	181
		28.7	19.3	18.2	30.4	3.3	29.1
		24.8	21.3	29.5	49.1	20.1	
		8.4	5.6	5.3	8.9	1.0	
2. OWN		148	126	72	54	15	415
		35.7	30.4	17.3	13.0	3.6	66.8
		70.5	76.8	64.3	48.2	65.2	
		23.8	20.3	11.6	8.7	2.4	
3. FREE		10	3	7	3	2	25
		40.0	12.0	28.0	12.0	8.0	4.0
		4.8	1.8	6.3	2.7	8.7	
		1.6	0.5	1.1	0.5	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		210 / 33.8	164 / 26.4	112 / 18.0	112 / 18.0	23 / 3.7	621 / 100.0

3 OUT OF 15 (20.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.926
CHI SQUARE = 34.37283 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.16636
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.22901
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00485 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.00730 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00648
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03476 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.01807 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02378
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.12007 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0004
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.10653 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0004
GAMMA = -0.19879
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.09478 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = -0.15213 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.11678
ETA = 0.19479 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.11135 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.08093 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0219

TABLE B-26

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
V185 NEGITIVE FUTURE PERSPECTIVE BY V041 SAFE ALONE DURING DAY
* PAGE 1 OF 1

V185	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V041 VERY SAFE 1.	REASONABLY SAFE 2.	SOMEWHAT UNSAFE 3.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
STRONGLY AGREE	1.	87	19	11	2	119
		73.1	16.0	9.2	1.7	19.2
		20.0	14.3	31.4	11.8	
		14.0	3.1	1.8	0.3	
AGREE	2.	153	59	13	4	229
		66.8	25.8	5.7	1.7	36.9
		35.1	44.4	37.1	23.5	
		24.6	9.5	2.1	0.6	
NO OPINION	3.	28	7	2	3	40
		70.0	17.5	5.0	7.5	6.4
		6.4	5.3	5.7	17.6	
		4.5	1.1	0.3	0.5	
DISAGREE	4.	168	48	9	8	233
		72.1	20.6	3.9	3.4	37.5
		38.5	36.1	25.7	47.1	
		27.1	7.7	1.4	1.3	
	COLUMN TOTAL	436 70.2	133 21.4	35 5.6	17 2.7	621 100.0

3 OUT OF 16 (18.8%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.095
CHI SQUARE = 13.77924 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1304
CRAMER'S V = 0.08600
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.14733
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03866 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02618
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00829 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.01214 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00985
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.01357 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3541
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.01011 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3541
GAMMA = -0.02427
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.01658 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = -0.01111 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.01331
ETA = 0.09191 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.06636 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.02675 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2529

TABLE B-27

CROSSTABULATION OF V185 NEGITIVE FUTURE PERSPECTIVE BY V042 SAFE ALONE DURING NIGHT

V185	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V042 1.1 VERY SAFE	2.1 REASONABLY SAFE	3.1 SOMEWHAT UNSAFE	4.1 VERY UNSAFE	9.1 DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. STRONGLY AGREE		47	20	13	38	1	119
		39.5	16.8	10.9	31.9	0.8	19.2
		22.4	12.2	11.6	33.9	4.3	
		7.6	3.2	2.1	6.1	0.2	
2. AGREE		72	64	46	36	11	229
		31.4	27.9	20.1	15.7	4.8	36.9
		34.3	39.0	41.1	32.1	47.8	
		11.6	10.3	7.4	5.8	1.8	
3. NO OPINION		14	7	6	10	3	40
		35.0	17.5	15.0	25.0	7.5	6.4
		6.7	4.3	5.4	8.9	13.0	
		2.3	1.1	1.0	1.6	0.5	
4. DISAGREE		77	73	47	28	8	233
		33.0	31.3	20.2	12.0	3.4	37.5
		36.7	44.5	42.0	25.0	34.8	
		12.4	11.8	7.6	4.5	1.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		210	164	112	112	23	621
		33.8	26.4	18.0	18.0	3.7	100.0

2 OUT OF 20 (10.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.481
CHI SQUARE = 38.10182 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
CRAMER'S V = 0.14301
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.24043
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03351 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01627
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02501 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.02108 WITH V042 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02288
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.03350 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1628
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.03194 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1628
GAMMA = -0.04659
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.03196 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = -0.03511 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.03346
ETA = 0.17177 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.07409 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.02520 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2654

TABLE B-28

CROSSTABULATION OF V187 DISMAL OUTLOOK BLACK CHILDREN BY V041 SAFE ALONE DURING DAY

V187	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V041 1.1 VERY SAFE	2.1 REASONABLY SAFE	3.1 SOMEWHAT UNSAFE	9.1 DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. STRONGLY AGREE		43	12	13	2	70
		61.4	17.1	18.6	2.9	11.3
		9.9	9.0	37.1	11.8	
		6.9	1.9	2.1	0.3	
2. AGREE		93	44	13	2	152
		61.2	28.9	8.6	1.3	24.5
		21.3	33.1	37.1	11.8	
		15.0	7.1	2.1	0.3	
3. NO OPINION		62	19	4	6	91
		68.1	20.9	4.4	6.6	14.7
		14.2	14.3	11.4	35.3	
		10.0	3.1	0.6	1.0	
4. DISAGREE		155	48	3	6	212
		73.1	22.6	1.4	2.8	34.1
		35.6	36.1	8.6	35.3	
		25.0	7.7	0.5	1.0	
5. STRONGLY DISAGRE		83	10	2	1	96
		86.5	10.4	2.1	1.0	15.5
		19.0	7.5	5.7	5.9	
		13.4	1.6	0.3	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		436 70.2	133 21.4	35 5.6	17 2.7	621 100.0

5 OUT OF 20 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.916

CHI SQUARE = 55.91835 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

CRAMER'S V = 0.17325

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.28741

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02465 WITH V187 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01694

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02703 WITH V187 DEPENDENT. = 0.04922 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03490

KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.16789 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.13264 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

GAMMA = -0.28074

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.21723 WITH V187 DEPENDENT. = -0.12976 WITH V041 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.16247

TABLE B-29

CROSSTABULATION OF V187 DISMAL OUTLOOK BLACK CHILDREN BY V042 SAFE ALONE DURING NIGHT

V187	V042	1. VERY SAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT UNSAFE	4. VERY UNSAFE	9. DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. STRONGLY AGREE	COUNT	21	17	11	20	1	70
	ROW PCT	30.0	24.3	15.7	28.6	1.4	11.3
	COL PCT	10.0	10.4	9.8	17.9	4.3	
	TOT PCT	3.4	2.7	1.8	3.2	0.2	
2. AGREE	COUNT	41	44	28	30	9	152
	ROW PCT	27.0	28.9	18.4	19.7	5.9	24.5
	COL PCT	19.5	26.8	25.0	26.8	39.1	
	TOT PCT	6.6	7.1	4.5	4.8	1.4	
3. NO OPINION	COUNT	30	15	25	15	6	91
	ROW PCT	33.0	16.5	27.5	16.5	6.6	14.7
	COL PCT	14.3	9.1	22.3	13.4	26.1	
	TOT PCT	4.8	2.4	4.0	2.4	1.0	
4. DISAGREE	COUNT	78	62	36	30	6	212
	ROW PCT	36.8	29.2	17.0	14.2	2.8	34.1
	COL PCT	37.1	37.8	32.1	26.8	26.1	
	TOT PCT	12.6	10.0	5.8	4.8	1.0	
5. STRONGLY DISAGREE	COUNT	40	26	12	17	1	96
	ROW PCT	41.7	27.1	12.5	17.7	1.0	15.5
	COL PCT	19.0	15.9	10.7	15.2	4.3	
	TOT PCT	6.4	4.2	1.9	2.7	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		210 33.8	164 26.4	112 18.0	112 18.0	23 3.7	621 100.0

3 OUT OF 25 (12.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.593
CHI SQUARE = 29.52898 WITH 16 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0200
CRAMER'S V = 0.10903
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.21305
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00733 WITH V187 DEPENDENT. = 0.00730 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00732
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01556 WITH V187 DEPENDENT. = 0.01630 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01592
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.10530 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.09970 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007
GAMMA = -0.13849
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.10642 WITH V187 DEPENDENT. = -0.10420 WITH V042 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.10530

C. COMMUNITY REPORTING OF BURGLARIES, ROBBERIES AND ASSAULTS

This section of the report deals with the prediction of respondents' reporting of the frequency of occurrence of three serious crimes in their own communities: burglaries; robberies; and assaults. These were assessed by means of three items on the survey questionnaire (and are designated as variables 034, 035 and 036 on the tables following and in the Codebook attached). The first of these (variable 034, corresponding to questionnaire item number 14) reads as follows: "On your street, how frequently do burglaries happen? What would be your best guess about how often burglaries happen on your street?" The response categories are "never," "very rarely," "once in awhile," "fairly often," and "repeatedly." (The "fairly often" and "repeatedly" responses were combined, given the very small percent of respondents who indicated "repeatedly" (6%); as in prior analyses, "don't knows" and failures to answer were kept separate.) The second of these dependent variables (035) reads as follows: "On your street, how frequently do robberies happen? That is, someone holding up another person or place of business with a gun or knife for the purpose of getting money or some other goods. What would be your best guess?" The same response categories were used. Finally estimates of assaults (variable 036) were measured by means of this item: "On your street, how frequently do assaults happen? That is, someone, or a group, attacking or beating up someone else for no apparent reason. What would be your best guess?" Following this question were the same response categories as for the prior two items. Given that there are only three items in this set, it was not advisable to subject them to factor analysis or to Guttman analysis. Hence, all three are used separately as dependent variables in the analysis following.

It should be pointed out that while these three dependent variables are perceptual in that they involve the respondents' estimates of crime in his or her community, they nonetheless ask the respondent for information in a more direct manner than a number of the crime-perception items already examined. In this respect, the three items we detail here, which pertain to burglaries, robberies and assaults, have -- perhaps -- a somewhat greater "face validity" as estimates of actual instances of these three crimes in one's immediate community. There is no doubt that some positive correlation exists between, say, the number of actual burglaries on one's street within a given time period and the average respondent's perception of the frequency of burglaries, although few would argue that this correlation is perfect.

We, of course, do not measure actual reported instances, nor is it our intent to do so. Recall that formally reported burglaries, robberies and assaults are subject to measurement error, as it pertains to both validity and reliability; crimes that are unreported do not, of course, enter official records

at all and thus only further increase the amount of measurement error. Thus, while our three items used here no doubt are far from perfect measures of actual occurrences of these three types of crimes, they nonetheless offer the distinct advantage that they pertain to respondent perceptions of unreported as well as reported crimes (although the relative ratio of the two is, of course, not ascertainable). An additional advantage is that respondents' answers to these three items pertain to what the respondent feels directly affects him or her in his or her own immediate environment; they pertain to frequencies of burglaries, robberies and assaults as the respondent is directly aware of them. So in this respect, respondent perceptions of the frequencies of these three types of crimes carry relatively high "face validity" and in addition offer us valuable information about how, and why, people in Atlanta and in Washington, D. C. perceive these three quite specific and serious types of crime.

We arrive then at the results, presented here in Tables C-1 through C-3 which pertain to how burglaries, robberies and assaults are reported depending upon whether the respondent is in Atlanta or in Washington, D. C.. The tables show quite clearly that respondents in Atlanta are more likely to report "never" for each of these three crimes on their own street than are people in Washington, D. C. in regard to their own streets. The differences are in the same direction for all three crimes, and each of the three tables reveals an impressive level of statistical significance.

Table C-1 shows that 30% of those in Atlanta report that burglaries "never" happen on their street, whereas only 20% of the D. C. respondents report this. This relationship is not consistent throughout the whole table, however, as we note also that slightly more respondents in Atlanta than in D. C. report "fairly often" (10.4% for Atlanta versus 5.1% for D. C.). Nonetheless, the relationship between the variables (the Atlanta-D. C. distinction being one variable, frequency of burglaries another) is highly significant ($P < .0001$) and of moderate strength ($C = .24$).

The next table (Table C-2) shows an even stronger difference, and in the same overall direction: Fully 64.8% of the Atlanta sample indicate "never" for robberies on their street, whereas only 35.4% of the D. C. sample so indicates with regard to their streets. This is a big difference. The percents switch for the "very rarely" and "once in awhile" categories, which are in turn greater for the D. C. sample than for the Atlanta sample. The differences are highly significant ($P < .0001$) and fairly strong in magnitude ($C = .29$).

Table C-3 shows essentially the same pattern for reported assaults, although the differences are smaller in magnitude: 67.1% of those in Atlanta indicate "never" whereas 60.2% of

those in D. C. so indicate (C = .15 here, less than in the two prior tables).

In general, then, while the pattern of percents in the tables is not wholly consistent, we may nonetheless conclude that fewer burglaries, as well as fewer robberies and assaults, are perceived as occurring on one's street in Atlanta than in Washington, D. C., at least as far as is suggested by our samples of 347 Atlanta respondents and 274 Washington, D. C. respondents. Remember, too, that to the extent that our samples constitute approximations of random samples, then to that extent the results may be generalized to the two broader populations.

We move on to results presented in Tables C-4 through C-6, which pertain to tract type as the predictor variable. If the results for this predictor are anything like the results already reviewed, then the middle-income, low-crime tract should reveal a lower reported frequency of burglaries, robberies and assaults than the other three tract types and further, the low-income, high-crime tract should reveal the highest reported frequencies of these three crimes. In general, this is what the tables indeed show. Note also that this lends some credence to our argument that these three questionnaire items have relatively high "face validity" as reflectors of actual crime frequencies. Let us take a closer look.

Table C-4 does not show the highest percent reporting "never" (for burglaries) in the middle-income, low-crime tract (as expected the low-income, low-crime tract shows the highest percent, 37.7% "never") but it does show the highest percent reporting "very rarely" for burglaries (53%). Yet, as expected the low-income, high-crime tract type (again, remember that this table combines the Atlanta and D. C. samples) shows the greatest percent (12.2%) indicating "fairly often" (which includes "repeatedly"). The level of significance is strong ($P < .0001$) and the strength of relationship respectable (C = .26).

Table C-5 (pertaining to robberies) does show the expected pattern: The greatest percent indicating "never" for robberies on one's street occurs in the middle-income, low-crime tract (65.7%), whereas the highest percent indicating "fairly often" (or "repeatedly") occurs in the low-income, high-crime tract type (15.2%). The table is highly significant, and the association measure (C) is quite high here (at .37).

Table C-6 again shows the exact same overall pattern -- and with even a stronger degree of association (C = .40): The greatest percent indicating "never" for frequency of assaults on their street occurs for the middle-income, low-crime tract (86.6%) (which is very high), whereas the greatest percent for both "once in awhile" as well as "fairly often" occurs in the low-income, high-crime tract (18.9% and 16.5%).

In general, then, all three tables show that the frequency of these types of crimes is perceived to be less for those who live in the middle-income, low-crime tract, and most for those who live in the low-income, high-crime tract. This is consistent with our predictions. It is also noted, incidentally, that in general the effects of tract income for a given crime category are as expected; and likewise for the effects of tract crime category for a given income category. More importantly, these results tend to support the notion, advanced above, that the individuals in the tracts do indeed fairly accurately perceive the extent of crime (at least, for these three types of serious crimes) in their immediate environment -- this time defining "immediate environment" as their own street. This adds to the face validity of these three questionnaire items as measures of "accurate" crime perceptions.

These results collectively give our study a sort of added bonus. The stated purpose of the survey component of this study is the measurement, and the prediction, of community perceptions of crime in Atlanta and in Washington, D. C. The series of dependent variables examined are strictly perceptions. Nonetheless, we have here some evidence that our classification of the four tracts in Atlanta and the four in D. C., based on official records, is validated by the degree of awareness on the part of residents in these tracts of the extent of burglaries, robberies and assaults. The perception data, as reported by the respondents, line up pretty well with our tract classification. Mind you there is no necessary reason for this. Perception data gathered in surveys is often fleeting and subject to considerably less predictability than the researcher might imagine. One certainly does not always have correspondence between official data on a community and the perceptions of those data on the part of the community residents -- as many past surveys have shown, much to the dismay of the investigators of such surveys. We are, however, fortunate to have found a reasonably close correspondence.

Moving on to Tables C-7 and C-9, we see the effect of a new predictor variable (i.e., which now emerges as a significant predictor), namely whether or not there are any organized groups in the person's community which exist for the purpose of improving communication between the police and the community residents (variable 072; question number 28a on the questionnaire). While this variable does indeed predict respondent reporting of the three crimes in question, it is nonetheless true that the relationships are far from clearly patterned. The three tables generally show a slightly greater tendency for respondents in communities who have such organized groups to also report less burglaries, robberies and assaults, but as can be seen by the patterns of percents in the three tables, the relationship is by no means striking (though it is significant beyond the .001 level in all three tables). So while it does appear that the presence of such groups in the community does have some connection with respondent

reporting of these three crimes, the connection is tenuous and not too much should be made of it.

The next set of tables, Tables C-10 through C-12, introduce still another new and first-encountered predictor: Whether or not the respondent has relatives who live in his or her own immediate community. We quickly note here that once again we encounter a predictor variable which has something to do with the individual's overall ties with the community; persons having relatives in the community are more tied to the community (more integrated into the community) than those who do not.

As can be seen from the three tables, this variable predicts, but only for two out of the three dependent crime variables. (We point out here that the number of relatives in the community is not a significant predictor of all three dependent crime variables.) There is a slight, though statistically significant, tendency for those who do have relatives in the community to indicate "never" for robberies (Table C-11) as well as assaults (Table C-12) but not for burglaries (Table C-10 is not significant).

We arrive at an examination of the effects of club affiliation (variable 161), a predictor which as we now see is emerging as among the strongest predictors in the study. Tables C-13 through C-15 give the results. Generally, as expected, those who are members of some club in the community are more likely to indicate "never" and also "very rarely" for frequency of all three crimes than are non-members. Non-members are more likely to report "once in awhile" and "fairly often" for all three crimes, as can be clearly seen in the tables. The differences are strongest in regard to the reported frequency of robberies (Table C-14), where the pattern of percents is clearest (and where C = .23). Those who are club members tend to say "never" and "rarely" for robberies on their streets, while non-members tend to say "once in awhile" and "fairly often". The same thing applies with respect to reported assaults (Table C-15), and just about as strongly. The pattern is somewhat less strong, but still evident, for reported burglaries (Table C-13).

These results are interesting. They indeed illustrate how reporting of crime in a community is a perceptual phenomenon: While the layperson would tend to think of reported crimes as a relatively invariant function of actual crimes (and it is to some extent; recall the results above in regard to effects of tract type) -- the notion that the more crime there is in the community, the more the extent to which those in the community will be aware of it and "perceive" it -- we see that in addition to this, how crime is perceived and reported is also subject to other kinds of rather surprising influences, such as whether or not one is a member of a club. In other words, one's reporting of the extent of crime on his or her very own street is "colored" by whether or not one is

a member of some sort of community club!

It is thus interesting that one's awareness of the frequency of real, actual crimes that are being committed right on one's own street is subject not only to the obvious kinds of predictor variables (such as tract type, by crime category as well as median income) but to considerably more subtle, yet no less powerful influences, such as community integration. We just saw this with respect to club membership. But what is even more interesting is that reporting of these same three crimes is predicted just as well by other indicators of community integration, to which we now turn: Neighborhood church membership; church attendance; and whether one owns or rents one's own home. (It is worth emphasizing that these latter variables once again show up as significant predictors even when all other independent variables are also considered, that is, entered into the analysis. It is indeed intriguing that similar [though not identical] sets of predictors emerge even for diverse dependent variables.)

The effects of whether or not the respondent is a member of a neighborhood church are clear and consistent (see Tables C-16 through C-18). Those who are members are more likely to report "never" for burglaries (29.4% versus 25.6% for non-members; see Table C-16), as well as for robberies (74.1% versus 47.1% -- a big difference; see Table C-17) and for assaults (81.2% versus 58.9%, also a big difference; see Table C-18). Those who are non-members are more likely to report "once in awhile" and "fairly often" for all three crimes.

Table C-21 shows the effects of attendance at religious services. The effects of this variable upon reported robberies and burglaries are not statistically significant (tables not shown). But note from Table C-21 the consistent (though not strong) tendency that the more frequent the attendance, the more likely one is to say "never" for assaults on one's street, and the less likely one is to say "once in awhile" and "fairly often." The percents are not quite monotonic, nor are the differences large, but the overall pattern is clear enough nonetheless. Once again: The extent to which people appear to either be aware of or perceive the frequency of actual crimes on their street (in this case assaults only) is associated with such subtle and otherwise unknown and undiscovered influences as how often one attends religious services.

Our final successful predictor variable is our old friend, whether or not one owns or rents one's dwelling. The relationships in Tables C-22 through C-24 are clear and quite consistent. If one owns one's dwelling, then one is more likely to indicate "never" or "rarely" for all three crimes. If, on the other hand, one rents, then one is more likely (than those who own) to indicate "once in awhile" and "fairly often" for all three

crimes. The significance levels are strong in all three tables, and the magnitudes of the relationships are in the C = .21 to .26 range. Yet again, those who have the stronger ties in the community are more likely to report less of an extent of serious crimes on their own streets than are those with fewer ties to the community, even though the reported crimes themselves do indeed vary according to tract classification.

To summarize: The frequency of reporting of the serious crimes of burglary, robbery and assault as these are perceived to occur on one's own street, does indeed vary as expected according to the income and crime rate category of the census tract of the respondent. There are also marked between-city differences, with respondents in Atlanta reporting (perceiving) less of these crimes on their street. In general, fewer burglaries, robberies and assaults are also reported by those who live in areas which have organized police-community groups; by those who have relatives inside the community; by those who are affiliated with some club in the community; by those who are members of a neighborhood church; by those who attend religious services frequently; and by those who own, rather than rent, their primary dwelling. The overall generalization from this cluster of bivariate findings is that to the extent that these predictor variables are treated as indicators of the person's involvement and integration with his or her immediate community, then the more the degree of such involvement of the individual in the community, the less the extent to which he or she will perceive the occurrence of burglaries, robberies and assaults on his or her own street. This finding fits in very closely with the previously elaborated findings which pertain to individual, broad perceptions of crime and fear of crime.

A number of independent variables are notable in their absence as predictors of reported frequency of burglaries, robberies and assaults. Among the non-successful predictors are these: Alienation and self-evaluation, both of which the reader will recall were successful as predictors up until now; respondent's age (an indicator of community integration, of sorts, which predicted previously but not here); presence and use of recreational facilities; whether or not one works in the community; respondent's education, occupation, income, gender and marital status; number in household; financial support variables; and variables measuring occupational and educational intergenerational mobility. Note finally that religion does not predict, although whether or not one is a church member, frequency of attendance and so on do predict.

We move next to the final section on the bivariate results, which pertain to respondent relations with the police, whether or not the respondent and his or her friends have had trouble with the police and respondent's attitudes toward the police as measured by our attitude-toward-police scale.

TABLE C-1

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
V002 CITYID BY V034 FREQUENCY OF BURGLARIES

V002	V034: COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NEVER 1.	VERY RARELY 2.	ONCE IN A WHILE 3.	FAIRLOFTEN 4.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
ATLANTA	1.	104	109	88	36	10	347
		30.0	31.4	25.4	10.4	2.9	55.9
		64.6	47.4	63.3	72.0	24.4	
		16.7	17.6	14.2	5.8	1.6	
D.C.	2.	57	121	51	14	31	274
		20.8	44.2	18.6	5.1	11.3	44.1
		35.4	52.6	36.7	28.0	75.6	
		9.2	19.5	8.2	2.3	5.0	
	COLUMN TOTAL	161	230	139	50	41	621
		25.9	37.0	22.4	8.1	6.6	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 36.55540 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.24262
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.23578
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.12044 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04962
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04367 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.02088 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02825
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.04788 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0959
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.05764 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0959
GAMMA = 0.07865
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03923 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.05845 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04695
ETA = 0.24262 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.13153 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.13152 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0005

TABLE C-2

CROSSTABULATION OF V002 CITYID BY V035 FREQUENCY OF ROBBERIES — PAGE 1 OF 1

V002	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V035 1.1 INEVER	2.1 VERY RAR ELY	3.1 ONCE IN A WHILE	4.1 FAIRLOFT EN	9.1 DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. ATLANTA		225	48	37	21	16	347
		64.8	13.8	10.7	6.1	4.6	55.9
		69.9	36.6	43.0	53.8	37.2	
		36.2	7.7	6.0	3.4	2.6	
2. D.C.		97	83	49	18	27	274
		35.4	30.3	17.9	6.6	9.9	44.1
		30.1	63.4	57.0	46.2	62.8	
		15.6	13.4	7.9	2.9	4.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		322 51.9	131 21.1	86 13.8	39 6.3	43 6.9	621 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 57.16078 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.30339
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.29032
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.21168 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.10122
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06798 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.03585 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04694
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.24107 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.27478 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.39750
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.20857 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.27863 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.23857
ETA = 0.30339 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.17923 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.17923 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

TABLE C-3

CROSSTABULATION OF V002 CITYID BY V036 FREQUENCY OF ASSAULTS — PAGE 1 OF 1

V002		V036 NEVER	VERY RARELY	RARELY	ONCE IN A WHILE	FAIRLY OFTEN	DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
		1.1	2.1		3.1	4.1	9.1	
1. ATLANTA	COUNT	233	55		55	24	20	347
	ROW PCT	67.1	15.9		15.9	6.9	5.8	55.9
	COL PCT	58.5	67.1		107.8	58.5	40.8	
	TOT PCT	37.5	8.8		8.8	3.9	3.2	
2. D.C.	COUNT	165	47		16	17	29	274
	ROW PCT	60.2	17.2		5.8	6.2	10.6	44.1
	COL PCT	41.5	57.3		31.4	41.5	59.2	
	TOT PCT	26.6	7.6		2.6	2.7	4.7	
COLUMN TOTAL		398	82		51	41	49	621
		64.1	13.2		8.2	6.6	7.9	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 14.92373 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0049
CRAMER'S V = 0.15503
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.15320
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07664 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04225
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01754 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.01038 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01320
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.06255 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0486
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.06941 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0486
GAMMA = 0.11800
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.05898 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.06632 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.06244
ETA = 0.15503 WITH V002 DEPENDENT. = 0.07901 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.07901 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0243

TABLE C-4

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

V003 TRACTID BY V034 FREQUENCY OF BURGLARIES

V003 \ V034 (COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT)	NEVER 1.	VERY RARELY 2.	ONCE IN A WHILE 3.	FAIRLOFTEN 4.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	28	71	23	8	4	134
	20.9	53.0	17.2	6.0	3.0	21.6
	17.4	30.9	16.5	16.0	9.8	
	4.5	11.4	3.7	1.3	0.6	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	55	51	24	9	7	146
	37.7	34.9	16.4	6.2	4.8	23.5
	34.2	22.2	17.3	18.0	17.1	
	8.9	8.2	3.9	1.4	1.1	
3. MID IN	39	67	44	13	14	177
	22.0	37.9	24.9	7.3	7.9	28.5
	24.2	29.1	31.7	26.0	34.1	
	6.3	10.8	7.1	2.1	2.3	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	39	41	48	20	16	164
	23.8	25.0	29.3	12.2	9.8	26.4
	24.2	17.8	34.5	40.0	39.0	
	6.3	6.6	7.7	3.2	2.6	
COLUMN TOTAL	161	230	139	50	41	621
	25.9	37.0	22.4	8.1	6.6	100.0

C[illegible] SQUARE = 45.40086 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.15611
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.26101
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07432 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.02813 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.05269
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02593 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.02495 WITH V034 DEPEND
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02543
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12673 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.12519 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
GAMMA = 0.16994
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.12780 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.12566 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.12672
ETA = 0.21982 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.15867 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.14830 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001

TABLE C-5

CROSSTABULATION OF V003 TRACTID BY V035 FREQUENCY OF ROBBERIES

V003 TRACTID	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V035 1. NEVER	2. VERY RAR ELY	3. ONCE IN A WHILE	4. FAIRLOFT EN	9. DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. HIGH INCOME-LOW CRI		89	30	8	2	6	134
		65.7	22.4	6.0	1.5	4.5	21.6
		27.3	22.9	9.3	5.1	14.0	
		14.2	4.6	1.3	0.3	1.0	
2. LOW INCOME-LOW CRI		91	29	10	7	9	146
		62.3	19.9	6.8	4.8	6.2	23.5
		28.3	22.1	11.6	17.9	20.9	
		14.7	4.7	1.6	1.1	1.4	
3. MID IN		97	43	20	5	12	177
		54.8	24.3	11.3	2.8	6.8	28.5
		30.1	32.8	23.3	12.8	27.9	
		15.6	6.9	3.2	0.8	1.9	
4. LOW INCOME-HIGHCR		46	29	48	25	16	164
		28.0	17.7	29.3	15.2	9.8	26.4
		14.3	22.1	55.8	64.1	37.2	
		7.4	4.7	7.7	4.0	2.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		322 51.9	131 21.1	86 13.8	39 6.3	43 6.9	621 100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 101.31268 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.23320
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.37452
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.11712 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00669 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.07268
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.05620 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.06028 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.05848
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.26554 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.24839 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.37301
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.28281 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.24933 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.26501
ETA = 0.34701 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.23155 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.20936 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

TABLE C-6

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
V003 TRACTID BY V036 FREQUENCY OF ASSAULTS

V003 / V036 — COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NEVER 1.	VERY RARELY 2.	ONCE IN A WHILE 3.	FAIRLOFTEN 4.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	116	13	1	0	4	134
	86.6	9.7	0.7	0.0	3.0	21.6
	29.1	15.9	2.0	0.0	8.2	
	18.7	2.1	0.2	0.0	0.6	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	108	12	9	8	9	146
	74.0	8.2	6.2	5.5	6.2	23.5
	27.1	14.6	17.6	19.5	18.4	
	17.4	1.9	1.4	1.3	1.4	
3. MID IN	116	29	10	6	16	177
	65.5	16.4	5.6	3.4	9.0	28.5
	29.1	35.4	19.6	14.6	32.7	
	18.7	4.7	1.6	1.0	2.6	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	58	28	31	27	20	164
	35.4	17.1	18.9	16.5	12.2	26.4
	14.6	34.1	60.8	65.9	40.8	
	9.3	4.5	5.0	4.3	3.2	
COLUMN TOTAL	398	82	51	41	49	621
	64.1	13.2	8.2	6.6	7.9	100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 120.07547 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.25388
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.40253
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.10360 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.06897
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07382 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.08960 WITH V036 DEPEN
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.08095
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.32734 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.28092 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.49867
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.37998 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.28198 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.32373
ETA = 0.39657 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.27142 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.26223 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

TABLE C-7

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *
V072 POLICE COMMUNITY GROUPS BY V034 FREQUENCY OF BURGLARIES
* PAGE 1 OF 1

V072	V034	1. NEVER	2. VERY RAR ELY	3. ONCE IN A WHILE	4. FAIRLOFT EN	9. DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. YES	COUNT	50	67	34	15	6	172
	ROW PCT	29.1	39.0	19.8	8.7	3.5	27.7
	COL PCT	31.1	29.1	24.5	30.0	14.6	
	TOT PCT	8.1	10.8	5.5	2.4	1.0	
2. NO	COUNT	94	117	77	27	17	332
	ROW PCT	28.3	35.2	23.2	8.1	5.1	53.5
	COL PCT	58.4	50.9	55.4	54.0	41.5	
	TOT PCT	15.1	18.8	12.4	4.3	2.7	
9. DON'T KNOW-NOANS	COUNT	17	46	28	8	18	117
	ROW PCT	14.5	39.3	23.9	6.8	15.4	18.8
	COL PCT	10.6	20.0	20.1	16.0	43.9	
	TOT PCT	2.7	7.4	4.5	1.3	2.9	
COLUMN TOTAL		161 25.9	230 37.0	139 22.4	50 8.1	41 6.6	621 100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 26.22955 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0010
CRAMER'S V = 0.14532
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.20131
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00348 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00147
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01938 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.01357 WITH V034 DEPENDE
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01596
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.10789 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0010
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.10762 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0010
GAMMA = 0.16154
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.09766 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.11918 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.10735
ETA = 0.20125 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.18329 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.18321 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

TABLE C-8

CROSSTABULATION OF V072 POLICE COMMUNITY GROUPS BY V035 FREQUENCY OF ROBBERIES

	V035					
COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1.I NEVER	2.I VERY RAR ELY	3.I ONCE IN A WHILE	4.I FAIRLOFT EN	9.I DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
V072						
1. YES	93	40	19	12	8	172
	54.1	23.3	11.0	7.0	4.7	27.7
	28.9	30.5	22.1	30.8	18.6	
	15.0	6.4	3.1	1.9	1.3	
2. NO	191	62	42	22	15	332
	57.5	18.7	12.7	6.6	4.5	53.5
	59.3	47.3	48.8	56.4	34.9	
	30.8	10.0	6.8	3.5	2.4	
9. DON'T KNOW-NOANS	38	29	25	5	20	117
	32.5	24.8	21.4	4.3	17.1	18.8
	11.8	22.1	29.1	12.8	46.5	
	6.1	4.7	4.0	0.8	3.2	
COLUMN TOTAL	322	131	86	39	43	621
	51.9	21.1	13.8	6.3	6.9	100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 41.33182 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.18242
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.24981
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01730 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00850
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03003 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.02319 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02617
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12397 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.11709 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
GAMMA = 0.19116
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.11851 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.12968 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.12384
ETA = 0.24866 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.22001 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.21644 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

TABLE C-9

FILE [illegible]

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *

V072 POLICE COMMUNITY GROUPS BY V036 FREQUENCY OF ASSAULTS

V072	V036 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NEVER 1.	VERY RARELY 2.	ONCE IN A WHILE 3.	FAIRLOFTEN 4.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
YES	1.	119	24	9	10	10	172
		69.2	14.0	5.2	5.8	5.8	27.7
		29.9	29.3	17.6	24.4	20.4	
		19.2	3.9	1.4	1.6	1.6	
NO	2.	230	32	28	23	19	332
		69.3	9.6	8.4	6.9	5.7	53.5
		57.8	39.0	54.9	56.1	38.8	
		37.0	5.2	4.5	3.7	3.1	
DON'T KNOW-NOANS	9.	49	26	14	8	20	117
		41.9	22.2	12.0	6.8	17.1	16.8
		12.3	31.7	27.5	19.5	40.8	
		7.9	4.2	2.3	1.3	3.2	
	COLUMN TOTAL	398	82	51	41	49	621
		64.1	13.2	8.2	6.6	7.9	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 41.15961 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.18204
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.24932
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00346 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00195
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03098 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.02735 WITH V036 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02904
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.15251 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.13216 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.25228
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.15890 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.14637 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.15238
ETA = 0.24275 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.19924 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.19821 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

TABLE C-10

CROSSTABULATION OF V111 . RELATIVES INSIDE COMMUNITY BY V034 FREQUENCY OF BURGLARIES

V111	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V034 1. NEVER	2. VERY RARELY	3. ONCE IN A WHILE	4. FAIRLY OFTEN	9. DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. YES		57	75	52	21	9	214
		26.6	35.0	24.3	9.8	4.2	34.5
		35.4	32.6	37.4	42.0	22.0	
		9.2	12.1	8.4	3.4	1.4	
2. NO		103	155	86	29	31	404
		25.5	38.4	21.3	7.2	7.7	65.1
		64.0	67.4	61.9	58.0	75.6	
		16.6	25.0	13.8	4.7	5.0	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		1	0	1	0	1	3
		33.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	33.3	0.5
		0.6	0.0	0.7	0.0	2.4	
		0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		161	230	139	50	41	621
		25.9	37.0	22.4	8.1	6.6	100.0

5 OUT OF 15 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.198
CHI SQUARE = 9.65473 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2901
CRAMER'S V = 0.08817
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.12375
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.00256 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00164
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01145 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.00537 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00731
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.00515 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4441
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.00448 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4441
GAMMA = 0.00885
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00407 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.00652 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00501
ETA = 0.10764 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.07612 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.07513 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0307

TABLE C-11

CROSSTABULATION OF V111 RELATIVES INSIDE COMMUNITY BY V035 FREQUENCY OF ROBBERIES

V111	V035	1. NEVER	2. VERY RAR ELY	3. ONCE IN A WHILE	4. FAIRLOFT EN	9. DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. YES	COUNT	114	47	22	19	12	214
	ROW PCT	53.3	22.0	10.3	8.9	5.6	34.5
	COL PCT	35.4	35.9	25.6	48.7	27.9	
	TOT PCT	18.4	7.6	3.5	3.1	1.9	
2. NO	COUNT	207	84	64	20	29	404
	ROW PCT	51.2	20.8	15.8	5.0	7.2	65.1
	COL PCT	64.3	64.1	74.4	51.3	67.4	
	TOT PCT	33.3	13.5	10.3	3.2	4.7	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	COUNT	1	0	0	0	2	3
	ROW PCT	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.7	0.5
	COL PCT	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	
	TOT PCT	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		322	131	86	39	43	621
		51.9	21.1	13.8	6.3	6.9	100.0

5 OUT OF 15 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.188
CHI SQUARE = 24.24275 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0021
CRAMER'S V = 0.13971
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19383
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.00334 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00194
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01858 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.00960 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01266
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.02718 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2320
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.02240 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2320
GAMMA = 0.04945
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02267 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.03260 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02674
ETA = 0.15693 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.14089 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.11833 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0016

TABLE C-12

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
V111 RELATIVES INSIDE COMMUNITY BY V036 FREQUENCY OF ASSAULTS
* PAGE 1 OF 1

		V036					
	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. NEVER	2. VERY RAR ELY	3. ONCE IN A WHILE	4. FAIRLOFT EN	9. DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
V111							
1. YES		139	22	24	19	10	214
		65.0	10.3	11.2	8.9	4.7	34.5
		34.9	26.8	47.1	46.3	20.4	
		22.4	3.5	3.9	3.1	1.6	
2. NO		258	60	27	22	37	404
		63.9	14.9	6.7	5.4	9.2	65.1
		64.8	73.2	52.9	53.7	75.5	
		41.5	9.7	4.3	3.5	6.0	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		1	0	0	0	2	3
		33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.7	0.5
		0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.1	
		0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	
	COLUMN TOTAL	398 64.1	82 13.2	51 8.2	41 6.6	49 7.9	621 100.0

5 OUT OF 15 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.198
CHI-SQUARE = 26.29057 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0009
CRAMER'S V = 0.14549
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.20153
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.00448 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00227
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02317 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.01370 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01722
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.01742 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3216
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.01317 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3216
GAMMA = 0.03441
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01584 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.01917 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01734
ETA = 0.18340 WITH V111 DEPENDENT. = 0.14085 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.12855 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007

TABLE C-13

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *

V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY V034 FREQUENCY OF BURGLARIES

V161 \ V034 (COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT)	NEVER 1.	VERY RARELY 2.	ONCE IN A WHILE 3.	FAIRLY OFTEN 4.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. YES	59	112	43	17	10	241
	24.5	46.5	17.8	7.1	4.1	38.8
	36.6	48.7	30.9	34.0	24.4	
	9.5	18.0	6.9	2.7	1.6	
2. NO	95	115	94	33	29	366
	26.0	31.4	25.7	9.0	7.9	58.9
	59.0	50.0	67.6	66.0	70.7	
	15.3	18.5	15.1	5.3	4.7	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	7	3	2	0	2	14
	50.0	21.4	14.3	0.0	14.3	2.3
	4.3	1.3	1.4	0.0	4.9	
	1.1	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL	161	230	139	50	41	621
	25.9	37.0	22.4	8.1	6.6	100.0

4 OUT OF 15 (26.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = C.924
CHI SQUARE = 23,83015 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0024
CRAMER'S V = 0.13852
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19224
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.01023 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00619
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02559 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.01363 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01779
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.05763 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0562
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.05247 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0562
GAMMA = 0.09471
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04761 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.06975 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.05659
ETA = 0.13343 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.09249 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.04123 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1525

TABLE C-14

CROSSTABULATION OF V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY V035 FREQUENCY OF ROBBERIES

V161	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V035 1. NEVER	2. VERY RARELY	3. ONCE IN A WHILE	4. FAIRLOFTEN	9. DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. YES		140	60	21	9	11	241
		58.1	24.9	8.7	3.7	4.6	38.8
		43.5	45.8	24.4	23.1	25.6	
		22.5	9.7	3.4	1.4	1.8	
2. NO		174	69	65	30	28	366
		47.5	18.9	17.8	8.2	7.7	58.9
		54.0	52.7	75.6	76.9	65.1	
		28.0	11.1	10.5	4.8	4.5	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		8	2	0	0	4	14
		57.1	14.3	0.0	0.0	28.6	2.3
		2.5	1.5	0.0	0.0	9.3	
		1.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		322 51.9	131 21.1	86 13.8	39 6.3	43 6.9	621 100.0

4 OUT OF 15 (26.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.879
CHI-SQUARE = 33.79581 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.16496
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.22718
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03500 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.02056 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02590
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12565 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.10833 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
GAMMA = 0.21986
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.10963 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.14400 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.12449
ETA = 0.14602 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.14709 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.12823 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007

TABLE C-15

CROSSTABULATION OF V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY V036 FREQUENCY OF ASSAULTS

V161 CLUB AFFILIATION	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V036 1.0 NEVER	2.0 VERY RARELY	3.0 ONCE IN A WHILE	4.0 FAIRLOFTEN	9.0 DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. YES	COUNT	172	35	15	7	12	241
	ROW PCT	71.4	14.5	6.2	2.9	5.0	38.8
	COL PCT	43.2	42.7	29.4	17.1	24.5	
	TOT PCT	27.7	5.6	2.4	1.1	1.9	
2. NO	COUNT	216	46	36	34	34	366
	ROW PCT	59.0	12.6	9.8	9.3	9.3	58.9
	COL PCT	54.3	56.1	70.6	82.9	69.4	
	TOT PCT	34.8	7.4	5.8	5.5	5.5	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	COUNT	10	1	0	0	3	14
	ROW PCT	71.4	7.1	0.0	0.0	21.4	2.3
	COL PCT	2.5	1.2	0.0	0.0	6.1	
	TOT PCT	1.6	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.8	
COLUMN TOTAL		398	82	51	41	49	621
		64.1	13.2	8.2	6.6	7.9	100.0

4 OUT OF 15 (26.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.924
CHI SQUARE = 24.55118 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0019
CRAMER'S V = 0.14060
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19502
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02831 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.01902 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02276
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12668 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.10020 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
GAMMA = 0.24462
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.12048 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.13320 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.12652
ETA = 0.10593 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.13734 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.09394 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0096

TABLE C-16

CROSSTABULATION OF V172 NEIGHBORHOOD-CHURCH BY V034 FREQUENCY OF BURGLARIES

V172	V034	1.1 NEVER	2.1 VERY RAR ELY	3.1 ONCE IN A WHILE	4.1 FAIRLOFT EN	9.1 DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
0. NO	COUNT	94	110	95	33	29	367
	ROW PCT	25.6	31.6	25.9	9.0	7.9	59.1
	COL PCT	58.4	50.4	68.3	66.0	70.7	
	TOT PCT	15.1	18.7	15.3	5.3	4.7	
1. YES	COUNT	25	34	16	7	3	85
	ROW PCT	29.4	40.0	18.8	8.2	3.5	13.7
	COL PCT	15.5	14.8	11.5	14.0	7.3	
	TOT PCT	4.0	5.5	2.6	1.1	0.5	
9.	COUNT	42	80	28	10	9	169
	ROW PCT	24.9	47.3	16.6	5.9	5.3	27.2
	COL PCT	26.1	34.8	20.1	20.0	22.0	
	TOT PCT	6.8	12.9	4.5	1.6	1.4	
COLUMN TOTAL		161	230	139	50	41	621
		25.9	37.0	22.4	8.1	6.6	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 17.43127 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0259
CRAMER'S V = 0.11847
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16524
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01518 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00991 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01199
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.08087 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0108
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.07766 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0108
GAMMA = -0.12692
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.07047 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.09279 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.08011
ETA = 0.14569 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.09390 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.06320 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0578

TABLE C-17

* CROSSTABULATION OF *
V172 NEIGHBORHOOD- CHURCH BY V035 FREQUENCY OF ROBBERIES
* PAGE 1 OF 1

		V035					
	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. NEVER	2. VERY RARELY	3. ONCE IN A WHILE	4. FAIRLOFTEN	9. DONT KNOW-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
V172	0.	173	70	65	30	29	367
		47.1	19.1	17.7	8.2	7.9	59.1
		53.7	53.4	75.6	76.9	67.4	
		27.9	11.3	10.5	4.8	4.7	
YES	1.	63	13	8	0	1	85
		74.1	15.3	9.4	0.0	1.2	13.7
		19.6	9.9	9.3	0.0	2.3	
		10.1	2.1	1.3	0.0	0.2	
	9.	86	48	13	9	13	169
		50.9	28.4	7.7	5.3	7.7	27.2
		26.7	36.6	15.1	23.1	30.2	
		13.8	7.7	2.1	1.4	2.1	
	COLUMN TOTAL	322 51.9	131 21.1	86 13.8	39 6.3	43 6.9	621 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 38.24736 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.17548
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.24087
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03876 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.02792 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03246
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.09663 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0034
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.08787 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0034
GAMMA = -0.16292
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.08893 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.10500 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.09630
ETA = 0.16694 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.15973 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.01862 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3216

TABLE C-18

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
V172 NEIGHBORHOOD- CHURCH BY V036 FREQUENCY OF ASSAULTS
* PAGE 1 OF 1

V172	V036 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NEVER 1.	VERY RARELY 2.	ONCE IN A WHILE 3.	FAIRLY OFTEN 4.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
0.	COUNT	216	47	36	34	34	367
	ROW PCT	58.9	12.8	9.8	9.3	9.3	59.1
	COL PCT	54.3	57.3	70.6	82.9	69.4	
	TOT PCT	34.8	7.6	5.8	5.5	5.5	
1. YES	COUNT	69	7	5	1	3	85
	ROW PCT	81.2	8.2	5.9	1.2	3.5	13.7
	COL PCT	17.3	8.5	9.8	2.4	6.1	
	TOT PCT	11.1	1.1	0.8	0.2	0.5	
9.	COUNT	113	28	10	6	12	169
	ROW PCT	66.9	16.6	5.9	3.6	7.1	27.2
	COL PCT	28.4	34.1	19.6	14.6	24.5	
	TOT PCT	18.2	4.5	1.6	1.0	1.9	
COLUMN TOTAL		398	82	51	41	49	621
		64.1	13.2	8.2	6.6	7.9	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 24.68468 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0018
CRAMER'S V = 0.14098
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19553
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02337 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01925 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02111
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.10949 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0012
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.09135 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0012
GAMMA = -0.20511
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.10983 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.10915 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.10949
ETA = 0.11634 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.13346 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R =-0.05687 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0785

ERRATUM: THERE ARE NO TABLES NUMBERED C-19 AND C-20

TABLE C-21

CROSSTABULATION OF V249 RELIGIOUS SERVICES ATTENDANCE BY V036 FREQUENCY OF ASSAULTS

V249	V036 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. NEVER	2. VERY RAR ELY	3. ONCE IN A WHILE	4. FAIRLOFT EN	5. DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. ONCE A WEEK O		119	21	11	8	16	175
		68.0	12.0	6.3	4.6	9.1	28.2
		29.9	25.6	21.6	19.5	32.7	
		19.2	3.4	1.8	1.3	2.6	
2. TWO OR THREE A M		93	15	10	6	10	134
		69.4	11.2	7.5	4.5	7.5	21.6
		23.4	18.3	19.6	14.6	20.4	
		15.0	2.4	1.6	1.0	1.6	
3. ONCE A MONTH		117	24	18	12	12	183
		63.9	13.1	9.8	6.6	6.6	29.5
		29.4	29.3	35.3	29.3	24.5	
		18.8	3.9	2.9	1.9	1.9	
5. NEVER		50	18	7	13	5	93
		53.8	19.4	7.5	14.0	5.4	15.0
		12.6	22.0	13.7	31.7	10.2	
		8.1	2.9	1.1	2.1	0.8	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		19	4	5	2	6	36
		52.8	11.1	13.9	5.6	16.7	5.8
		4.8	4.9	9.8	4.9	12.2	
		3.1	0.6	0.8	0.3	1.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		398 64.1	82 13.2	51 8.2	41 6.6	49 7.9	621 100.0

4 OUT OF 25 (16.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.377

CHI SQUARE = 24.38145 WITH 16 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0815

CRAMER'S V = 0.09907

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19437

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01598 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01059

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01162 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.01530 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01321

KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.08471 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0066

KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.06880 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0066

GAMMA = 0.12915

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.09927 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.07229 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.08366

TABLE C-22

CROSSTABULATION OF V301 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V034 FREQUENCY OF BURGLARIES PAGE 1 OF 1

V301		V034 NEVER	VERY RAR ELY	ONCE IN A WHILE	FAIRLOFT EN	DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
RENT	1.	54	49	38	25	15	181
	ROW PCT	29.8	27.1	21.0	13.8	8.3	29.1
	COL PCT	33.5	21.3	27.3	50.0	36.6	
	TOT PCT	8.7	7.9	6.1	4.0	2.4	
OWN	2.	96	175	96	25	23	415
	ROW PCT	23.1	42.2	23.1	6.0	5.5	66.8
	COL PCT	59.6	76.1	69.1	50.0	56.1	
	TOT PCT	15.5	28.2	15.5	4.0	3.7	
FREE	3.	11	6	5	0	3	25
	ROW PCT	44.0	24.0	20.0	0.0	12.0	4.0
	COL PCT	6.8	2.6	3.6	0.0	7.3	
	TOT PCT	1.8	1.0	0.8	0.0	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		161	230	139	50	41	621
		25.9	37.0	22.4	8.1	6.6	100.0

2 OUT OF 15 (13.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.651
CHI SQUARE = 28.91953 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
CRAMER'S V = 0.15259
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.21094
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.02558 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01675
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03141 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.01659 WITH V034 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02171
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.04968 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0842
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.04364 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0842
GAMMA = -0.08267
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.03960 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = -0.06232 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.04843
ETA = 0.15833 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.06084 WITH V034 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.05222 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0969

TABLE C-23

CROSSTABULATION OF V3C1 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V035 FREQUENCY OF ROBBERIES

V3C1	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V035 1.0 NEVER	2.0 VERY RAR ELY	3.0 ONCE IN A WHILE	4.0 FAIRLOFT EN	5.0 DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. RENT		66	35	43	19	18	181
		36.5	19.3	23.8	10.5	9.9	29.1
		20.5	26.7	50.0	48.7	41.9	
		10.6	5.6	6.9	3.1	2.9	
2. OWN		241	93	40	18	23	415
		58.1	22.4	9.6	4.3	5.5	66.8
		74.8	71.0	46.5	46.2	53.5	
		38.8	15.0	6.4	2.9	3.7	
3. FREE		15	3	3	2	2	25
		60.0	12.0	12.0	8.0	8.0	4.0
		4.7	2.3	3.5	5.1	4.7	
		2.4	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		322	131	86	39	43	621
		51.9	21.1	13.8	6.3	6.9	100.0

3 CUT OF 15 (20.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.570
CHI SQUARE = 42.78111 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.18559
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.25387
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01942 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00792
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04395 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = 0.02560 WITH V035 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03236
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.19829 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.16494 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = -0.33663
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.16693 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = -0.23554 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.19538
ETA = 0.22809 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = 0.17238 WITH V035 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.14935 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001

TABLE C-24

V3C1 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V036 FREQUENCY OF ASSAULTS PAGE 1 OF 1

	V036					
COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NEVER	VERY RARELY	ONCE IN A WHILE	FAIRLOFTEN	DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
	1.1	2.1	3.1	4.1	5.1	
1						
1.	92	19	26	25	19	181
ENT	50.8	10.5	14.4	13.8	10.5	29.1
	23.1	23.2	51.0	61.0	38.8	
	14.8	3.1	4.2	4.0	3.1	
2.	291	60	22	14	28	415
MN	70.1	14.5	5.3	3.4	6.7	66.8
	73.1	73.2	43.1	34.1	57.1	
	46.9	9.7	3.5	2.3	4.5	
3.	15	3	3	2	2	25
REE	60.0	12.0	12.0	8.0	8.0	4.0
	3.8	3.7	5.9	4.9	4.1	
	2.4	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL	398 64.1	82 13.2	51 8.2	41 6.6	49 7.9	621 100.0

0 CUT OF 15 (24.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.681
I SQUARE = 45.09830 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
MER'S V = 0.19055

NTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.26020
BDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07282 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
BDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03497
ERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04502 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = 0.03000 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
ERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03601
NDALL'S TAU B = -0.16527 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
NDALL'S TAU C = -0.12613 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
MMA = -0.29830
ERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.15164 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = -0.18011 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
ERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.16468
A = 0.21909 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = 0.15498 WITH V036 DEPENDENT.
ARSON'S R = -0.12912 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0006

D. TROUBLE WITH POLICE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD POLICE

This section of the report contains two subsections. The first of these concerns the prediction of whether or not the respondent has personal acquaintances who have had trouble with the police and whether or not the respondent himself has had trouble with the police. The second subsection is concerned with predicting responses on the attitude-toward-police scales (these scales themselves were analyzed for validity, as noted in the factor analysis section above).

(a) Trouble with Police

The survey instrument contains two questions which pertain to trouble with the police, the first of which pertains to acquaintances of the respondent, and the second of which pertains to the respondent himself or herself. As we will see, these two items, treated here as dependent variables, are predicted by a reasonably rich range of independent variables.

The first of these, variable 78 in the Codebook (corresponding to questionnaire item number 29a), asks the respondent: "Has anyone you have known personally ever been in trouble with the police?" The interviewer then used a probe in order to clarify that what was meant was criminal involvement. The response categories were simply "yes," "no," and "don't know/no answer." A series of follow-up probes ascertained whether that person was a relative, friend, acquaintance and so on.

The second dependent variable is whether or not the respondent has had trouble with the police. This is variable 86 (question number 30), and reads: "Have you yourself ever been in any kind of trouble with the police?" The response categories were, as with the above, namely "yes, "no," and "don't know/no answer."

The reader will note in the tables following that while the marginal totals for the first of these variables are not far from a 50-50 split for "yes" versus "no," the marginal totals for the second variable, pertaining to the respondent himself or herself, are somewhat lopsided (10.6% "yes" versus 88.6% "no," with only .8% "don't know"). This is as expected. People will more readily answer in the affirmative to such incriminating questions when the item pertains to someone they know rather than to themselves. One advantage of having asked the respondents this kind of question about themselves (after having appropriately "buttered them up" first by having them respond about acquaintances) is that we can be quite confident that the small percent who did indeed answer in the affirmative are very probably telling the truth. A respondent is far more likely to say he has had no trouble when in fact he has, than to say he has when he in fact has not. The probabilities of lying are far greater for the first type of lie than for the second type of lie. Hence, in the absence

of other means of validating this item (we have no appropriate items or records with which to examine its intercorrelation, as we did with other sets of items), what this means is that we may probably assume at least some moderate degree of "face validity" in regard to this item. Hence, it is very wise to use the item as a dependent variable despite the unequal marginals.

The next two tables (D-2 and D-3) show the effects of the respondent's age. In general, the older the respondent, the less likely he or she is to have acquaintances who have been criminally involved with the police (Table D-2). Note that both the "yes" as well as the "no" columns of percents are monotonic. Note that this is also true -- even moreso -- in Table D-4, which involves a more fine-grained categorization of age. However, age is not significantly related to whether or not the respondent himself has had trouble with the police (Table D-3). This is somewhat of a surprise. We must conclude from this that for our respondents in Atlanta and in D. C., age has no overall effect on whether or not one reports having trouble with the police. Recall, too, that age is an indirect indicator of community integration (in general the older one is, the longer one has been in the community, though this is, of course, not a perfect correlation).

Our next series of tables, however, tend to confirm once again the prior findings regarding the overall effects of indicators of community integration (Table D-5 following). Interestingly, and unlike all analyses thus far presented, the respondent's religion is significantly related to whether or not an acquaintance is personally involved with the police (Table D-5), although religion is not related to this as it pertains to the respondent (table not shown). Note from Table D-5 the interesting and rather surprising result that Catholics have the greatest percent (56.3%) of acquaintances who have had run-ins with the police, with Baptists running a distant second (with (43.2%). A slight qualification here is that only a small percent of the total sample is Catholic (48 or 7.7% out of the total of 621 in both cities). The lowest percent of those reporting acquaintance trouble with the police are those who give their religion as Methodist (35.6% indicate knowing someone who has had trouble with the police). The significance level for the whole table is P = .011, and C = .18.

As with our prior results, variables which pertain to religious activity rather than religion per se are the good predictors. Tables D-6 and D-7 show that whether or not one is a member of a neighborhood church is related to acquaintance trouble with the police (Table D-6) but not to whether the respondent has had trouble with the police (Table D-7). Table D-6 shows a significant, though not tremendously strong, relationship: Those who are members of a neighborhood church are less likely to report having an acquaintance who has had

troubles with the police (32.9% for members, 41.1% for non-members).

Tables D-8 and D-9 show impressive effects of another such variable, frequency of attendance at religious services. Note from Table D-8 the smooth, monotonic relationship: The less frequent the church attendance, the more likely the respondent is to know someone who has had run-ins with the police; the relationship goes from 30.9% of those who attend once a week all the way to 61.3% of those who never attend. The same monotonic pattern is present when the question pertains to the respondent's own troubles with the police (Table D-9). Despite the small percent who so indicate, even these few are monotonically distributed such that the less frequent the attendance the more likely the respondent is to have had troubles with the police.

The same finding is obtained when participation in church activities is taken into account (Tables D-10 and D-11): Those who participate in church activities are, by a significant margin ($P = .0013$) less likely than non-participators to have acquaintances who have had trouble with the police (35.7% versus 50.3%). When the dependent variable is the respondent's own troubles with the police, the same kind of finding is obtained: Significantly less a percent of the attenders (6.2%) have had trouble with the police, relative to the non-attenders (12.8%), although one will note that the differences in the percents, thus the overall relationship, is not great ($P = .04$; $C = .13$). Nonetheless, the relationship is in the predicted direction and is consistent with all the prior findings regarding the effects of indicators of community integration. The overall conclusion here is that those more involved with religious activities in the community are less likely to be adversely involved with the law -- and also less likely to have acquaintances who are.

The next set of tables (Tables D-12 and D-13) show the effects of one of our less powerful predictors, the effects of gender: Men are more likely than women to know someone who is involved criminally with the police (although the significance level is borderline; $P = .09$ and $C =$ only .11). Furthermore, men are more likely than women -- by a bigger margin than in the prior table -- to have been involved themselves with run-ins with the police ($P < .0001$; $C = .22$).

The effects of the own/rent variable, an indicator of community integration, are displayed in Tables D-14 and D-15, where it is seen that those who rent are more likely than those who own to have acquaintances who have had troubles with the police. However, this predictor is not related to the respondent's own troubles with the police (See Table D-15). Hence, this indicator of community integration does not predict here quite as well as for previous sets of dependent variables.

We come now to a series of tables which show, for the first time, the effects of some socioeconomic variables. It bears repeating that despite evidence in previous studies of the effects of socioeconomic variables on such things as crime perception and connections and associations with crime, we have found no real evidence of any effects of socioeconomic variables, at least when such variables are treated as characteristics of the respondent (characteristics of the respondent's tract do appear to predict). Those few effects that we find here (in Tables D-16 through D-20) are only upon dependent variable 078 (police involvement of personal acquaintance) and not upon variable 086 (respondent's own trouble with the police). Furthermore, although the effects here are statistically significant, the strengths of the relationships are less than those generally observed above, and in two cases the level of statistical significance is borderline.

Table D-16 shows some relationship between a person's employment status and involvement of acquaintances with the police. Those who are most likely to have such acquaintances are the unemployed or those in regular but part-time employment. Interestingly, the highest percent of those with such acquaintances occurs among students. Those who are employed full-time have the lowest percent of such acquaintances, a finding consistent with past studies.

For those who are not employed full-time (i.e., for those who fall into some category other than full-time employment), Table D-17 shows the relationship between their source of finances and involvement of acquaintances with the police. The table shows that those who receive their primary support from welfare have the greatest percent (72%) of those who have such acquaintances, with those on social security as their primary source of income having the lowest percent.

Continuing with the effects of socioeconomic variables, Table D-18 shows a (limited) effect of father's education (the amount of education of the respondent's father) upon whether or not the respondent has personal acquaintances involved with the police. The relationship is strictly non-monotonic, not well patterned and of borderline significance ($P = .09$). Those whose fathers have only a grade school education are the ones having the greatest percent of acquaintances who are involved with the police, with the lowest percent being those whose fathers never attended any school at all. As already noted, this independent variable is not related to respondent's own troubles with the police.

Father's NORC score (National Opinion Research Center) (categorized; the higher the number, the higher the NORC prestige score) is significantly related to the dependent variable (Table D-19), such that the greatest percent of those having involved acquaintances occurs for the second-highest score category (erroneously designated as code "4" on

Table D-19). The relationship is not monotonic and not at all clearly patterned. In general, this table only serves to underscore the lack of clear relationships between socioeconomic variables and our dependent variables.

Note from the next table (Table D-20) that when we consider self-named SES as the predictor variable (variable 323, "Into which groups [lower working, middle working, etc.] would you consider yourself?"), even though there is a significant relationship (P = .016 and C = .18), the pattern of percents is confusing: The greatest percent of those claiming to have acquaintances who have had troubles with the police occurs among those who call themselves "lower working class." This is not particularly surprising, but then (this is confusing) the lowest percent occurs for those who place themselves in the next highest category, "middle working class." These latter respondents also have the highest percent who do not have such acquaintances. The percents for the other self-named SES categories are roughly the same. Note finally that those who classified themselves as "middle class" constituted the greatest portion of the total sample (218 respondents, or 35.1%; see the marginal total).

To summarize: We were concerned in this subsection with the prediction of whether the respondent has acquaintances who have had run-ins with the police and with the prediction of whether or not the respondent himself or herself has had such run-ins. In general, the first dependent variable was predicted better than the second; namely, more independent variables predicted the first than the second. This means that at least for the array of predictors which we consider in our study, it is easier to predict the extent of involvement of one's acquaintances than the extent of self-reported criminal involvement. But nonetheless, even this latter variable is predicted by certain of the variables that we have used.

The predictors of either or both of these two dependent variables turn out to be the following: Tract type; respondent's age; religion (unlike our prior analyses); whether or not one is a member of a neighborhood church; frequency of attendance at religious services; participation in church activities; gender (which predicts here for the first time); whether one's primary dwelling is owned or rented; and certain socioeconomic variables -- which themselves only achieve a very moderate overall predictability -- namely, employment status, source of income for those not employed full-time, father's education, father's NORC (prestige) score, and finally, self-named socioeconomic class. In short, certain independent variables, which themselves constitute indicators of community integration, again do the successful predicting, this time with the slight qualification that in addition, some socio-economic variables do some very moderate amount of predicting. The overall conclusion for this subsection is

that reported trouble with the police, either for the respondent or the respondent's acquaintances, can indeed be statistically predicted; and further, those variables which say something about the person's involvement within the community, especially religious involvement, are the successful predictors.

(b) Attitudes Toward the Police

The reader will recall that as part of our survey we developed a set of bipolar adjective scales to measure respondent attitudes toward "the police" as a single attitude-object. Thus we asked respondents to rate police on five-point scales of "good" versus "bad," "honest" versus "corrupt," "lazy" versus "hardworking," and so on. These scales were all submitted to factor analysis; the results have already been detailed (see Table 1 above). Recall that three factors were used, and that the first factor explained over one-third of all of the total item variance -- a very solid amount.

The questionnaire item which correlated most highly with the first factor was the "good - bad" item, a result which consistently shows up in past research which uses items in connection with the good-bad item. We thus concluded that the first factor was our valid measure of "attitude toward police," and that the good-bad item was the criterion item. In this section, then, our task is the prediction of responses on this single item. Note, incidentally, that such results by inference will apply as well to any single item correlating highly with the first factor. Thus, for example, say that we find (as we do, see below) that respondents who are members of some community club are more likely than non-members to rate the police as "good" rather than as "bad" (or down toward the "bad" end of the scale). If this is so, then we may also make the inference that club members (as opposed to non-members) also feel that the police are honest rather than corrupt, fair rather than unfair, hard-working rather than lazy, and smart rather than dumb. This is because (once again, refer to Table 1 earlier) these four items correlate highly on Factor 1, the same factor upon which the good-bad item correlates most highly. This should be kept in mind while examining all the tables to come next.

The results which pertain to the variables which successfully predict the good-bad item (hence an overall evaluation of the police) are straightforward and are given in Tables D-21 and following. A rich range of predictors indeed emerges. As expected, those variables which serve as indicators of community integration are the better predictors, but there are some additional successful predictors as well.

We ask, then: What kinds of respondents are the ones who generally favorably evaluate the police in Atlanta and Washington?

The first thing we will note is that there are no differences between Atlanta and Washington in regard to the good versus bad ratings. This was a bit of a surprise, and so we checked this finding by examining the tables which relate Atlanta versus Washington to the other attitude items as well (honest-corrupt, etc.). Here, too, we find no significant relationships. There thus seems to be little question -- again in terms of our sample, and in terms of the specific items asked -- that respondents in Atlanta do not evaluate their police any differently in terms of general positive-negative attitudes than do people in Washington, D. C. And remember that we are dealing here with a set of highly valid attitude scales, scales which have shown up again and again in numerous past studies as excellent measures of overall attitudes; and furthermore, a set of scales which we subjected ourselves to our own validation analysis (namely, factor analysis). So be it.

As expected, and consistent with our own previous results, the variable tract type is related to attitudes toward the police. The results are in Table D-21, where it is seen that the rating "very good" as well as "somewhat good" occurs most heavily (i.e., the greatest percent) in the middle-income, low-crime tract (Atlanta and Washington combined; for separate results for Atlanta and Washington, see below under the three variable (three way) analyses). But in a pattern not quite consistent with what we have obtained in the study thus far, the middle-income, high-crime tract shows the worst rating (highest percent "somewhat bad"), although the low-income, high-crime tract also shows nearly the same percent rating the police as "somewhat bad" (this is consistent with our own past results).

Thus we see once again that even when it comes to predicting something very highly perceptual and general like global attitude toward "the police," it is the distinction among tract types within a city rather than different cities which predicts these attitudes. (This has yet to be substantiated by three-way analysis, where tract type is related to the dependent variable while Atlanta-Washington is held constant. These results are presented below.)

Table D-22 shows a significant effect of age of respondent (and with a C of .26): The older the respondent, the more favorable the evaluation of the police. The pattern of percents is clear. The results are substantiated by the fine-grained age categorization given in Table D-23, where the strength of the relationship is even greater (C = .28). So it is the younger respondents who have the more negative attitudes toward the police; the older one is, the more favorable the attitude.

The next set of predictors pertain directly to community integration. Table D-24 shows that respondents who report

that their communities have groups established to improve communication between the residents and the police also are the respondents who have the more favorable attitudes toward the police. Table D-25 shows reasonably clearly that those who have some club affiliation in the community are the ones with the more favorable attitudes toward the police. The next table (Table D-26) shows some tendency (though not a strong one) for those who are members of a neighborhood church to have on the average a more favorable attitude than those who are not members. And finally, a very slight tendency (Table D-27) is seen for those who are the more frequent church attenders to have the more favorable attitude, although here the significance level is borderline.

We continue with our examination of the effects of indicators of community integration and community involvement. As we have been noting throughout this report, whether one owns or rents is (still!) a solid predictor (Table D-28): Those who own have on the average the more favorable attitudes toward the police; those who rent have on the average the more negative attitudes (and also are more likely to say "no opinion"). In this case, who the head of the household is (Table D-29) predicts: The more favorable attitudes are held by the male who is household head rather than by the female household head, who is in turn more likely to say either "no opinion" or "somewhat bad."

Even the variable marital status is related to good-bad police attitude (Table D-30); remember that marital status is not a strong predictor in our survey. Nonetheless, it is the single and over-eighteen respondent who tends to have the negative attitudes toward the police, and the married respondents who have the favorable attitudes. (An exception is that the under-eighteen single respondents tend also to have favorable attitudes.) Those who are separated tend to be neutral.

We next encounter a cluster of socioeconomic variables which, it will be recalled also, predict (though only to a fair degree) troubles with the police. Table D-31 shows that employment status is related to good-bad rating of the police (but only at a very low level of magnitude) such that (in general) those who are unemployed, and those who are only occasionally employed, are (not surprisingly) the ones who have the more negative attitudes toward the police. Those in part-time and full-time employment are more likely to have the favorable attitudes ("somewhat good" and "very good"). Note also that those classified as "student" tend to have favorable attitudes.

Table D-32, showing the effect of father's education, shows that the greater the amount of formal education of the respondent's father, the more favorable the attitude (of the respondent) toward the police. The pattern of percents is

reasonably clear here.

In a similar vein, the higher the respondent's NORC score (Table D33), the more favorable his or her attitude toward the police. (Father's NORC score was not significantly related to this dependent variable.) When we consider the effects of the respondent's own, self-named social class (Table D-34), the effects are similar: The higher the self-named social class, the more favorable the attitude toward the police.

Finally, we note that, not surprisingly, the alienation variable is in some ways significantly related to attitude toward the police (Tables D-35 and D-36). The more negative one's perspective on the future (i.e., the more alienated), then the more negative, also, is one's attitude toward the police (Table D-35). Similarly, the more dismal one's outlook for the future of black people, then the more negative the attitude toward the police (Table D-36).

To summarize, general attitude toward the police, as we have measured it, is predicted by the following: Attitude toward the police is more favorable rather than less favorable or negative, depending upon tract type; for older, rather than younger, respondents; for respondents in communities which contain groups established to improve resident-police relations; for those who are members of some community club; for those who are members of some community church; for frequent rather than infrequent church attenders; for those who own rather than rent their dwelling; for male rather than female heads of households; for those who are married rather than those who are single or separated; for those who are either fully employed or full-time students, rather than those who are employed part-time or who are unemployed; for those whose father has a higher level of formal education; for those who are higher in self-named social class; and for those who are less alienated in terms of some of our measures of alienation.

Notable among variables that did not significantly predict attitudes toward the police -- but which predicted at least one prior dependent variable -- are these: City (Atlanta versus Washington); presence and use of community recreational facilities; whether the respondent has relatives in the community; self-evaluation; respondent's education; religion; source of financial support; and a number of other socio-economical variables.

TABLE D-1

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F *

V003 TRACTID BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE

V003	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	YES 1.	NO 2.	DONT KNOW-NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	4	128	2	134
	ROW PCT	3.0	95.5	1.5	21.6
	COL PCT	6.1	23.3	40.0	
	TOT PCT	0.6	20.6	0.3	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	22	124	0	146
	ROW PCT	15.1	84.9	0.0	23.5
	COL PCT	33.3	22.5	0.0	
	TOT PCT	3.5	20.0	0.0	
3. MID IN	COUNT	15	159	3	177
	ROW PCT	8.5	89.8	1.7	28.5
	COL PCT	22.7	28.9	60.0	
	TOT PCT	2.4	25.6	0.5	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	COUNT	25	139	0	164
	ROW PCT	15.2	84.8	0.0	26.4
	COL PCT	37.9	25.3	0.0	
	TOT PCT	4.0	22.4	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		66	550	5	621
		10.6	88.6	0.8	100.0

4 OUT OF 12 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.079
CHI SQUARE = 20.40712 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0023
CRAMER'S V = 0.12818
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.17837
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02252 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01942
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01436 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.05154 WITH V086 DEPEND
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02246
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.09516 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0046
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.05576 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0046
GAMMA = -0.24303
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.18202 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = -0.04975 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.07815
ETA = 0.10704 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.14524 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.07388 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0329

TABLE D-2

CROSSTABULATION OF VOE7 AGE CATEGORY OF RESPONDENT BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V007	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V078 YES	NO	DONT KNO W NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
		1.	2.	9.	
1. TEENAGE		72	88	2	118
		61.0	37.3	1.7	19.0
		26.5	13.1	16.7	
		11.6	7.1	0.3	
2. Y O		74	54	1	129
		57.4	41.9	0.8	20.8
		27.2	16.0	8.3	
		11.9	8.7	0.2	
3. ADULT		106	175	7	288
		36.8	60.8	2.4	46.4
		39.0	51.9	58.3	
		17.1	28.2	1.1	
4. SENICR		18	58	2	78
		23.1	74.4	2.6	12.6
		6.6	17.2	16.7	
		2.9	9.3	0.3	
9. DON'T KNOW-NO AN		2	6	0	8
		25.0	75.0	0.0	1.3
		0.7	1.8	0.0	
		0.3	1.0	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		272	337	12	621
		43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

6 OUT OF 15 (40.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.155
CHI SQUARE = 45.33193 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.19063
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.26029
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V007 DEPENDENT. = 0.16901 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.07780
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02841 WITH V007 DEPENDENT. = 0.04855 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03588
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.23859 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.21294 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.36260
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.27657 WITH V007 DEPENDENT. = 0.20582 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.23601

TABLE D-3

CROSSTABULATION OF V007 AGE CATEGORY OF RESPONDENT BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE

V007	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V086 YES (1.)	V086 NO (2.)	V086 DONT KNO W-NO ANS (9.)	ROW TOTAL
1. TEENAGE	COUNT	11	104	3	118
	ROW PCT	9.3	88.1	2.5	19.0
	COL PCT	16.7	18.9	60.0	
	TOT PCT	1.8	16.7	0.5	
2. Y -O	COUNT	16	113	0	129
	ROW PCT	12.4	87.6	0.0	20.8
	COL PCT	24.2	20.5	0.0	
	TOT PCT	2.6	18.2	0.0	
3. ADULT	COUNT	33	253	2	288
	ROW PCT	11.5	87.8	0.7	46.4
	COL PCT	50.0	46.0	40.0	
	TOT PCT	5.3	40.7	0.3	
4. SENICR	COUNT	5	73	0	78
	ROW PCT	6.4	93.6	0.0	12.6
	COL PCT	7.6	13.3	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.8	11.8	0.0	
9. DON'T KNOW-NO AN	COUNT	1	7	0	8
	ROW PCT	12.5	87.5	0.0	1.3
	COL PCT	1.5	1.3	0.0	
	TOT PCT	0.2	1.1	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		66	550	5	621
		10.6	88.6	0.8	100.0

6 CUT OF 15 (40.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.069
CHI SQUARE = 8.54472 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3821
CRAMER'S V = 0.08298
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.11650
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00300 WITH V007 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00298
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00592 WITH V007 DEPENDENT. = 0.01853 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00839
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.00006 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4994
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.00003 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4994
GAMMA = 0.00015
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00010 WITH V007 DEPENDENT. = 0.00003 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00005

TABLE D-4

CROSSTABULATION OF V260 RESPONDENT AGE BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V260	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V078 1. YES	2. NO	9. DONT KNO NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1.		99	63	1	163
		60.7	38.7	0.6	26.2
		36.4	18.7	8.3	
		15.9	10.1	0.2	
2.		71	50	2	123
		57.7	40.7	1.6	19.8
		26.1	14.8	16.7	
		11.4	8.1	0.3	
3.		32	40	2	74
		43.2	54.1	2.7	11.9
		11.8	11.9	16.7	
		5.2	6.4	0.3	
4.		38	85	3	126
		30.2	67.5	2.4	20.3
		14.0	25.2	25.0	
		6.1	13.7	0.5	
5.		26	90	3	119
		21.8	75.6	2.5	19.2
		9.6	26.7	25.0	
		4.2	14.5	0.5	
99. DONT KNOW NO ANS		6	9	1	16
		37.5	56.3	8.3	2.6
		2.2	2.7	8.3	
		1.0	1.4	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		272	337	12	621
		43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

6 OUT OF 18 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.309
CHI SQUARE = 63.94490 WITH 10 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.22690
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.30554
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06332 WITH V260 DEPENDENT. = 0.20070 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.11590
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03187 WITH V260 DEPENDENT. = 0.06873 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04354

TABLE D-5

CROSSTABULATION OF V247 RELIGION REARED BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V247	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / 100 PCT	V078 YES	NO	DONT KNO NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. BAPTIST		161	216	4	381
		43.2	55.8	1.0	62.3
		61.4	64.1	33.3	
		26.9	34.8	0.6	
4. HEBREW		40	50	3	93
		43.0	53.8	3.2	15.0
		14.7	14.8	25.0	
		6.4	8.1	0.5	
7. METHODIST		26	44	3	73
		35.6	60.3	4.1	11.8
		9.6	13.1	25.0	
		4.2	7.1	0.5	
8. CATHOLIC		27	21	0	48
		56.3	43.8	0.0	7.7
		9.9	6.2	0.0	
		4.3	3.4	0.0	
99. DONT KNO NO ANSW		12	6	2	20
		60.0	30.0	10.0	3.2
		4.4	1.8	16.7	
		1.9	1.0	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		272	337	12	621
		43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

4 CUT OF 15 (26.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.386
CHI SQUARE = 19.75021 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0113
CRAMER'S V = 0.12610
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.17557
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V247 DEPENDENT. = 0.04225 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02317
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01225 WITH V247 DEPENDENT. = 0.01813 WITH V078 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01462
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.01677 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3269
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.01359 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3269
GAMMA = -0.03061
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.01765 WITH V247 DEPENDENT. = -0.01594 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.01675

TABLE D-6

CROSSTABULATION OF V172 NEIGHBORHOOD-CHURCH BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V172	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V078 YES (1.)	NO (2.)	DONT KNO W NO ANS (9.)	ROW TOTAL
0.		151	211	5	367
		41.1	57.5	1.4	59.1
		55.5	62.6	41.7	
		24.3	34.0	0.8	
1. YES		28	56	1	85
		32.9	65.9	1.2	13.7
		10.3	16.6	8.3	
		4.5	9.0	0.2	
9.		93	70	6	169
		55.0	41.4	3.6	27.2
		34.2	20.8	50.0	
		15.0	11.3	1.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		272	337	12	621
		43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

2 CUT OF 9 (22.2%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.643
CHI SQUARE = 18.85934 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0008
CRAMER'S V = 0.12323
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.17168
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00394 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.08099 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04961
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01605 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01955 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01763
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.07862 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0198
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.06311 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0198
GAMMA = -0.19496
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.08197 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = -0.07691 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.07856
ETA = 0.15990 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.02029 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.00223 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4779

TABLE D-7

CROSSTABULATION OF V172 NEIGHBORHOOD-CHURCH BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE

V172	V086 YES	V086 NO	V086 DONT KNO-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
0.	82	323	2	367
	11.4	88.0	0.5	59.1
	63.6	58.7	40.0	
	6.8	52.0	0.3	
1.	5	80	0	85
	5.9	94.1	0.0	13.7
	7.6	14.5	0.0	
	0.8	12.9	0.0	
9.	19	147	3	169
	11.2	87.0	1.8	27.2
	28.8	26.7	60.0	
	3.1	23.7	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL	66	550	5	621
	10.6	88.6	0.8	100.0

3 CUT OF 9 (33.33) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.689
CHI SQUARE = 5.41556 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2473
CRAMER'S V = 0.06603
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.09298
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00398 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00308
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00513 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01250 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00727
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.02835 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2302
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.01435 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2302
GAMMA = 0.08628
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04685 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01715 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02511
ETA = 0.06505 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.05412 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.05400 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0898

TABLE D-8

CROSSTABULATION OF V249 RELIGIOUS SERVICES ATTENDANCE BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V249	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V078 1. YES	2. NO	9. DONT KNO W NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. ONCE A WEEK O		54	119	2	175
		30.9	68.0	1.1	28.2
		19.9	35.3	16.7	
		8.7	19.2	0.3	
2. TWO OR THREE A M		52	82	0	134
		38.8	61.2	0.0	21.6
		19.1	24.3	0.0	
		8.4	13.2	0.0	
3. ONCE A MONTH		90	87	6	183
		49.2	47.5	3.3	29.5
		33.1	25.8	50.0	
		14.5	14.0	1.0	
5. NEVER		57	33	3	93
		61.3	35.5	3.2	15.0
		21.0	9.8	25.0	
		9.2	5.3	0.5	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		19	16	1	36
		52.8	44.4	2.8	5.8
		7.0	4.7	8.3	
		3.1	2.6	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		272	337	12	621
		43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

5 CUT OF 15 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.696
CHI SQUARE = 37.11034 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.17206
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.23746
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07306 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.10663 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.08587
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02140 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.04169 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02827
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.16995 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.15937 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = -0.26760
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.20699 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = -0.13958 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.16670

TABLE D-9

CROSSTABULATION OF V249 RELIGIOUS SERVICES ATTENDANCE BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE

V249	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V086 YES	NO	DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
		1.	2.	9.	
1. ONCE A WEEK OR		11	162	2	175
		6.3	92.6	1.1	28.2
		16.7	29.5	40.0	
		1.8	26.1	0.3	
2. TWO OR THREE A M		7	127	0	134
		5.2	94.8	0.0	21.6
		10.6	23.1	0.0	
		1.1	20.5	0.0	
3. OINCE A MONTH		20	162	1	183
		10.9	88.5	0.5	29.5
		30.3	29.5	20.0	
		3.2	26.1	0.2	
5. NEVER		20	72	1	93
		21.5	77.4	1.1	15.0
		30.3	13.1	20.0	
		3.2	11.6	0.2	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		8	27	1	36
		22.2	75.0	2.8	5.8
		12.1	4.9	20.0	
		1.3	4.3	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		66	550	5	621
		10.6	88.6	0.8	100.0

6 CUT OF 15 (40.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.290
CHI SQUARE = 21.96541 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0005
CRAMER'S V = 0.15005
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.20759
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00228 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00196
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01416 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.05512 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02253
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.14696 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.08693 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = -0.35862
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.28375 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = -0.07611 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.12003

TABLE D-10

CROSSTABULATION OF V250 PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH ACTIVITIES BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V250	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V078 1. YES	V078 2. NO	V078 9. DONT KNOW NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. YES		88	153	2	241
		36.7	63.5	0.8	38.8
		31.6	45.4	16.7	
		13.8	24.6	0.3	
2. NO		161	152	7	320
		50.3	47.5	2.2	51.5
		57.9	45.1	58.3	
		25.9	24.5	1.1	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		25	32	3	60
		41.7	53.3	5.0	9.7
		9.2	9.5	25.0	
		4.0	5.2	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		272	337	12	621
		43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

2 OUT OF 9 (22.2%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.159
CHI SQUARE = 17.81415 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0013
CRAMER'S V = 0.11976
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16699
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00332 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.03169 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01709
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01495 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.01816 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01640
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.08683 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0119
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.07073 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0119
GAMMA = -0.15757
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.09186 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = -0.08207 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.08669
ETA = 0.08492 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.07112 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.06198 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0616

TABLE D-11

V250 PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH ACTIVITIES BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE

V250	V086 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. YES	2. NO	9. DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. YES		15	225	1	241
		6.2	93.4	0.4	38.8
		22.7	40.9	20.0	
		2.4	36.2	0.2	
2. NO		41	276	3	320
		12.8	86.3	0.9	51.5
		62.1	50.2	60.0	
		6.6	44.4	0.5	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		10	49	1	60
		16.7	81.7	1.7	9.7
		15.2	8.9	20.0	
		1.6	7.9	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		66	550	5	621
		10.6	88.6	0.8	100.0

3 OUT OF 9 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.483
CHI SQUARE = 10.11375 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0386
CRAMER'S V = 0.09024
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.12659
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00901 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.02190 WITH V086 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01277
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.10033 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0047
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.05155 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0047
GAMMA = -0.28877
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.16828 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = -0.05982 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.08827
ETA = 0.09247 WITH V250 DEPENDENT. = 0.01959 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.00413 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4591

TABLE D-12

CROSSTABULATION OF V261 RESPONDENT SEX BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V261	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V078 YES (1.)	NO (2.)	DONT KNO OR NO ANS (9.)	ROW TOTAL
1. MALE		129	122	5	256
		50.4	47.7	2.0	41.2
		47.4	36.2	41.7	
		20.8	19.6	0.8	
2. FEMALE		140	210	7	357
		39.2	58.8	2.0	57.5
		51.5	62.3	58.3	
		22.5	33.8	1.1	
9. DONT KNOW OR NO ANS		3	5	0	8
		37.5	62.5	0.0	1.3
		1.1	1.5	0.0	
		0.5	0.8	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		272	337	12	621
		43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

4 OUT OF 9 (44.4%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.155
CHI SQUARE = 8.00814 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0913
CRAMER'S V = 0.08030
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.11283
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V261 DEPENDENT. = 0.02465 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01277
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00888 WITH V261 DEPENDENT. = 0.00854 WITH V078 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00871
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.10520 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0039
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.07989 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0039
GAMMA = 0.20493
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.10377 WITH V261 DEPENDENT. = 0.10665 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.10519
ETA = 0.07186 WITH V261 DEPENDENT. = 0.04892 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.01819 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3255

TABLE D-13

CROSSTABULATION OF

V261 RESPONDENTSEX BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE

V261	V086 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. YES	2. NO	9. DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. MALE		47	205	4	256
		18.4	80.1	1.6	41.2
		71.2	37.3	80.0	
		7.6	33.0	0.6	
2. FEMALE		19	337	1	357
		5.3	94.4	0.3	57.5
		28.8	61.3	20.0	
		3.1	54.3	0.2	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		0	8	0	8
		0.0	100.0	0.0	1.3
		0.0	1.5	0.0	
		0.0	1.3	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		66	550	5	621
		10.6	88.6	0.8	100.0

4 OUT OF 9 (44.4%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.064
CHI SQUARE = 31.38648 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.15897
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.21934
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.11742 WITH V261 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.09259
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03473 WITH V261 DEPENDENT. = 0.06679 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04570
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.18285 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.08759 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.51233
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.28593 WITH V261 DEPENDENT. = 0.11693 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.16598
ETA = 0.14707 WITH V261 DEPENDENT. = 0.02933 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.02122 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2989

TABLE D-14

CROSSTABULATION OF V301 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V301	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V078 1. YES	V078 2. NO	V078 9. DONT KNO & NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. RENT		93	83	5	181
		51.4	45.9	2.8	29.1
		34.2	24.6	41.7	
		15.0	13.4	0.8	
2. OWN		168	241	6	415
		40.5	58.1	1.4	66.8
		61.8	71.5	50.0	
		27.1	38.8	1.0	
3. FREE		11	13	1	25
		44.0	52.0	4.0	4.0
		4.0	3.9	8.3	
		1.8	2.1	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		272	337	12	621
		43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

2 CUT OF 9 (22.2%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.483
CHI SQUARE = 8.61561 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0715
CRAMER'S V = 0.08329
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.11698
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.03521 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02041
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00899 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.00886 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00892
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.08084 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0194
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.05936 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0194
GAMMA = 0.16193
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07709 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.08476 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.08075
ETA = 0.09179 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.02656 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.01850 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3227

TABLE D-15

CROSSTABULATION OF V3C1 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE

V3C1	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V086 1. YES	V086 2. NO	V086 9. DOAT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. RENT		22	158	1	181
		12.2	87.3	0.6	29.1
		33.3	28.7	20.0	
		3.5	25.4	0.2	
2. OWN		39	373	3	415
		9.4	89.9	0.7	66.8
		59.1	67.8	60.0	
		6.3	60.1	0.5	
3. FREE		5	19	1	25
		20.0	76.0	4.0	4.0
		7.6	3.5	20.0	
		0.8	3.1	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		66 / 10.6	550 / 88.6	5 / 0.8	621 / 100.0

OUT OF 9 (44.4%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.201
CHI SQUARE = 6.96157 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1379
CRAMER'S V = 0.07487
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.10529
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00533 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = 0.01051 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00708
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.01968 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3084
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.00912 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3084
GAMMA = 0.05913
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02976 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = 0.01302 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01812
ETA = 0.04377 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = 0.04534 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.04055 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1565

TABLE D-16

V305 EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V305	V078 YES	NO	DONT KNO W NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. NO	90	96	4	190
	47.4	50.5	2.1	30.6
	33.1	28.5	33.3	
	14.8	15.5	0.6	
2. YES,OCCASIONAL P	27	38	0	65
	41.5	58.5	0.0	10.5
	9.9	11.3	0.0	
	4.3	6.1	0.0	
3. YES,REG PART TIM	101	109	3	213
	47.4	51.2	1.4	34.3
	37.1	32.3	25.0	
	16.3	17.6	0.5	
4. YES FULL TIME	27	75	3	105
	25.7	71.4	2.9	16.9
	9.9	22.3	25.0	
	4.3	12.1	0.5	
8. STUDENT	21	9	0	30
	70.0	30.0	0.0	4.8
	7.7	2.7	0.0	
	3.4	1.4	0.0	
9. NT KNOW NO A	6	10	2	18
	33.3	55.6	11.1	2.9
	2.2	3.0	16.7	
	1.0	1.6	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL	272	337	12	621
	43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

6 OUT OF 18 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.340

CHI SQUARE = 34.77370 WITH 10 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001

CRAMER'S V = 0.16733

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.23028

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00245 WITH V305 DEPENDENT. = 0.04225 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01879

UNCERTAINTY COEFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01765 WITH V305 DEPENDENT. = 0.03475 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02341

TABLE D-17

CROSSTABULATION OF V311 FINANCES WITHOUT EMPLOYMENT BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V311	V078 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1.YES	2.NO	9.DONT KNOW NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1.		113	129	3	245
		46.1	52.7	1.2	39.5
		41.5	38.3	25.0	
		18.2	20.8	0.5	
2. SOCIAL SECURE-RE		17	58	4	79
		21.5	73.4	5.1	12.7
		6.3	17.2	33.3	
		2.7	9.3	0.6	
3. DISABILITUY		8	16	0	24
		33.3	66.7	0.0	3.9
		2.9	4.7	0.0	
		1.3	2.6	0.0	
4. WELFARE-P.A.		18	7	0	25
		72.0	28.0	0.0	4.0
		6.6	2.1	0.0	
		2.9	1.1	0.0	
9. ALLOWANCE		56	52	1	109
		51.4	47.7	0.9	17.6
		20.6	15.4	8.3	
		9.0	8.4	0.2	
DONT KNOW NO ANS		60	75	4	139
		43.2	54.0	2.9	22.4
		22.1	22.3	33.3	
		9.7	12.1	0.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		272	337	12	621
		43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

6 OUT OF 18 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.464
CHI SQUARE = 32.83180 WITH 10 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
CRAMER'S V = 0.16259
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.22409
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00266 WITH V311 DEPENDENT. = 0.05282 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02924
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01803 WITH V311 DEPENDENT. = 0.03572 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02397

TABLE D-18

CROSSTABULATION OF V303 EDUCATION OF FATHER BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V303	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V078 YES 1.	NO 2.	DOAT KNO W NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
0.		102	146	6	254
		40.2	57.5	2.4	40.9
		37.5	43.3	50.0	
		16.4	23.5	1.0	
1. FATHER NEVER ATT		73	111	3	187
		39.0	59.4	1.6	30.1
		26.8	32.9	25.0	
		11.8	17.9	0.5	
2. GRADE SCHOOL		59	38	1	98
		60.2	38.8	1.0	15.8
		21.7	11.3	8.3	
		9.5	6.1	0.2	
3. H.S. DROP OUT		13	16	1	30
		43.3	53.3	3.3	4.8
		4.8	4.7	8.3	
		2.1	2.6	0.2	
4. HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		15	15	0	30
		50.0	50.0	0.0	4.8
		5.5	4.5	0.0	
		2.4	2.4	0.0	
5. HIGH SCHOOL		10	11	1	22
		45.5	50.0	4.6	3.5
		3.7	3.3	8.3	
		1.6	1.8	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		272	337	12	621
		43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

6 OUT OF 18 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.425
CHI SQUARE = 16.35736 WITH 10 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0898
CRAMER'S V = 0.11476
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16020
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V303 DEPENDENT. = 0.07394 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03226
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00935 WITH V303 DEPENDENT. = 0.01738 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01216

TABLE D-19

CROSSTABULATION OF V918 FATHERS NORC SCORE BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

V918	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V078 YES 1.	V078 NO 2.	V078 DONT KNO W NO ANS 9.	ROW TOTAL
1.		53	62	0	115
CK		46.1	53.9	0.0	18.5
		19.5	18.4	0.0	
		8.5	10.0	0.0	
2.		61	76	1	138
		44.2	55.1	0.7	22.2
		22.4	22.6	8.3	
		9.8	12.2	0.2	
3.		17	19	1	37
		45.9	51.4	2.7	6.0
		6.3	5.6	8.3	
		2.7	3.1	0.2	
4.		51	39	2	92
		55.4	42.4	2.2	14.8
		18.8	11.6	16.7	
		8.2	6.3	0.3	
73.		28	72	2	102
		27.5	70.6	2.0	16.4
		10.3	21.4	16.7	
		4.5	11.6	0.3	
999.		62	69	6	137
		45.3	50.4	4.4	22.1
		22.8	20.5	50.0	
		10.0	11.1	1.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		272 43.8	337 54.3	12 1.9	621 100.0

6 OUT OF 18 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.715
CHI SQUARE = 24.82631 WITH 10 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0057
CRAMER'S V = 0.19138
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19606
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01242 WITH V918 DEPENDENT. = 0.04225 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02347
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01296 WITH V918 DEPENDENT. = 0.02798 WITH V078 DEPENDENT
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01724

TABLE D-20

CROSSTABULATION OF

V323 SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS BY V078 POLICE INVOLVE-PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCL

V323	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V078 1. YES	2. NO	9. DONT KNO W NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1. LOWER WORKING		35	33	1	69
		50.7	47.8	1.4	11.1
		12.9	9.8	8.3	
		5.6	5.3	0.2	
2. MIDDLE WORKING C.		37	57	1	95
		38.9	60.0	1.1	15.3
		13.6	16.9	8.3	
		6.0	9.2	0.2	
3. LOWER MID CLASS		36	44	0	80
		45.0	55.0	0.0	12.9
		13.2	13.1	0.0	
		5.8	7.1	0.0	
4. MIDDLE CLASS		95	122	1	218
		43.6	56.0	0.5	35.1
		34.9	36.2	8.3	
		15.3	19.6	0.2	
5. UPPER MIDDLE CLA		44	48	4	96
		45.8	50.0	4.2	15.5
		16.2	14.2	33.3	
		7.1	7.7	0.6	
9. KNOW NO ANSW		25	33	5	63
		39.7	52.4	7.9	10.1
		9.2	9.8	41.7	
		4.0	5.3	0.8	
COLUMN TOTAL		272	337	12	621
		43.8	54.3	1.9	100.0

6 OUT OF 18 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.217

CHI SQUARE = 21.91193 WITH 10 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0156

CRAMER'S V = 0.13262

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.18461

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00993 WITH V323 DEPENDENT. = 0.00704 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00873

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00901 WITH V323 DEPENDENT. = 0.01970 WITH V078 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01236

TABLE D-21

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
V003 TRACTID BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD
* PAGE 1 OF 1

V003	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088: VERY BAD 1.	SOMEWHAT BAD 2.	NO OPINION 3.	SOMEWHAT GOOD 4.	VERY GOOD 5.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	0	11	22	79	22	134
	ROW PCT	0.0	8.2	16.4	59.0	16.4	21.6
	COL PCT	0.0	14.9	14.6	25.2	28.9	
	TOT PCT	0.0	1.8	3.5	12.7	3.5	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	0	12	29	82	23	146
	ROW PCT	0.0	8.2	19.9	56.2	15.8	23.5
	COL PCT	0.0	16.2	19.2	26.1	30.3	
	TOT PCT	0.0	1.9	4.7	13.2	3.7	
3. MID IN	COUNT	2	27	40	91	17	177
	ROW PCT	1.1	15.3	22.6	51.4	9.6	28.5
	COL PCT	33.3	36.5	26.5	29.0	22.4	
	TOT PCT	0.3	4.3	6.4	14.7	2.7	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	COUNT	4	24	60	62	14	164
	ROW PCT	2.4	14.6	36.6	37.8	8.5	26.4
	COL PCT	66.7	32.4	39.7	19.7	18.4	
	TOT PCT	0.6	3.9	9.7	10.0	2.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		6	74	151	314	76	621
		1.0	11.9	24.3	50.6	12.2	100.0

4 OUT OF 20 (20.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.295
CHI SQUARE = 41.62769 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.14948
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.25064
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06306 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03728
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02505 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.02780 WITH V088 DEPEND
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02635
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.18856 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.17600 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = -0.26770
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.20124 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = -0.17667 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.18816
ETA = 0.23840 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.22132 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R =-0.21492 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

TABLE D-22

CROSSTABULATION OF VOCT AGE CATEGORY OF RESPONDENT BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V007	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088 1.VERY BAD	2.SOMEWHAT BAD	3.NO OPINION	4.SOMEWHAT GOOD	5.VERY GOOD	ROW TOTAL
1. TEENAGE		1	20	19	68	10	118
		0.8	16.9	16.1	59.2	11.9	14.0
		16.7	27.0	12.6	20.4	18.4	
		0.2	3.2	3.1	10.3	2.3	
2. Y O		2	24	36	60	7	129
		1.6	18.6	27.9	46.5	5.4	20.8
		33.3	32.4	23.8	19.1	9.2	
		0.3	3.9	5.8	9.7	1.1	
3. ADULT		3	23	68	160	34	288
		1.0	8.0	23.6	55.6	11.8	46.4
		50.0	31.1	45.0	51.0	44.7	
		0.5	3.7	11.0	25.8	5.5	
4. SENICR		0	6	25	26	21	78
		0.0	7.7	32.1	33.3	26.9	12.6
		0.0	8.1	16.6	8.3	27.6	
		0.0	1.0	4.0	4.2	3.4	
9. DON'T KNOW-NO AN		0	1	3	4	0	8
		0.0	12.5	37.5	50.0	0.0	1.3
		0.0	1.4	2.0	1.3	0.0	
		0.0	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		6	74	151	318	76	621
		1.0	11.9	24.3	50.6	12.2	100.0

9 CUT OF 25 (36.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.077
CHI SQUARE = 46.48865 WITH 16 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
CRAMER'S V = 0.13680
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.26391
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00300 WITH V007 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00156
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02841 WITH V007 DEPENDENT. = 0.03009 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02920
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.07656 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0133
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.06437 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0133
GAMMA = 0.11182
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07651 WITH V007 DEPENDENT. = 0.07667 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.07654

TABLE D-23

CROSSTABULATION OF V260 RESPONDENT AGE BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V260 RESPONDENT AGE	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088 1. VERY BAD	2. SOMEWHAT BAD	3. NO OPINION	4. SOMEWHAT GOOD	5. VERY GOOD	ROW TOTAL
1.		3	27	33	83	17	163
		1.8	16.6	20.2	50.9	10.4	26.2
		50.0	36.5	21.9	26.4	22.4	
		0.5	4.3	5.3	13.4	2.7	
2.		1	22	30	62	8	123
		0.8	17.9	24.4	50.4	6.5	19.8
		16.7	29.7	19.9	19.7	10.5	
		0.2	3.5	4.8	10.0	1.3	
3.		2	12	11	43	6	74
		2.7	16.2	14.9	58.1	8.1	11.9
		33.3	16.2	7.3	13.7	7.9	
		0.3	1.9	1.8	6.9	1.0	
4.		0	5	37	69	15	126
		0.0	4.0	29.4	54.8	11.9	20.3
		0.0	6.8	24.5	22.0	19.7	
		0.0	0.8	6.0	11.1	2.4	
5.		0	7	35	48	29	119
		0.0	5.9	29.4	40.3	24.4	19.2
		0.0	9.5	23.2	15.3	38.2	
		0.0	1.1	5.6	7.7	4.7	
99.		0	1	5	9	1	16
DONT KNOW NO ANS		0.0	6.3	31.3	56.3	6.3	2.6
		0.0	1.4	3.3	2.9	1.3	
		0.0	0.2	0.8	1.4	0.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		6	74	151	314	76	621
		1.0	11.9	24.3	50.6	12.2	100.0

9 OUT OF 30 (30.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.155
CHI SQUARE = 54.82065 WITH 20 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.14856
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.28981
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03493 WITH V260 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02092
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02767 WITH V260 DEPENDENT. = 0.03679 WITH V088 DEPENDEN
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03152

TABLE D-24

CROSSTABULATION OF
V072 POLICE COMMUNITY GROUPS BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V072	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088 1. VERY BAD 1.1	2. SOMEWHAT BAD 2.1	3. NO OPINION 3.1	4. SOMEWHAT GOOD 4.1	5. VERY GOOD 5.1	ROW TOTAL
1. YES		0	21	29	94	28	172
		0.0	12.2	16.9	54.7	16.3	27.7
		0.0	28.4	19.2	29.9	36.8	
		0.0	3.4	4.7	15.1	4.5	
2. NO		4	44	83	163	38	332
		1.2	13.3	25.0	49.1	11.4	53.5
		66.7	59.5	55.0	51.9	50.0	
		0.6	7.1	13.4	26.2	6.1	
9. DON'T KNOW-NOANS		2	9	39	57	10	117
		1.7	7.7	33.3	48.7	8.5	18.8
		33.3	12.2	25.8	18.2	13.2	
		0.3	1.4	6.3	9.2	1.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		6 1.0	74 11.9	151 24.3	314 50.6	76 12.2	621 100.0

3 CUT OF 15 (20.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.130
CHI SQUARE = 17.25302 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0276
CRAMER'S V = 0.11786
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16941
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01523 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.01230 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01361
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.08672 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0075
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.08174 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0075
GAMMA = -0.13810
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.08307 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = -0.09052 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.08669
ETA = 0.13559 WITH V072 DEPENDENT. = 0.09711 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.04836 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1194

TABLE D-25

CROSSTABULATION OF V161 CLUB AFFILIATION BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V161	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088 1.1 VERY BAD	2.1 SOMEWHAT BAD	3.1 NO OPINION	4.1 SOMEWHAT GOOD	5.1 VERY GOOD	ROW TOTAL
1. YES		0	20	46	143	32	241
		0.0	8.3	19.1	59.3	13.3	38.8
		0.0	27.0	30.5	45.5	42.1	
		0.0	3.2	7.4	23.0	5.2	
2. NO		6	53	102	164	41	366
		1.6	14.5	27.9	44.8	11.2	58.9
		100.0	71.6	67.5	52.2	53.9	
		1.0	8.5	16.4	26.4	6.6	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		0	1	3	7	3	14
		0.0	7.1	21.4	50.0	21.4	2.3
		0.0	1.4	2.0	2.2	3.9	
		0.0	0.2	0.5	1.1	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		6 1.0	74 11.9	151 24.3	314 50.6	76 12.2	621 100.0

6 CUT OF 15 (40.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.135
CHI SQUARE = 21.33879 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0063
CRAMER'S V = 0.13108
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.18226
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02485 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.01527 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01892
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.12269 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0005
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.10556 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0005
GAMMA = -0.21435
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.10728 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = -0.14031 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.12160
ETA = 0.06007 WITH V161 DEPENDENT. = 0.15994 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R =-0.02357 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2789

TABLE D-26

CROSSTABULATION OF V172 NEIGHBORHOOD-CHURCH BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V172	V088	1. VERY BAD	2. SOMEWHAT BAD	3. NO OPINION	4. SOMEWHAT GOOD	5. VERY GOOD	ROW TOTAL
0.	COUNT	6	53	103	164	41	367
	ROW PCT	1.6	14.4	28.1	44.7	11.2	59.1
	COL PCT	100.0	71.6	68.2	52.2	53.9	
	TOT PCT	1.0	8.5	16.6	26.4	6.6	
1. YES	COUNT	0	9	19	49	13	85
	ROW PCT	0.0	9.7	22.4	57.6	15.3	13.7
	COL PCT	0.0	5.4	12.6	15.6	17.1	
	TOT PCT	0.0	0.6	3.1	7.9	2.1	
9.	COUNT	0	17	29	101	22	169
	ROW PCT	0.0	10.1	17.2	59.8	13.0	27.2
	COL PCT	0.0	23.0	19.2	32.2	28.9	
	TOT PCT	0.0	2.7	4.7	16.3	3.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		6	79	151	314	76	621
		1.0	11.9	24.3	50.6	12.2	100.0

CUT OF 15 (20.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.821
CHI SQUARE = 23.38257 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0029
CRAMER'S V = 0.13721
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19049
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02298 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.01731 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01974
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.13498 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.12248 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
GAMMA = 0.22610
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.12469 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.14435 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.13454
ETA = 0.14688 WITH V172 DEPENDENT. = 0.16392 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.11140 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0027

TABLE D-27

CROSSTABULATION OF V249 RELIGIOUS SERVICES ATTENDANCE BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V249	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088 1. VERY BAD	2. SOMEWHAT BAD	3. NO OPINION	4. SOMEWHAT GOOD	5. VERY GOOD	ROW TOTAL
1. ONCE A WEEK		1	14	44	89	27	175
		0.6	8.0	25.1	50.9	15.4	28.2
		16.7	18.9	29.1	28.3	35.5	
		0.2	2.3	7.1	14.3	4.3	
2. TWO OR THREE A M		1	15	31	65	22	134
		0.7	11.2	23.1	48.5	16.4	21.6
		16.7	20.3	20.5	20.7	28.9	
		0.2	2.4	5.0	10.5	3.5	
3. ONCE A MONTH		2	23	37	106	15	183
		1.1	12.6	20.2	57.9	8.2	29.5
		33.3	31.1	24.5	33.8	19.7	
		0.3	3.7	6.0	17.1	2.4	
5. NEVER		2	16	27	38	10	93
		2.2	17.2	29.0	40.9	10.8	15.0
		33.3	21.6	17.9	12.1	13.2	
		0.3	2.6	4.3	6.1	1.6	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		0	6	12	16	2	36
		0.0	16.7	33.3	44.4	5.6	5.8
		0.0	8.1	7.9	5.1	2.6	
		0.0	1.0	1.9	2.6	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		6	74	151	314	76	621
		1.0	11.9	24.3	50.6	12.2	100.0

7 OUT OF 25 (28.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.348
CHI SQUARE = 22.12820 WITH 16 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1391
CRAMER'S V = 0.09438
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.18549
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04338 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02550
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01208 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = 0.01454 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01320
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.10267 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0012
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.09089 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0012
GAMMA = -0.14426
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.11061 WITH V249 DEPENDENT. = -0.09529 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.10238

TABLE D-28

CROSSTABULATION OF

V3C1 STATUS OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V301	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088 1. VERY BAD	2. SOMEWHAT BAD	3. NO OPINION	4. SOMEWHAT GOOD	5. VERY GOOD	ROW TOTAL
1. RENT	COUNT	6	22	65	73	17	181
	ROW PCT	2.2	12.2	35.9	40.3	9.4	29.1
	COL PCT	66.7	29.7	43.0	23.2	22.4	
	TOT PCT	0.6	3.5	10.5	11.8	2.7	
2. OWN	COUNT	2	49	78	231	55	415
	ROW PCT	0.5	11.8	18.8	55.7	13.3	66.8
	COL PCT	33.3	66.2	51.7	73.6	72.4	
	TOT PCT	0.3	7.9	12.6	37.2	8.9	
3. FREE	COUNT	0	3	8	10	4	25
	ROW PCT	0.0	12.0	32.0	40.0	16.0	4.0
	COL PCT	0.0	4.1	5.3	3.2	5.3	
	TOT PCT	0.0	0.5	1.3	1.6	0.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		6 1.0	74 11.9	151 24.3	314 50.6	76 12.2	621 100.0

5 OUT OF 15 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.242
CHI SQUARE = 28.24699 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0004
CRAMER'S V = 0.15081
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.20858
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00971 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00390
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02906 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.01771 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02201
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12197 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0005
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.10124 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0005
GAMMA = 0.21204
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.10290 WITH V301 DEPENDENT. = 0.19458 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.12023
ETA = 0.16851 WITH V3C1 DEPENDENT. = 0.13715 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.11782 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0016

TABLE D-29

CROSSTABULATION OF
V300 HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD
PAGE 1 OF 1

V300	V088 VERY BAD 1.	SOMEWHAT BAD 2.	NO OPINION 3.	SOMEWHAT GOOD 4.	VERY GOOD 5.	ROW TOTAL
1. FATHER-HUSBAND	3	39	79	211	58	385
	0.8	10.1	19.2	54.8	15.1	62.0
	50.0	52.7	49.0	67.2	76.3	
	0.5	6.3	11.9	34.0	9.3	
2. MOTHER-WIFE	3	26	67	88	15	199
	1.5	13.1	33.7	44.2	7.5	32.0
	50.0	35.1	49.4	28.0	19.7	
	0.5	4.2	10.8	14.2	2.4	
3. GRANDFATHER	0	9	10	15	3	37
	0.0	24.3	27.0	40.5	8.1	6.0
	0.0	12.2	6.6	4.8	3.9	
	0.0	1.4	1.6	2.4	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL	6	74	151	314	76	621
	1.0	11.9	24.3	50.6	12.2	100.0

5 OUT OF 15 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.357
CHI SQUARE = 28.82329 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
CRAMER'S V = 0.15234
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.21061
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V300 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02732 WITH V300 DEPENDENT. = 0.01821 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02186
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.17173 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.19890 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = -0.28955
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.15134 WITH V300 DEPENDENT. = -0.19487 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.17037
ETA = 0.18679 WITH V300 DEPENDENT. = 0.17664 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.17222 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

TABLE D-30

CROSSTABULATION OF

V245 MARITAL STATUS BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V245	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088 1. VERY BAD	2. SOMEWHAT BAD	3. NO OPINION	4. SOMEWHAT GOOD	5. VERY GOOD	ROW TOTAL
1. SINGLE UNDER 18		1	21	19	62	15	118
		0.8	17.8	16.1	52.5	12.7	19.0
		16.7	28.4	12.6	19.7	19.7	
		0.2	3.4	3.1	10.0	2.4	
2. SINGLE OVER 18		2	27	37	66	8	140
		1.4	19.3	26.4	47.1	5.7	22.5
		33.3	36.5	24.5	21.0	10.5	
		0.3	4.3	6.0	10.6	1.3	
3. MARRIED		2	13	42	119	40	216
		0.9	6.0	19.4	55.1	18.5	34.8
		33.3	17.6	27.8	37.9	52.6	
		0.3	2.1	6.8	19.2	6.4	
4. SEP		1	11	46	61	13	132
		0.8	8.3	34.8	46.2	9.8	21.3
		16.7	14.9	30.5	19.4	17.1	
		0.2	1.8	7.4	9.8	2.1	
9. DONT KNOW NO ANS		0	2	7	6	0	15
		0.0	13.3	46.7	40.0	0.0	2.4
		0.0	2.7	4.6	1.9	0.0	
		0.0	0.3	1.1	1.0	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		6	74	151	314	76	621
		1.0	11.9	24.3	50.6	12.2	100.0

8 OUT OF 25 (32.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.145
CHI SQUARE = 49.25568 WITH 16 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
CRAMER'S V = 0.14082
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.27109
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04444 WITH V245 DEPENDENT. = 0.00326 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02669
UNCERTAINTY COEFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02848 WITH V245 DEPENDENT. = 0.03292 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03054
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.02081 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2707
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.01820 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2707
GAMMA = 0.02949
SOMERS'S D (ASYMETRIC) = 0.02220 WITH V245 DEPENDENT. = 0.01951 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02077

TABLE D-31

CROSSTABULATION OF V305 EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V305	V088 1.0 VERY BAD	2.0 SOMEWHAT BAD	3.0 NO OPINION	4.0 SOMEWHAT GOOD	5.0 VERY GOOD	ROW TOTAL
1. NO	3	32	40	99	16	190
	1.6	16.8	21.1	52.1	8.4	30.6
	50.0	43.2	26.5	31.5	21.1	
	0.5	5.2	6.4	15.9	2.6	
2. YES,OCCASIONALLY P	1	10	17	29	8	65
	1.5	15.4	26.2	44.6	12.3	10.5
	16.7	13.5	11.3	9.2	10.5	
	0.2	1.6	2.7	4.7	1.3	
3. YES,REG PART . IM	1	22	50	117	23	213
	0.5	10.3	23.5	54.9	10.8	34.3
	16.7	29.7	33.1	37.3	30.3	
	0.2	3.5	8.1	18.8	3.7	
4. YES FULL TIME	1	4	34	44	22	105
	1.0	3.8	32.4	41.9	21.0	16.9
	16.7	5.4	22.5	14.0	28.9	
	0.2	0.6	5.5	7.1	3.5	
5. STUDENT	0	3	5	17	5	30
	0.0	10.0	16.7	56.7	16.7	4.8
	0.0	4.1	3.3	5.4	6.6	
	0.0	0.5	0.8	2.7	0.8	
9. DONT KNOW NO A	0	3	5	8	2	18
	0.0	16.7	27.8	44.4	11.1	2.9
	0.0	4.1	3.3	2.5	2.6	
	0.0	0.5	0.8	1.3	0.3	
COLUMN TOTAL	6	74	151	314	76	621
	1.0	11.9	24.3	50.6	12.2	100.0

11 OUT OF 30 (36.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.174
CHI SQUARE = 30.66669 WITH 20 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0598
CRAMER'S V = 0.11111
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.21693
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02941 WITH V305 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01678
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01688 WITH V305 DEPENDENT. = 0.02056 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01854

TABLE D-32

CROSSTABULATION OF V303 EDUCATION OF FATHER BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V303	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088 1. VERY BAD	2. SOMEWHAT BAD	3. NO OPINION	4. SOMEWHAT GOOD	5. VERY GOOD	ROW TOTAL
0.		2	31	83	105	33	254
		0.8	12.2	32.7	41.3	13.0	40.9
		33.3	41.9	55.0	33.4	43.4	
		0.3	5.0	13.4	16.9	5.3	
1. FATHER NEVER ATT		3	22	36	108	18	187
		1.6	11.8	19.3	57.8	9.6	30.1
		50.0	29.7	23.8	34.4	23.7	
		0.5	3.5	5.8	17.4	2.9	
2. GRADE SCHOOL		0	14	23	50	11	98
		0.0	14.3	23.5	51.0	11.2	15.8
		0.0	18.9	15.2	15.9	14.5	
		0.0	2.3	3.7	8.1	1.8	
3. H.S. DROP OUT		0	2	3	23	2	30
		0.0	6.7	10.0	76.7	6.7	4.8
		0.0	2.7	2.0	7.3	2.6	
		0.0	0.3	0.5	3.7	0.3	
4. HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		0	2	3	19	6	30
		0.0	6.7	10.0	63.3	20.0	4.8
		0.0	2.7	2.0	6.1	7.9	
		0.0	0.3	0.5	3.1	1.0	
5. HIGH SCHOOL		1	3	3	9	6	22
		4.5	13.6	13.6	40.9	27.3	3.5
		16.7	4.1	2.0	2.9	7.9	
		0.2	0.5	0.5	1.4	1.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		6	74	151	314	76	621
		1.0	11.9	24.3	50.6	12.2	100.0

12 OUT OF 30 (40.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.213
CHI SQUARE = 41.78523 WITH 20 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0029
CRAMER'S V = 0.12970
CONTINGENCY-COEFFICIENT = 0.25109
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01090 WITH V303 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00593
UNCERTAINTY-COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02347 WITH V303 - DEPENDENT. = 0.02696 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02509

TABLE D-33

CROSSTABULATION OF V420 RESPONDENTS MORC SCORE BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V420	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088 1.0 VERY BAD	2.0 SOMEWHAT BAD	3.0 NO OPINION	4.0 SOMEWHAT GOOD	5.0 VERY GOOD	ROW TOTAL
1.		1	10	38	40	15	104
CR		1.0	9.6	36.5	38.5	14.4	16.7
		16.7	13.5	25.2	12.7	19.7	
		0.2	1.6	6.1	6.4	2.4	
2.		1	14	31	54	9	109
		0.9	12.8	28.4	49.5	8.3	17.6
		16.7	18.9	20.5	17.2	11.8	
		0.2	2.3	5.0	8.7	1.4	
3.		1	8	22	52	11	94
		1.1	8.5	23.4	55.3	11.7	15.1
		16.7	10.8	14.6	16.6	14.5	
		0.2	1.3	3.5	8.4	1.8	
4.		1	5	12	54	16	88
		1.1	5.7	13.6	61.4	18.2	14.2
		16.7	6.8	7.9	17.2	21.1	
		0.2	0.8	1.9	8.7	2.6	
999.		2	37	48	114	25	226
		0.9	16.4	21.2	50.4	11.1	36.4
		33.3	50.0	31.8	36.3	32.9	
		0.3	6.0	7.7	18.4	4.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		6 / 1.0	74 / 11.9	151 / 24.3	314 / 50.6	76 / 12.2	621 / 100.0

OUT OF 25 (20.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.850
CHI SQUARE = 30.45766 WITH 16 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0158
CRAMER'S V = 0.11075
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.21622
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01615 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.01992 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01784
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.02337 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2443
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.02070 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2443
GAMMA = 0.03289
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02525 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.02163 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02330

TABLE D-34

CROSSTABULATION OF V323 SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V323	V088	VERY BAD 1.	SOMEWHAT BAD 2.	NO OPINION 3.	SOMEWHAT GOOD 4.	VERY GOOD 5.	ROW TOTAL
1. LOWER WORKING	COUNT	0	11	24	30	4	69
	ROW PCT	0.0	15.9	34.8	43.5	5.8	11.1
	COL PCT	0.0	14.9	15.9	9.6	5.3	
	TOT PCT	0.0	1.8	3.9	4.8	0.6	
2. MIDDLE WORKING C	COUNT	0	9	25	49	12	95
	ROW PCT	0.0	9.5	26.3	51.6	12.6	15.3
	COL PCT	0.0	12.2	16.6	15.6	15.8	
	TOT PCT	0.0	1.4	4.0	7.9	1.9	
3. LOWER MID CLASS	COUNT	2	9	18	45	6	80
	ROW PCT	2.5	11.3	22.5	56.3	7.5	12.9
	COL PCT	33.3	12.2	11.9	14.3	7.9	
	TOT PCT	0.3	1.4	2.9	7.2	1.0	
4. MIDDLE CLASS	COUNT	1	26	35	123	33	218
	ROW PCT	0.5	11.9	16.1	56.4	15.1	35.1
	COL PCT	16.7	35.1	23.2	39.2	43.4	
	TOT PCT	0.2	4.2	5.6	19.8	5.3	
5. UPPER MIDDLE CLA	COUNT	2	13	23	42	16	96
	ROW PCT	2.1	13.5	24.0	43.8	16.7	15.5
	COL PCT	33.3	17.6	15.2	13.4	21.1	
	TOT PCT	0.3	2.1	3.7	6.8	2.6	
9. DONTKNOW NO ANSW	COUNT	1	6	26	25	5	63
	ROW PCT	1.6	9.5	41.3	39.7	7.9	10.1
	COL PCT	16.7	8.1	17.2	8.0	6.6	
	TOT PCT	0.2	1.0	4.2	4.0	0.8	
COLUMN TOTAL		6	74	151	314	76	621
		1.0	11.9	24.3	50.6	12.2	100.0

6 OUT OF 30 (20.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.609
CHI SQUARE = 37.36772 WITH 20 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0106
CRAMER'S V = 0.12265
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.23824
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00248 WITH V323 DEPENDENT. = 0.00326 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00282
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01822 WITH V323 DEPENDENT. = 0.02465 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02095

TABLE D-35

CROSSTABULATION OF V185 NEGITIVE FUTURE PERSPECTIVE BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V185	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088 1.0 VERY BAD	2.0 SOMEWHAT BAD	3.0 NO OPINION	4.0 SOMEWHAT GOOD	5.0 VERY GOOD	ROW TOTAL
1. STRONGLY AGREE		3	13	27	53	23	119
		2.5	10.9	22.7	44.5	19.3	19.2
		50.0	17.6	17.9	16.9	30.3	
		0.5	2.1	4.3	8.5	3.7	
2. AGREE		2	31	60	108	28	229
		0.9	13.5	26.2	47.2	12.2	36.9
		33.3	41.9	39.7	34.4	36.8	
		0.3	5.0	9.7	17.4	4.5	
3. NO OPINION		0	4	17	17	2	40
		0.0	10.0	42.5	42.5	5.0	6.4
		0.0	5.4	11.3	5.4	2.6	
		0.0	0.6	2.7	2.7	0.3	
4. DISAGREE		1	26	47	136	23	233
		0.4	11.2	20.2	58.4	9.9	37.5
		16.7	35.1	31.1	43.3	30.3	
		0.2	4.2	7.6	21.9	3.7	
COLUMN TOTAL		6 1.0	74 11.9	151 24.3	314 50.6	76 12.2	621 100.0

6 CUT OF 20 (30.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.386
CHI-SQUARE = 24.83997 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0154
CRAMER'S V = 0.11546
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19610
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06443 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03597
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01530 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.01511 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01520
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.00409 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4533
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.00365 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4533
GAMMA = 0.00606
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00417 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.00401 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00409
ETA = 0.13853 WITH V185 DEPENDENT. = 0.07788 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.01278 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3753

TABLE D-36

CROSSTABULATION OF

V187 DISMAL OUTLOOK BLACK CHILDREN BY V088 POLICE GOOD-BAD

V187	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V088 1.1	2.1	3.1	4.1	5.1	ROW TOTAL
1. STRONGLY AGREE		3	17	11	29	10	70
		4.3	24.3	15.7	41.4	14.3	11.3
		50.0	23.0	7.3	9.2	13.2	
		0.5	2.7	1.8	4.7	1.6	
2. AGREE		1	21	40	73	17	152
		0.7	13.8	26.3	48.0	11.2	24.5
		16.7	28.4	26.5	23.2	22.4	
		0.2	3.4	6.4	11.8	2.7	
3. NO OPINION		1	10	26	40	14	91
		1.1	11.0	28.6	44.0	15.4	14.7
		16.7	13.5	17.2	12.7	18.4	
		0.2	1.6	4.2	6.4	2.3	
4. DISAGREE		1	21	50	125	15	212
		0.5	9.9	23.6	59.0	7.1	34.1
		16.7	28.4	33.1	39.8	19.7	
		0.2	3.4	8.1	20.1	2.4	
5. STRONGLY DISAGRE		0	5	24	87	20	96
		0.0	5.2	25.0	89.0	20.8	15.5
		0.0	6.8	15.9	15.0	26.3	
		0.0	0.8	3.9	7.6	3.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		6 1.0	74 11.9	151 24.3	314 50.6	76 12.2	621 100.0

5 CUT OF 25 (20.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.676
CHI SQUARE = 43.26122 WITH 16 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0003
CRAMER'S V = 0.13197
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.25520
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01711 WITH V187 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00978
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02084 WITH V187 DEPENDENT. = 0.02559 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02297
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.09501 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0025
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.08815 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0025
GAMMA = 0.13239
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.10263 WITH V187 DEPENDENT. = 0.08795 WITH V088 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.09473

E. CONTEXTUAL EFFECTS ANALYSIS

One of the strongest predictors that has emerged in the foregoing analysis is tract type: Our 2 x 2 classification of census tracts in each of the two cities (Atlanta and Washington, D. C.) on the basis of middle versus low-income (based on median income census figures) by high versus low crime rates. This gives us four tracts per city. This is our main sampling design variable, since the random multistage sampling strategy employed the tract as the initial unit; sampling of persons proceeded from there through blocks, then streets within blocks, then households on streets. Overall sample sizes were monitored and equalized as much as possible by tract within each city.

In order to further confirm and test for the tract effects which were found in the foregoing prediction analyses, we decided to subject a selected subset of these results to what would be called modified contextual analysis. Contextual analysis is multivariate technique whereby one attempts to assess the effect of some aggregate independent variable characterizing some structural unit (such as school, or a neighborhood, or a census tract, or even a small group) upon a set of dependent variables, while some individual "level" of the aggregate variable is simultaneously held constant. Any effect of the aggregate variable(s) upon the dependent variables(s), while at the same time the individual level of the aggregate variable is constant, is called a "contextual effect" (also "structural effect", or "compositional effect"). The technique was developed in the early 1960's by sociologists P. Blau and J. Davis, and has been applied to the analysis of neighborhood effects and school effects in the 1970s. It has come to be known as part and parcel of the whole matter of aggregation and disaggregation in the social and behavioral sciences.

Let us exemplify. Suppose that one wished to see whether or not some characteristic of one's school (say the percent of "upper class" students who go to it) affected the grade-point average (GPA) of its students. First, you would do so by studying students from several schools. Here, the school is the contextual unit. (In our study, the census tract is the contextual unit. Additional analysis, which we do not undertake, could re-define (re-aggregate) this so that, say, the block, or even the street, would then be the contextual unit.) The independent aggregate variable is: Percent of upper-class persons who attend the school containing the particular person. The independent individual variable is simply the social class of the given person. Note that this is the individual "level" of the same variable (class). The dependent variable (an individual variable, not an aggregate variable) is the person's own GPA.

Now say that we compare individuals of differing social

classes and find that the higher their social class, the less their GPA. Let us assume that, further, even when we compare individuals within the same school (and across schools which have the same percent of upper class persons), it comes out the same way. (This would mean that we are "controlling for" the aggregate variable.) This would be called an individual effect. Now we reverse this process and see if the aggregate variable is related to GPA with the individual variable constant: In other words, we try to see if students in different schools (remember, schools differ in percent "upper class") have different GPAs even for students who are the same in their own personal social class. If they do, then this would be called a contextual effect.

This can all be summarized succinctly: An individual effect exists if the individual independent variable is related to the individual dependent variable even when the aggregate variable is held constant. A contextual effect exists if the aggregate variable is related to the individual dependent variable even when the individual independent variable is held constant.

We use a modification of this technique. Here is how we did it: We take tract type as our aggregate variable (which involves two aggregate variables, median income and crime rate), and then we take some appropriate individual variable (such as respondent occupation or income or some other SES characteristic) as the other independent variable. The dependent variables are a (selected) list based on the foregoing prediction results. Our analysis is "modified" contextual analysis in that: (a) tract type consists of two aggregate variables rather than one (although we did try, successfully, to use only tract income and then tract crime separately; these results, not given here, are available upon request); and (b) we use (separately) different kinds of "individual level" variables. Below, we show results for only one: Respondent's NORC (occupational prestige) score. We tried others as well, with similar results (again, available upon request). We present here only those results which use tract type as the aggregate variable and respondent's NORC score as the individual independent variable. These results follow.

We use respondent's NORC score as the individual independent variable, rather than the individual's (family) income, even though income is more of an "individual level" for tract income by crime than is NORC score. We do this because of the better marginals resulting from the NORC score distributions. (Nonetheless, the results using family income as the individual independent variable are available upon request; they are very similar to the results following, which use respondent's NORC score.)

Tables E-1a through E-1c (actually these three are subtables) relate tract type to the respondent's observations

of excessive drinking in public, while controlling for respondent's NORC score. These subtables thus analyze whether or not there is a contextual effect (not whether or not there is an individual effect). Recall that in the above prediction (two-variable) analysis, tract type was significantly related to this dependent variable. These tables here tell us whether tract type is still related to the dependent variable (observed drinking) even when respondent's NORC score is held constant. Put another way: Is there a relationship between tract type and observed drinking even for individuals who are roughly the same in occupation rank (NORC)?

The three subtables (Tables E-1a through E-1c) clearly show a contextual effect: Looking within the separate categories of NORC score (each subtable represents one NORC grouped classification), in each case the relationship between tract type and observed drinking is highly significant and strong (the C's = .31, .37 and .33). And in each of the subtables, those who are in the middle-income, low-crime tract are most likely to say that excessive drinking is "not a problem." In other words, this effect of tract type persists regardless of respondent's NORC score. So: We noted above in the prediction analysis that tract type predicts this variable. We now see that it is still true, regardless of the occupational prestige score of the respondent. We have a tract effect that persists even when the individual variable is controlled. We indeed have a contextual effect (at least as far as this one control variable goes).

But these results are even more interesting when we look at the next set of tables, Tables E-2a through E-2d (four subtables). These tables simply interchange what variable is being controlled for and what variable is being treated as the independent variable. Here it is the person's NORC score which is independent, and tract type which is the control variable. These four subtables (one per tract type) will tell us whether or not there is an "individual effect."

Some of you might now ask: "But we already got significant effects in the first three tables, so why bother to look at these?" An interesting question, indeed. Look at the tables! Each of these four subtables shows no significant relationship between individual's occupation (NORC) and the dependent variable, observed drinking. This means that there is no individual effect. All seven tables put together (the E-1 tables and the E-2 tables) may be thusly summarized: We have a contextual effect but no comparable individual effect. Tract "status" is related to observed drinking, but individual "status" (as reflected by NORC score) is not.

In other words, tract type is related to observed drinking, even when we hold occupation constant (when we compare persons of roughly the same occupation). However, occupation is not related to observed drinking, when tract type is held

constant (when we compare persons within the same tract). This is a very interesting finding, and an important one, given the framework and hypotheses of the study, especially as they pertain to the effects of the income-crime of the tract a person lives in. (These effects remain roughly the same for both Atlanta and Washington, D. C., incidentally.)

The next set of tables all use "fear of crime" as the dependent variable -- one of our important criterion variables. Recall that tract type (cf. "tract status") was significantly related to fear of crime in the prediction (bivariate) analysis.

These tables (three E-3 subtables and four E-4 subtables) show us results that are a bit more complicated than the results that pertain to observed drinking. Note that Table E-3a shows no significant relationship between tract type and fear of crime, for (only) individuals in the "high" NORC occupational group. However, for the "low" group (subtable E-3b), there is a significant relationship ($P = .04$, $C = .30$); those in the low-income, low-crime tract are the least fearful. Also, for the third subtable (E-3c), which includes all those who are "don't know" or no answer on the NORC variable, there is a significant relationship -- those in the middle-income, low-crime tract are the least fearful (and $C = .35$). So we have what is called a conditional relationship (also what is called statistical interaction): Tract type is in fact related to fear of crime under certain specified conditions (i.e., for those who are "low" in occupational rank, or who are in some "don't know" category) but not under others (i.e., for those "high" in occupational rank). So we would conclude from this that, yes, people in the different tracts do differ in fear of crime (with the middle-income, low-crime tract generally showing the least fear), but this is true only for those of moderate to low occupational scores (for lower SES persons). In sum, we have a conditional contextual effect here.

To make matters even more complicated, as the next four subtables show (Tables E-4a through E-4d), we have individual effects in two of the tables but not in two others. So, in addition to having a conditional contextual effect, we also have a conditional individual effect. (This is what is sometimes called a "double contingency" in contextual analysis when crosstabulation is used.) Occupational score is related to fear of crime (and the higher the score, the more fearful!) but only for those who are in the low-income, high-crime tract (Table E-4b) or in the middle-income, low-crime tract (Table E-4c). Figure that one out!

The next series of tables (E-5a and following) concern the effects of tract type and occupation on whether or not the respondent perceives crime in his or her community as having increased, remained the same or decreased. Generally, there is a contextual effect of tract type, with some slight

contingency: Tract type predicts this dependent variable for both the "high" and "low" NORC score groups, but not for the "don't knows" -- a relatively minor qualification. The next set of tables (Tables E-6a through E-6d) show no effect of occupation (tract type constant) except for those in the middle-income, low-crime tract. In general, an absence of an individual effect here is the rule. So while we have some slight "double contingency" here also, the overall conclusion is that people in the different tracts do indeed differ in their perceptions of whether crime in their community has increased or not, and, with the minor qualification that this is not so for the "don't knows" on the occupational scale, the effect appears to be independent of occupation. Thus a (conditional) contextual effect exists on respondent's perception of community crime increase.

We arrive now at an analysis of whether or not the respondent has had run-ins with the police (self-report). Tables E-7a through E-7c show that in general, as we noted in the earlier prediction analysis, those in the low-income, high-crime tract are the most likely to have had such run-ins. But it is conditional: It is not true for those who are in the high occupation group; it is true for those in the low group (and also for the "don't know" group). We thus have another conditional contextual effect -- but clearly, an interpretable one. It is indeed expected that tract type would be more predictive of trouble with the police for those of lower, rather than higher, occupation ranks. This is what these tables show, and it is a substantively important finding.

As Tables E-8a through E-8d show, here again is a case of only a (conditional) contextual effect but no individual occupational effect whatever. None of these four subtables for the effect of occupation are significant. In sum, then, we have the following: Tract type does indeed exert a contextual effect upon whether or not one has had trouble with the police. Those in the low-income, high-crime tract are the ones who are most likely to have such troubles. This effect persists even when we control for individual occupation (and by inference other SES characteristics as well); and occupation itself does not exert any measurable effect on trouble with the police.

One overall conclusion for our study thus seems to be that tract effects are very powerful indeed. We have seen them many times over, in the prior prediction analyses as well as here in the contextual analyses. They are quite a bit more powerful than the effects of occupation (and SES) of the individual. This is true even for the extent to which the individual has had (self-reported) troubles with the police. (And remember that "troubles with the police" is and item with pretty high face validity.) It thus seems that tract "status" is more relevant to individual criminality as well as crime perception than is the "status" of that self-same

individual. It is tract "status" that makes the difference, less so individual "status." We have some measure of confidence in these results, since we have controlled for individual status when assessing the effect of tract status, and we have also controlled tract status when assessing the effect of individual status.

We arrive finally at what we will present here as our last contextual analysis. (Other contextual analyses, with the same dependent variables but with controls for individual income and father's NORC score, all yielded results similar to those presented here. These tables are not, of course, presented, for the sake of necessary brevity.) Tables E-9a through E-9c show a (conditional) contextual effect of tract type on attitude toward the police (in this case, police "kindness"). In general (for two out of three occupation groups) the police are seen as more favorable in the middle-income, low-crime tract (or in the low-income, low-crime tract); as less favorable ("cruel") in the low-income, high-crime tract (or in the low-income, low-crime tract); and as less favorable ("cruel") in the low-income, high-crime tract. This is consistent with our expectations.

Now note (again) the total absence of an individual effect: Tables E-10a through E-10d show that for all four tracts, occupation is not related to attitude toward the police.

So once again, we have a reconfirmation of the powerful effects of tract type (occupation constant) and the absence of effects of individual SES variables (here, occupation) even with the tract type constant. This time, the dependent variable is attitude toward the police. The generalization, and the appropriate conclusion, is quite clear: It is the status characteristics and the crime-rate characteristics of one's own community (if we assume for the moment that tract and community are roughly the same) that determine such things as involvement with the police and overall attitudes and feelings about the police. The status characteristics of the individual make little, if any, difference. We saw this for variable after variable in the early prediction analyses, and these findings are now only reconfirmed when tract type is held constant. The effects of tract type, on the other hand, persist and remain strong -- in some cases become even stronger -- when we hold constant the SES characteristics of the individual.

TABLE E-1a

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *

V003 TRACTID BY V014 EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC

CONTROLLING FOR..

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE VALUE = 1. ~~R~~ =LO

* PAGE 1 OF 1

V003	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V014: NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCR	COUNT	28	2	0	0	30
	ROW PCT	93.3	6.7	0.0	0.0	14.1
	COL PCT	17.7	9.1	0.0	0.0	
	TOT PCT	13.1	0.9	0.0	0.0	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCR	COUNT	39	5	5	0	49
	ROW PCT	79.6	10.2	10.2	0.0	23.0
	COL PCT	24.7	22.7	22.7	0.0	
	TOT PCT	18.3	2.3	2.3	0.0	
3. MID IN	COUNT	48	3	4	5	60
	ROW PCT	80.0	5.0	6.7	8.3	28.2
	COL PCT	30.4	13.6	18.2	45.5	
	TOT PCT	22.5	1.4	1.9	2.3	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	COUNT	43	12	13	6	74
	ROW PCT	58.1	16.2	17.6	8.1	34.7
	COL PCT	27.2	54.5	59.1	54.5	
	TOT PCT	20.2	5.6	6.1	2.8	
COLUMN TOTAL		158	22	22	11	213
		74.2	10.3	10.3	5.2	100.0

6 OUT OF 16 (37.5%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.549
CHI SQUARE = 23.17212 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0058
CRAMER'S V = 0.19043
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.31323
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03597 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02577
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.05191 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.08236 WITH V014 DEPEND
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.06368
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.24219 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.17968 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.44144
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.31653 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.18532 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.23377
ETA = 0.27509 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.22847 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.22607 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0004

TABLE E-1b

```
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *   C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
   V003      TRACTID                                                BY  V014      EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC
CONTROLLING FOR..
   V420      RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE                                 VALUE =          2. = MI
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *   PAGE  1 OF  1
```

V003 / V014: COUNT, ROW PCT, COL PCT, TOT PCT	NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LO-CRI	58	2	0	1	61
	95.1	3.3	0.0	1.6	33.5
	40.3	8.7	0.0	25.0	
	31.9	1.1	0.0	0.5	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	24	4	7	1	36
	66.7	11.1	19.4	2.8	19.8
	16.7	17.4	63.6	25.0	
	13.2	2.2	3.8	0.5	
3. MID IN	41	10	1	1	53
	77.4	18.9	1.9	1.9	29.1
	28.5	43.5	9.1	25.0	
	22.5	5.5	0.5	0.5	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	21	7	3	1	32
	65.6	21.9	9.4	3.1	17.6
	14.6	30.4	27.3	25.0	
	11.5	3.6	1.6	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL	144	23	11	4	182
	79.1	12.6	6.0	2.2	100.0

```
 10 OUT OF    16 ( 62.5%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
 IMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY =  0.703
 SQUARE =    28.28607 WITH   9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM   SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0009
CRAMER'S V =    0.22761
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT =     0.36676
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.12397 WITH V003     DEPENDENT.          =  0.00000 WITH V014     DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) =  0.09434
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.06018 WITH V003     DEPENDENT.          =  0.11618 WITH V014     DEPEN
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) =  0.07928
KENDALL'S TAU B =    0.20121  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0012
KENDALL'S TAU C =    0.13662  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0012
GAMMA =    0.37028
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.28954 WITH V003     DEPENDENT.          =  0.13982 WITH V014     DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) =  0.18858
ETA =  0.24605 WITH V003     DEPENDENT.          =  0.17768 WITH V014     DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.11080  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0682
```

TABLE E-2a

CROSSTABULATION OF
V920 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V014 EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC
CONTROLLING FOR..
V003 TRACTID VALUE = 1. LOW-INCOME
PAGE 1 OF 1

V920	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V014 1. NOT A PROBLEM	2. A PR LEM	3. SOMEWHAT BIS PROB	9. DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1.	COUNT	39	5	8	0	49
	ROW PCT	79.6	10.2	16.2	0.0	33.6
	COL PCT	39.0	20.8	26.3	0.0	
	TOT PCT	26.7	3.4	5.4	0.0	
2.	COUNT	24	6	7	1	36
	ROW PCT	66.7	16.1	19.4	2.8	24.7
	COL PCT	24.0	16.7	36.8	33.3	
	TOT PCT	16.4	2.7	4.8	0.7	
999.	COUNT	37	15	7	2	61
	ROW PCT	60.7	24.6	11.5	3.3	41.8
	COL PCT	37.0	62.5	36.8	66.7	
	TOT PCT	25.3	10.3	4.8	1.4	
COLUMN TOTAL		100 / 68.5	24 / 16.4	19 / 13.0	3 / 2.1	146 / 100.0

4 OUT OF 12 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.740
CHI SQUARE = 8.78704 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1859
CRAMER'S V = 0.17347
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.23826
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02383 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01527
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03024 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.03612 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03292
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.19227 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0295
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.12019 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0295
GAMMA = 0.25073
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.16471 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.12290 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.14076
ETA = 0.20493 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.15647 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.09805 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1195

TABLE E-2b

```
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *   C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
   V420      RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE                                BY  V014      EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC
CONTROLLING FOR..
   V0C3      TRACTID                                               VALUE =          2.  LOW INCOME-HIGH CRIM
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * PAGE  1 OF  1
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V420	V014 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
CK	1.	43	12	13	6	74
		58.1	16.2	17.6	8.1	45.1
		46.7	35.3	46.4	60.0	
		26.2	7.3	7.9	3.7	
	2.	21	7	3	1	32
		65.6	21.9	9.4	3.1	19.5
		22.8	20.6	10.7	10.0	
		12.8	4.3	1.8	0.6	
	999.	28	15	12	3	58
		48.3	25.9	20.7	5.2	35.4
		30.4	44.1	42.9	30.0	
		17.1	9.1	7.3	1.8	
	COLUMN TOTAL	92	34	28	10	164
		56.1	20.7	17.1	6.1	100.0

```
3 OUT OF    12 ( 25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY =  1.951
CHI SQUARE =      5.28932 WITH   6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM   SIGNIFICANCE =  0.5073
CRAMER'S V =     0.12699
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT =      0.17676
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) =   0.03333 WITH V420      DEPENDENT.              =  0.00000 WITH V014      DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) =   0.01852
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.01618 WITH V420      DEPENDENT.          =  0.01507 WITH V014      DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) =   0.01560
KENDALL'S TAU B =      0.04548   SIGNIFICANCE =  0.2579
KENDALL'S TAU C =      0.04239   SIGNIFICANCE =  0.2579
GAMMA =      0.07316
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) =   0.04636 WITH V420      DEPENDENT.          =  0.04462 WITH V014      DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) =   0.04548
ETA =   0.13369 WITH V420      DEPENDENT.              =  0.09869 WITH V014      DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.01896   SIGNIFICANCE =  0.4048
```

TABLE E-2c

CROSSTABULATION OF
V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V014 EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC
CONTROLLING FOR..
V003 TRACTID VALUE = 3. MID INCOME-LOW
PAGE 1 OF 1

V420	V014 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. NOT A PROBLEM	2. SOMEWHAT A PR	3. BIG PROB	9. DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. OK		28	2	0	0	30
		93.3	6.7	0.0	0.0	22.9
		22.6	28.6	0.0	0.0	
		20.9	1.5	0.0	0.0	
2.		58	2	0	1	61
		95.1	3.3	0.0	1.6	45.5
		46.8	28.6	0.0	50.0	
		43.3	1.5	0.0	0.7	
999.		38	3	1	1	43
		88.4	7.0	2.3	2.3	32.1
		30.6	42.9	100.0	50.0	
		28.4	2.2	0.7	0.7	
COLUMN TOTAL		124	7	1	2	134
		92.5	5.2	0.7	1.5	100.0

9 OUT OF 12 (75.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.224
CHI SQUARE = 3.71242 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.7155
CRAMER'S V = 0.11770
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16919
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02740 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02810
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01529 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.04989 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02332
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.07946 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1697
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.03575 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1697
GAMMA = 0.25659
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.16944 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.03726 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.06109
ETA = 0.10716 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.08793 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.07950 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1806

TABLE E-2d

CROSSTABULATION OF

V920 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V014 EXCESSIVE DRINKING PUBLIC

CONTROLLING FOR..

V003 TRACTID VALUE = 4. MID INCOME-HIGH CRIM

PAGE 1 OF 1

	V014				
COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. NOT A PROBLEM	2. A PR SOMEWHAT	3. BIG PROB	9. DONT KNOW-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
V920					
1.	48	3	4	5	60
	80.0	5.0	6.7	8.3	33.9
	34.8	15.8	44.4	45.5	
	27.1	1.7	2.3	2.8	
2.	41	10	1	1	53
	77.4	18.9	1.9	1.9	29.9
	29.7	52.6	11.1	9.1	
	23.2	5.6	0.6	0.6	
999.	49	6	4	5	64
	76.6	9.4	6.3	7.8	36.2
	35.5	31.6	44.4	45.5	
	27.7	3.4	2.3	2.8	
COLUMN TOTAL	138	19	9	11	177
	78.0	10.7	5.1	6.2	100.0

6 CUT OF 12 (50.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.695

CHI-SQUARE = 9.09081 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1685

CRAMER'S V = 0.16025

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.22102

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03540 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02632

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02825 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.03651 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02986

KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.02688 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3978

KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.02011 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3978

GAMMA = 0.05363

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03583 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.02017 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02581

ETA = 0.07025 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.11096 WITH V014 DEPENDENT.

PEARSON'S R = 0.05309 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2414

TABLE E-3a

```
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *   C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
    V003      TRACTID                                              BY  V017        FEAR OF CRIME
CONTROLLING FOR..
    V420   .  RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE                               VALUE =           1.  = H1
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * PAGE  1 OF  1
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V003 / V017 (COUNT, ROW PCT, COL PCT, TOT PCT)	NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	25	4	1	0	30
	83.3	13.3	3.3	0.0	14.1
	16.4	11.1	5.0	0.0	
	11.7	1.9	0.5	0.0	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	34	8	6	1	49
	69.4	16.3	12.2	2.0	23.0
	22.4	22.2	30.0	20.0	
	16.0	3.8	2.8	0.5	
3. MID IN	38	17	4	1	60
	63.3	28.3	6.7	1.7	28.2
	25.0	47.2	20.0	20.0	
	17.8	8.0	1.9	0.5	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	55	7	9	3	74
	74.3	9.5	12.2	4.1	34.7
	36.2	19.4	45.0	60.0	
	25.8	3.3	4.2	1.4	
COLUMN TOTAL	152	36	20	5	213
	71.4	16.9	9.4	2.3	100.0

```
 6 OUT OF    16 ( 37.5%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY =  0.704
CHI SQUARE =    12.99944 WITH    9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM   SIGNIFICANCE =  0.1626
CRAMER'S V =    0.14253
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT =     0.23983
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.07194 WITH V003     DEPENDENT.          =  0.00000 WITH V017     DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) =  0.05000
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.02383 WITH V003     DEPENDENT.          =  0.03746 WITH V017     DEPENC
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) =  0.02913
KENDALL'S TAU B =     0.03815  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.2655
KENDALL'S TAU C =     0.02915  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.2655
GAMMA =     0.06622
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.04829 WITH V003     DEPENDENT.          =  0.03007 WITH V017     DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) =  0.03706
ETA =  0.11021 WITH V003     DEPENDENT.          =  0.11135 WITH V017     DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R =  0.09435  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0850
```

TABLE E-3b

CROSSTABULATION OF
V003 TRACTID BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME
CONTROLLING FOR..
V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE VALUE = 2.210

V003	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V017 1.0 NOT A PROBLEM	2.0 SOMEWHAT	3.0 BIG PROB	9.0 DONT KNOW-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI		36	20	5	0	61
		59.0	32.8	8.2	0.0	33.5
		32.4	40.8	23.8	0.0	
		19.8	11.0	2.7	0.0	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI		23	8	4	1	36
		63.9	22.2	11.1	2.8	19.8
		20.7	16.3	19.0	100.0	
		12.6	4.4	2.2	0.5	
3. MID IN		33	17	3	0	53
		62.3	32.1	5.7	0.0	29.1
		29.7	34.7	14.3	0.0	
		18.1	9.3	1.6	0.0	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR		19	4	9	0	32
		59.4	12.5	28.1	0.0	17.6
		17.1	8.2	42.9	0.0	
		10.4	2.2	4.9	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		111	49	21	1	182
		61.0	26.9	11.5	0.5	100.0

6 OUT OF 10 (37.5%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.176
CHI-SQUARE = 18.05450 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0345
CRAMER'S V = 0.18184
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.30041
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04132 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02604
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03257 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.04721 WITH V017 DEPEND
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03855
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.02232 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3668
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.01876 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3668
GAMMA = 0.03507
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02595 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.01920 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02207
ETA = 0.17013 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.11846 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.03645 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3126

TABLE E-3c

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

V003 TRACTID BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME

CONTROLLING FOR..

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE VALUE = 999. -DK/NA

* PAGE 1 OF 1

V003	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V017: NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	40	2	0	1	43
	ROW PCT	93.0	4.7	0.0	2.3	19.0
	COL PCT	25.5	5.0	0.0	16.7	
	TOT PCT	17.7	0.9	0.0	0.4	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	46	9	5	1	61
	ROW PCT	75.4	14.8	8.2	1.6	27.0
	COL PCT	29.3	22.5	21.7	16.7	
	TOT PCT	20.4	4.0	2.2	0.4	
3. MID IN	COUNT	44	9	8	3	64
	ROW PCT	68.8	14.1	12.5	4.7	28.3
	COL PCT	28.0	22.5	34.8	50.0	
	TOT PCT	19.5	4.0	3.5	1.3	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	COUNT	27	20	10	1	58
	ROW PCT	46.6	34.5	17.2	1.7	25.7
	COL PCT	17.2	50.0	43.5	16.7	
	TOT PCT	11.9	8.8	4.4	0.4	
COLUMN TOTAL		157	40	23	6	226
		69.5	17.7	10.2	2.7	100.0

5 OUT OF 16 (31.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
...UM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.142
C... SQUARE = 31.51248 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002
CRAMER'S V = 0.21539
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.34932
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.09239 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.06494
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.05674 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.08783 WITH V017 DEPEN
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.06895
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.28122 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.22304 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000
GAMMA = 0.46485
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.35216 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.22437 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.27425
ETA = 0.34439 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.16625 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.16096 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0077

TABLE E-4a

CROSSTABULATION OF

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME

CONTROLLING FOR..

V0C3 TRACTID VALUE = 1. LOW-INCOME

V420	V017 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. NOT A PR OBLEM	2. SOMEWHAT A	3. BIG PROB LEM	9. DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1.		54	8	6	1	49
CR		69.4	16.3	12.2	2.0	33.6
		33.0	32.0	40.0	33.3	
		23.3	5.5	4.1	0.7	
2.		23	8	4	1	36
		63.9	22.2	11.1	2.8	24.7
		22.3	32.0	26.7	33.3	
		15.8	5.5	2.7	0.7	
999.		46	9	5	1	61
		75.4	14.8	8.2	1.6	41.8
		44.7	36.0	33.3	33.3	
		31.5	6.2	3.4	0.7	
COLUMN TOTAL		103 70.5	25 17.1	15 10.3	3 2.1	146 100.0

4 OUT OF 12 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.740

CHI SQUARE = 1.81362 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.9360

CRAMER'S V = 0.07881

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.11077

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01176 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00781

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00567 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00708 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00630

KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.06189 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2066

KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.05095 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2066

GAMMA = -0.11104

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.07352 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = -0.05209 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.06098

ETA = 0.09198 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.07171 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.

PEARSON'S R = -0.06584 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2149

TABLE E-4b

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME

CONTROLLING FOR..

V0C3 TRACTID VALUE = 2. LOW INCOME-HIGH CRIM

V017

V420	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	NOT A PROBLEM 1.	SOMEWHAT A 2.	BIG PROBLEM 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
CK	1.	55	7	9	3	74
		74.3	9.5	12.2	4.1	45.1
		54.5	22.6	32.1	75.0	
		33.5	4.3	5.5	1.8	
	2.	19	4	9	0	32
		59.4	12.5	28.1	0.0	19.5
		18.8	12.9	32.1	0.0	
		11.6	2.4	5.5	0.0	
	999.	27	20	10	1	58
		46.6	34.5	17.2	1.7	35.4
		26.7	64.5	35.7	25.0	
		16.5	12.2	6.1	0.6	
	COLUMN TOTAL	101	31	28	4	164
		61.6	18.9	17.1	2.4	100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.780
CHI SQUARE = 20.76601 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0020
CRAMER'S V = 0.25162
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.33525
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.15556 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.09150
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06024 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.06262 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.06140
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.18321 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0048
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.16296 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0048
GAMMA = 0.29450
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.19566 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.17156 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.18282
ETA = 0.30255 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.05506 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.05964 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2436

TABLE E-4c

CROSSTABULATION OF V920 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME
CONTROLLING FOR.. VOC3 TRACTID VALUE = 3. MID INCOME-LOW

V920	V017 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. NOT A PROBLEM	2. A PR SOMEWHAT	3. BIG PROB	9. DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1.		25	4	1	0	30
CR		83.3	13.3	3.3	0.0	22.9
		24.8	15.4	16.7	0.0	
		18.7	3.0	0.7	0.0	
2.		36	20	5	0	61
		59.0	32.8	8.2	0.0	45.5
		35.6	76.9	83.3	0.0	
		26.9	14.9	3.7	0.0	
999.		40	2	0	1	43
		93.0	4.7	0.0	2.3	32.1
		39.6	7.7	0.0	100.0	
		29.9	1.5	0.0	0.7	
COLUMN TOTAL		101 75.4	26 19.4	6 4.5	1 0.7	134 100.0

6 OUT OF 12 (50.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.224
CHI SQUARE = 21.23225 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0017
CRAMER'S V = 0.28187
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.36983
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06849 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04717
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.08547 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.12794 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.10248
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.12320 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0629
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.09256 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0629
GAMMA = -0.24905
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.16734 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = -0.09647 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.11960
ETA = 0.33071 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.15919 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.08880 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1538

TABLE E-4d

CROSSTABULATION OF

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V017 FEAR OF CRIME

CONTROLLING FOR..

V003 TRACTID VALUE = 4. MID INCOME-HIGH CRIM

	V017				
COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. NOT A PROBLEM	2. A PR SOMEWHAT	3. BIG PROB	9. DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
V420					
1.	38	17	4	1	60
	63.3	28.3	6.7	1.7	33.9
	33.0	39.5	26.7	25.0	
	21.5	9.6	2.3	0.6	
2.	33	17	3	0	53
	62.3	32.1	5.7	0.0	29.9
	28.7	39.5	20.0	0.0	
	18.6	9.6	1.7	0.0	
999.	44	9	8	3	64
	68.8	14.1	12.5	4.7	36.2
	38.3	20.9	53.3	75.0	
	24.9	5.1	4.5	1.7	
COLUMN TOTAL	115 65.0	43 24.3	15 8.5	4 2.3	177 100.0

4 OUT OF 12 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 1.198

CHI SQUARE = 9.61758 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1417

CRAMER'S V = 0.16483

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.22702

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07060 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04571

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02760 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.03292 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03003

KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.01270 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4264

KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.01111 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4264

GAMMA = -0.02161

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.01449 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = -0.01114 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.01260

ETA = 0.22634 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.10640 WITH V017 DEPENDENT.

PEARSON'S R = 0.10018 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0923

TABLE E-5a

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *   C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
    V003      TRACTID                                                BY  V038      COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE
CONTROLLING FOR..
    V420      RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE                                 VALUE =          1.  = LO
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *  PAGE  1 OF  1
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V003 (COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT)	V038: INCREASED 1.	SAME 2.	DECREASED 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	3	20	4	3	30
	10.0	66.7	13.3	10.0	14.1
	8.3	18.5	8.9	12.5	
	1.4	9.4	1.9	1.4	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	7	22	15	5	49
	14.3	44.9	30.6	10.2	23.0
	19.4	20.4	33.3	20.8	
	3.3	10.3	7.0	2.3	
3. MID IN	5	42	8	5	60
	8.3	70.0	13.3	8.3	28.2
	13.9	38.9	17.8	20.8	
	2.3	19.7	3.8	2.3	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	21	24	18	11	74
	28.4	32.4	24.3	14.9	34.7
	58.3	22.2	40.0	45.8	
	9.9	11.3	8.5	5.2	
COLUMN TOTAL	36	108	45	24	213
	16.9	50.7	21.1	11.3	100.0

```
1 OUT OF    16 (  6.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY =  3.380
CHI SQUARE =    26.96140 WITH   9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM   SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0014
CRAMER'S V =    0.20541
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT =    0.33520
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.12950 WITH V003      DEPENDENT.          =  0.00000 WITH V038      DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) =  0.07377
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.04728 WITH V003      DEPENDENT.          =  0.05189 WITH V038      DEPEND
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) =  0.04948
KENDALL'S TAU B =   -0.02959  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.3072
KENDALL'S TAU C =   -0.02727  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.3072
GAMMA =   -0.04220
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.03113 WITH V003      DEPENDENT.          = -0.02813 WITH V038     DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.02955
ETA =  0.20481 WITH V003      DEPENDENT.          =  0.06611 WITH V038      DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.03134  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.3246
```

TABLE E-5b

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

V003 TRACTID BY V038 COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE

CONTROLLING FOR..

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE VALUE = 2.

V003 (COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT)	V038: INCREASED 1.	SAME 2.	DECREASED 3.	DONT KNOW-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	17 27.9 37.8 9.3	37 60.7 43.0 20.3	3 4.9 7.9 1.6	4 6.6 30.6 2.2	61 33.5
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	7 19.4 15.6 3.5	17 47.2 19.8 9.3	10 27.8 26.3 5.5	2 5.6 15.4 1.1	36 19.8
3. MID IN	12 22.6 26.7 6.6	21 39.6 24.4 11.5	14 26.4 36.8 7.7	6 11.3 46.2 3.3	53 29.1
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	9 28.1 20.0 4.9	11 34.4 12.8 6.0	11 34.4 28.9 6.0	1 3.1 7.7 0.5	32 17.6
COLUMN TOTAL	45 24.7	86 47.3	38 20.9	13 7.1	182 100.0

4 OUT OF 16 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.286
CHI-SQUARE = 18.99513 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0252
CRAMER'S V = 0.18652
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.30742
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.10744 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.05991
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04419 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.04915 WITH V038 DEPEN
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04654
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12325 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0263
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.11468 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0263
GAMMA = 0.17291
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.12920 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.11757 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.12311
ETA = 0.27365 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.13010 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.05662 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2239

TABLE E-5c

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

V003 TRACTID BY V038 COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE

CONTROLLING FOR..

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE VALUE = 999. = X-/NA

* PAGE 1 OF 1

V003 \ V038 COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	INCREASE D 1.	SAME 2.	DECREASE D 3.	DONT KNO W-NOANSW 9.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	6 14.0 15.4 2.7	17 39.5 17.2 7.5	15 34.9 21.7 6.6	5 11.6 26.3 2.2	43 19.0
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	12 19.7 30.8 5.3	27 44.3 27.3 11.9	20 32.8 29.0 8.8	2 3.3 10.5 0.9	61 27.0
3. MID IN	9 14.1 23.1 4.0	35 54.7 35.4 15.5	13 20.3 18.8 5.8	7 10.9 36.8 3.1	64 28.3
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	12 20.7 30.8 5.3	20 34.5 20.2 8.8	21 36.2 30.4 9.3	5 8.6 26.3 2.2	58 25.7
COLUMN TOTAL	39 17.3	99 43.8	69 30.5	19 8.4	226 100.0

2 OUT OF 16 (12.5%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 3.615
CHI SQUARE = 10.41425 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3180
CRAMER'S V = 0.12394
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.20988
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06790 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00787 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04152
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01789 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.01993 WITH V038 DEPEND
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01886
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.01631 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3869
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.01545 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3869
GAMMA = -0.02278
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.01709 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = -0.01556 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.01629
ETA = 0.03906 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.11724 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.00373 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4778

TABLE E-6a

CROSSTABULATION OF
V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V038 COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE
CONTROLLING FOR..
V003 TRACTID VALUE = 1. LOW-INCOME
PAGE 1 OF 1

	V038				
COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1.INCREASE	2.SAME	3.DECREASE	9.DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
V420					
1.	7	22	15	5	49
	14.3	44.9	30.6	10.2	33.6
	26.9	33.3	33.3	55.6	
	4.8	15.1	10.3	3.4	
2.	7	17	10	2	36
	19.4	47.2	27.8	5.6	24.7
	26.9	25.8	22.2	22.2	
	4.8	11.6	6.8	1.4	
999.	12	27	20	2	61
	19.7	44.3	32.8	3.3	41.8
	46.2	40.9	44.4	22.2	
	8.2	18.5	13.7	1.4	
COLUMN TOTAL	26 17.8	66 45.2	45 30.8	9 6.2	146 100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.219
CHI SQUARE = 2.88817 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.8227
CRAMER'S V = 0.09985
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.13928
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03529 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01818
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00912 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00817 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00862
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.06397 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1918
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.06319 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1918
GAMMA = -0.09696
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.06334 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = -0.06461 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.06397
ETA = 0.11022 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.12807 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.09537 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1261

TABLE E-6b

CROSSTABULATION OF
V920 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V038 COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE
CONTROLLING FOR..
V0C3 TRACTID VALUE = 2. LOW INCOME-HIGH CRIM

V920	V038 1. INCREASE	2. SAME	3. DECREASE	9. DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. CR	21	24	18	11	74
	28.4	32.4	24.3	14.9	45.1
	50.0	43.6	36.0	64.7	
	12.8	14.6	11.0	6.7	
2.	9	11	11	1	32
	28.1	34.4	34.4	3.1	19.5
	21.4	20.0	22.0	5.9	
	5.5	6.7	6.7	0.6	
999.	12	20	21	5	58
	20.7	34.5	36.2	8.6	35.4
	28.6	36.4	42.0	29.4	
	7.3	12.2	12.8	3.0	
COLUMN TOTAL	42 25.6	55 33.5	50 30.5	17 10.4	164 100.0

1 OUT OF 12 (8.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 3.317
CHI SQUARE = 5.83469 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4420
CRAMER'S V = 0.13337
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.18535
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03333 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.00917 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02010
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01851 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.01979 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01841
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.03561 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3018
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.03603 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3018
GAMMA = 0.05273
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03349 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.03793 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03559
ETA = 0.11320 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.11827 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R =-0.00529 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4732

TABLE E-6c

CROSSTABULATION OF
V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V038 COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE
CONTROLLING FOR..
VOC3 TRACTID VALUE = 3. MID INCOME-LOW

	V038				
COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. INCREASE	2. SAME	3. DECREASE	9. DONT KNO W-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
V420					
1. CR	3 / 10.0 / 11.5 / 2.2	20 / 66.7 / 27.0 / 14.9	4 / 13.3 / 18.2 / 3.0	3 / 10.0 / 25.0 / 2.2	30 / 22.4
2.	17 / 27.9 / 65.4 / 12.7	37 / 60.7 / 50.0 / 27.6	3 / 4.9 / 13.6 / 2.2	4 / 6.6 / 33.3 / 3.0	61 / 45.5
999.	6 / 14.0 / 23.1 / 4.5	17 / 39.5 / 23.0 / 12.7	15 / 34.9 / 68.2 / 11.2	5 / 11.6 / 41.7 / 3.7	43 / 32.1
COLUMN TOTAL	26 / 19.4	74 / 55.2	22 / 16.4	12 / 9.0	134 / 100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.687
CHI SQUARE = 22.02159 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0012
CRAMER'S V = 0.28665
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.37569
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.17808 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.09774
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07752 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.07078 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.07400
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.12480 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0525
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.11812 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0525
GAMMA = 0.19113
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.12652 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.12311 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.12479
ETA = 0.36075 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.16803 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.13977 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0536

TABLE E-6d

CROSSTABULATION OF V920 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V038 COMMUNITY CRIME INCREASE
CONTROLLING FOR.. V003 TRACTID VALUE = 4. MID INCOME-HIGH CRIM

V920	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V038 1. INCREASE	V038 2. SAME	V038 3. DECREASE	V038 9. DONT KNOW-NOANSW	ROW TOTAL
1. OK	COUNT	5	42	8	5	60
	ROW PCT	8.3	70.0	13.3	8.3	33.9
	COL PCT	19.2	42.9	22.9	27.8	
	TOT PCT	2.8	23.7	4.5	2.8	
2.	COUNT	12	21	14	6	53
	ROW PCT	22.6	39.6	26.4	11.3	29.9
	COL PCT	46.2	21.4	40.0	33.3	
	TOT PCT	6.8	11.9	7.9	3.4	
999.	COUNT	9	35	13	7	64
	ROW PCT	14.1	54.7	20.3	10.9	36.2
	COL PCT	34.6	35.7	37.1	38.9	
	TOT PCT	5.1	19.8	7.3	4.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		26 / 14.7	98 / 55.4	35 / 19.8	18 / 10.2	177 / 100.0

CHI SQUARE = 11.40280 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0767
CRAMER'S V = 0.17948
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.24602
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.09735 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.05729
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02972 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.02802 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02885
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.02749 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3398
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.02652 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3398
GAMMA = 0.04193
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02841 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.02660 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02748
ETA = 0.02475 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.09253 WITH V038 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.02263 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3825

TABLE E-7a

CROSSTABULATION OF

V003 TRACTID BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE

CONTROLLING FOR..

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE VALUE = 1. thru 71

V003	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V086 YES (1.)	V086 NO (2.)	V086 DONT KNO-NO ANS (9.)	ROW TOTAL
1.		2	28	0	30
PIDINCOME-LO.CRI		6.7	93.3	0.0	14.1
		6.1	15.6	0.0	
		0.9	13.1	0.0	
2.		11	38	0	49
LOWINCOME-LOWCRI		22.4	77.6	0.0	23.0
		33.3	21.2	0.0	
		5.2	17.8	0.0	
3.		9	50	1	60
MID IN		15.0	83.3	1.7	28.2
		27.3	27.9	100.0	
		4.2	23.5	0.5	
4.		11	63	0	74
LOWINCOME-HIGHCR		14.9	85.1	0.0	34.7
		33.3	35.2	0.0	
		5.2	29.6	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		33 15.5	179 84.0	1 0.5	213 100.0

5 OUT OF 12 (41.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.141
CHI-SQUARE = 6.18502 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4028
CRAMER'S V = 0.12049
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.16798
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00719 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00578
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01121 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.03260 WITH V086 DEPENDE
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01668
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.00607 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4616
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.00403 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4616
GAMMA = -0.01373
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.00997 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = -0.00370 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.00539
ETA = 0.02076 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.11980 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.00199 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4885

TABLE E-7b

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

VO03 TRACTIB BY VO86 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE

CONTROLLING FOR..

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE VALUE = 2 [illegible]

VO03	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VO86 YES 1.I	NO 2.I	ROW TOTAL
MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	1.	1	60	61
		1.6	98.4	33.5
		6.7	35.9	
		0.5	33.0	
LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	2.	5	31	36
		13.9	86.1	19.8
		33.3	18.6	
		2.7	17.0	
MID IN	3.	4	49	53
		7.5	92.5	29.1
		26.7	29.3	
		2.2	26.9	
LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	4.	5	27	32
		15.6	84.4	17.6
		33.3	16.2	
		2.7	14.8	
COLUMN TOTAL		15	167	182
		8.2	91.8	100.0

3 OUT OF 8 (37.5%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
IMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.637
SQUARE = 7.37469 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0609
ER'S V = 0.20130
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19734
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03306 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02941
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.01685 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.08002 WITH V086 DEPEND
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02783
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.13947 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0204
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.09286 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0204
GAMMA = -0.34255
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.30699 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = -0.06336 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.10506
ETA = 0.15075 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.20133 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.15074 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0211

TABLE E-7c

CROSSTABULATION OF
V0C3 TRACTID BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE
CONTROLLING FOR..
V42C RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE VALUE = 999. = DK/NA

		V086			
	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	YES 1.1	NO 2.1	DONT KNO W-NO ANS 9.1	ROW TOTAL
V0C3					
1. FIDINCOME-LO-CRI		1 2.3 5.6 0.4	40 93.0 19.6 17.7	2 4.7 50.0 0.9	43 19.0
2. LO-INCOME-LO-CRI		6 9.8 33.3 2.7	55 90.2 27.0 24.3	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	61 27.0
3. MID IN		2 3.1 11.1 0.9	60 93.8 29.4 26.5	2 3.1 50.0 0.9	64 28.3
4. L-INCOME-HIGHCR		9 15.5 50.0 4.0	49 84.5 24.0 21.7	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	58 25.7
COLUMN TOTAL		18 8.0	204 90.3	4 1.8	226 100.0

7 OUT OF 12 (58.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.761
CHI SQUARE = 13.14534 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0408
CRAMER'S V = 0.17054
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.23445
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04321 WITH V0C3 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03804
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02382 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.08969 WITH V086 DEPEND
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03765
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.12702 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0179
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.06948 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0179
GAMMA = -0.34560
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.25943 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = -0.08219 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.10033
ETA = 0.14338 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.19019 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R =-0.10720 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0540

TABLE E-8a

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *   C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
   V420     RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE                          BY  V086      RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE
CONTROLLING FOR..
   VOC3     TRACTID                                         VALUE =          1.  LOW-INCOME
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *  PAGE  1 OF  1

                 V086
          COUNT  I
        ROW PCT  IYES      NO        ROW
        COL PCT  I                   TOTAL
        TOT PCT  I     1.I     2.I
V420    --------I--------I--------I
             1.  I    11  I    38  I    49
  CK             I  22.4  I  77.6  I  33.6
                 I  50.0  I  30.6  I
                 I   7.5  I  26.0  I
                -I--------I--------I
             2.  I     5  I    31  I    36
                 I  13.9  I  86.1  I  24.7
                 I  22.7  I  25.0  I
                 I   3.4  I  21.2  I
                -I--------I--------I
           999.  I     6  I    55  I    61
                 I   9.8  I  90.2  I  41.8
                 I  27.3  I  44.4  I
                 I   4.1  I  37.7  I
                -I--------I--------I
         COLUMN       22      124      146
          TOTAL     15.1     84.9    100.0

CHI SQUARE =     3.42968 WITH   2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM   SIGNIFICANCE =  0.1800
CRAMER'S V =    0.15327
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT =     0.15150
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) =   0.05882 WITH V420     DEPENDENT.          =  0.00000 WITH V086     DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) =   0.04673
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.01069 WITH V420     DEPENDENT.          =  0.02714 WITH V086     DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) =  0.01533
KENDALL'S TAU B =     0.14171  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0356
KENDALL'S TAU C =     0.11578  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0356
GAMMA =     0.33808
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.22617 WITH V420    DEPENDENT.          =  0.08879 WITH V086     DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) =   0.12752
ETA =   0.12398 WITH V420      DEPENDENT.          =  0.15328 WITH V086      DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R =  0.12398  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.0680
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TABLE E-8b

CROSSTABULATION OF

V920 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE

CONTROLLING FOR..

V0C3 TRACTID VALUE = 2. LOW INCOME-HIGH CRIM

V920	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V086 1. YES	V086 2. NO	ROW TOTAL
1.		11	63	74
		14.9	85.1	45.1
		44.0	45.3	
		6.7	38.4	
2.		5	27	32
		15.6	84.4	19.5
		20.0	19.4	
		3.0	16.5	
999.		9	49	58
		15.5	84.5	35.4
		36.0	35.3	
		5.5	29.9	
COLUMN TOTAL		25	139	164
		15.2	84.8	100.0

1 OUT OF 6 (16.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 4.878.

CHI SQUARE = 0.01518 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.9924

PHI-SQUARE = 0.00962

CRAMER'S V = 0.00962

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.00962

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00000 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00000

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.00004 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.00011 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.00006

KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.00809 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.9567

KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.00654 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.9567

GAMMA = -0.01995

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.01266 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = -0.00517 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.00739

ETA = 0.00560 WITH V920 DEPENDENT. = 0.01004 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.

PEARSON'S R = -0.00563 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.9715

TABLE E-8c

CROSSTABULATION OF V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE
CONTROLLING FOR.. V003 TRACTID VALUE = 3. MID INCOME-LOW
PAGE 1 OF 1

V420	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V086 1. YES	V086 2. NO	V086 9. DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
1.		2	28	0	30
CK		6.7	93.3	0.0	22.4
		50.0	21.9	0.0	
		1.5	20.9	0.0	
2.		1	60	0	61
		1.6	98.4	0.0	45.5
		25.0	46.9	0.0	
		0.7	44.8	0.0	
999.		1	40	2	43
		2.3	93.0	4.7	32.1
		25.0	31.3	100.0	
		0.7	29.9	1.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		4 3.0	128 95.5	2 1.5	134 100.0

6 OUT OF 9 (66.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.448
CHI-SQUARE = 6.12208 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1902
CRAMER'S V = 0.15114
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.20902
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04110 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03797
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02171 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.10671 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03620
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.14495 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0381
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.05112 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0381
GAMMA = 0.56877
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.39933 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.05328 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.09388
ETA = 0.18052 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.18196 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.18008 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0187

TABLE E-8d

CROSSTABULATION OF V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V086 RESPONDENT TROUBLE WITH POLICE
CONTROLLING FOR.. V003 TRACTID VALUE = 4. MID INCOME-HIGH CRIM
PAGE 1 OF 1

V420	V086 YES	V086 NO	V086 DONT KNO W-NO ANS	ROW TOTAL
	1.	2.	9.	
1.	9	50	1	60
CR	15.0	83.3	1.7	33.9
	60.0	31.4	33.3	
	5.1	28.2	0.6	
2.	4	49	0	53
	7.5	92.5	0.0	29.9
	26.7	30.8	0.0	
	2.3	27.7	0.0	
999.	2	60	2	64
	3.1	93.8	3.1	36.2
	13.3	37.7	66.7	
	1.1	33.9	1.1	
COLUMN TOTAL	15 / 8.5	159 / 89.8	3 / 1.7	177 / 100.0

0 OUT OF 9 (00.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.898
CHI SQUARE = 7.33257 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1193
CRAMER'S V = 0.16392
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.19945
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.06195 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.05399
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02117 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.04191 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03155
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.16990 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0082
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.08925 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0082
GAMMA = 0.47600
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.32081 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.08951 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.13995
ETA = 0.16815 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.12219 WITH V086 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.12089 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0545

TABLE E-9a

* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *

V003 TRACTID BY V093 POLICE KINDNESS

CONTROLLING FOR..

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE VALUE = 1. CK

* PAGE 1 OF 1

V003	V093 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VERY KIND 1.	SOMEWHAT KIND 2.	NO OPINION 3.	SOMEWHAT CRUEL 4.	VERY CRUEL 5.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	3	17	8	2	0	30
	ROW PCT	10.0	56.7	26.7	6.7	0.0	14.1
	COL PCT	14.3	18.5	11.1	7.7	0.0	
	TOT PCT	1.4	8.0	3.8	0.9	0.0	
2. LO-INCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	8	20	12	9	0	49
	ROW PCT	16.3	40.8	24.5	18.4	0.0	23.0
	COL PCT	38.1	21.7	16.7	34.6	0.0	
	TOT PCT	3.8	9.4	5.6	4.2	0.0	
3. MID IN	COUNT	2	30	17	10	1	60
	ROW PCT	3.3	50.0	28.3	16.7	1.7	28.2
	COL PCT	9.5	32.6	23.6	38.5	50.0	
	TOT PCT	0.9	14.1	8.0	4.7	0.5	
4. LO-INCOME-HIGHCR	COUNT	8	25	35	5	1	74
	ROW PCT	10.8	33.8	47.3	6.8	1.4	34.7
	COL PCT	38.1	27.2	48.6	19.2	50.0	
	TOT PCT	3.8	11.7	16.4	2.3	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		21	92	72	26	2	213
		9.9	43.2	33.8	12.2	0.9	100.0

7 OUT OF 20 (35.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.282
CHI SQUARE = 20.72157 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0546
CRAMER'S V = 0.18008
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.29776
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07194 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.08264 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.07692
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03836 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.04080 WITH V093 DEPEND
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03954
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.08523 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0736
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.07958 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0736
GAMMA = 0.12029
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.08850 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.08208 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.08517
ETA = 0.19201 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.12497 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.09215 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0901

TABLE E-9b

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *

V003 TRACTID BY V093 POLICE KINDNESS

CONTROLLING FOR..

V420 RESPONDENTS WORC SCORE VALUE = 2.

V003 \ V093 (COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT)	VERY KIND 1.	SOMEWHAT KIND 2.	NO OPINION 3.	SOMEWHAT CRUEL 4.	VERY CRUEL 5.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	9	37	11	4	0	61
	14.8	60.7	18.0	6.6	0.0	33.5
	34.6	39.4	24.4	26.7	0.0	
	4.9	20.3	6.0	2.2	0.0	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	9	16	8	3	0	36
	25.0	44.4	22.2	8.3	0.0	19.8
	34.6	17.0	17.8	20.0	0.0	
	4.9	8.8	4.4	1.6	0.0	
3. MID IN	6	26	14	6	1	53
	11.3	49.1	26.4	11.3	1.9	29.1
	23.1	27.7	31.1	40.0	50.0	
	3.3	14.3	7.7	3.3	0.5	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	2	15	12	2	1	32
	6.3	46.9	37.5	6.3	3.1	17.6
	7.7	16.0	26.7	13.3	50.0	
	1.1	8.2	6.6	1.1	0.5	
COLUMN TOTAL	26	94	45	15	2	182
	14.3	51.6	24.7	8.2	1.1	100.0

8 OUT OF 20 (40.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.352
CHI SQUARE = 13.10913 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3612
CRAMER'S V = 0.15495
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.25921
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04959 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02871
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02716 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.03010 WITH V093 DEPEN
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02855
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.14792 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0101
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.13557 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0101
GAMMA = 0.21279
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.15769 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.13875 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.14762
ETA = 0.20825 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.18893 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.17436 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0093

TABLE E-9c

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

V003 TRACTID BY V093 POLICE KINDNESS

CONTROLLING FOR..

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE VALUE = 999.

* PAGE 1 OF 1

V003	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	VERY KIND 1.	SOMEWHAT KIND 2.	NO OPINION 3.	SOMEWHAT CRUEL 4.	VERY CRUEL 5.	ROW TOTAL
1. MIDINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	12	19	9	3	0	43
	ROW PCT	27.9	44.2	20.9	7.0	0.0	19.0
	COL PCT	40.0	17.9	15.8	10.0	0.0	
	TOT PCT	5.3	8.4	4.0	1.3	0.0	
2. LOWINCOME-LOWCRI	COUNT	6	37	8	9	1	61
	ROW PCT	9.8	60.7	13.1	14.8	1.6	27.0
	COL PCT	20.0	34.9	14.0	30.0	33.3	
	TOT PCT	2.7	16.4	3.5	4.0	0.4	
3. MID IN	COUNT	7	32	18	6	1	64
	ROW PCT	10.9	50.0	28.1	9.4	1.6	28.3
	COL PCT	23.3	30.2	31.6	20.0	33.3	
	TOT PCT	3.1	14.2	8.0	2.7	0.4	
4. LOWINCOME-HIGHCR	COUNT	5	18	22	12	1	58
	ROW PCT	8.6	31.0	37.9	20.7	1.7	25.7
	COL PCT	16.7	17.0	38.6	40.0	33.3	
	TOT PCT	2.2	8.0	9.7	5.3	0.4	
COLUMN TOTAL		30	106	57	30	3	226
		13.3	46.9	25.2	13.3	1.3	100.0

4 OUT OF 20 (20.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.571
CHI SQUARE = 27.48030 WITH 12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0066
CRAMER'S V = 0.20132
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.32926
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.12346 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.03333 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.08511
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04350 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.04617 WITH V093 DEPENDE
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04480
KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.21469 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.20368 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
GAMMA = 0.29685
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.22454 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.20528 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.21448
ETA = 0.25784 WITH V003 DEPENDENT. = 0.24967 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.23745 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0002

TABLE E-10a

CROSSTABULATION OF

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V093 POLICE KINDNESS

CONTROLLING FOR..
V0C3 TRACTID VALUE = 1. LOW-INCOME

V420	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	V093 1.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	ROW TOTAL
1.		8	20	12	9	0	49
		16.3	40.8	24.5	18.4	0.0	33.6
		34.8	27.4	42.9	42.9	0.0	
		5.5	13.7	8.2	6.2	0.0	
2.		9	16	8	3	0	36
		25.0	44.4	22.2	8.3	0.0	24.7
		39.1	21.9	28.6	14.3	0.0	
		6.2	11.0	5.5	2.1	0.0	
999.		6	37	8	9	1	61
		9.8	60.7	13.1	14.8	1.6	41.8
		26.1	50.7	28.6	42.9	100.0	
		4.1	25.3	5.5	6.2	0.7	
COLUMN TOTAL		23 15.8	73 50.0	28 19.2	21 14.4	1 0.7	146 100.0

3 CUT OF 15 (20.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MIN EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.247
CHI SQUARE = 10.67918 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2209
CRAMER'S V = 0.19119
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.26102
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.08235 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.04930
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.03537 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.03009 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.03249
KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.02816 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3495
KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.02787 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3495
GAMMA = -0.04184
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.02782 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = -0.02809 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.02815
ETA = 0.23582 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.12930 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = 0.03133 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.3537

TABLE E-10b

CROSSTABULATION OF

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V093 POLICE KINDNESS

CONTROLLING FOR.. VOC3 TRACTID VALUE = 2. LOW INCOME-HIGH CRIM

V420	V093 COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	1. VERY KIND	2. SOMEWHAT KIND	3. NO OPINION	4. SOMEWHAT CRUEL	5. VERY CRUEL	ROW TOTAL
1.		8	25	35	5	1	74
		10.8	33.8	47.3	6.8	1.4	45.1
		53.3	43.1	50.7	26.3	33.3	
		4.9	15.2	21.3	3.0	0.6	
2.		2	15	12	2	1	32
		6.3	46.9	37.5	6.3	3.1	19.5
		13.3	25.9	17.4	10.5	33.3	
		1.2	9.1	7.3	1.2	0.6	
999.		5	18	22	12	1	58
		8.6	31.0	37.9	20.7	1.7	35.4
		33.3	31.0	31.9	63.2	33.3	
		3.0	11.0	13.4	7.3	0.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		15 / 9.1	58 / 35.4	69 / 42.1	19 / 11.6	3 / 1.8	164 / 100.0

5 OUT OF 15 (33.3%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 0.585

CHI SQUARE = 9.78410 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.2805

CRAMER'S V = 0.17271

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.23728

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.07778 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.03158 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.05405

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02711 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.02225 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02494

KENDALL'S TAU B = 0.08434 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1117

KENDALL'S TAU C = 0.08276 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1117

GAMMA = 0.12784

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.08165 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.08713 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = 0.08430

ETA = 0.21090 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.12112 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.

PEARSON'S R = 0.12106 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0613

TABLE E-10c

CROSSTABULATION OF

V420 RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE BY V093 POLICE KINDNESS

CONTROLLING FOR..

VOC3 TRACTID VALUE = 3. MID INCOME-LOW

V420	V093	1. VERY KIND	2. SOMEWHAT KIND	3. NO OPINION	4. SOMEWHAT CRUEL	ROW TOTAL
1.	COUNT	3	17	8	2	30
	ROW PCT	10.0	56.7	26.7	6.7	22.4
	COL PCT	12.5	23.3	28.6	22.2	
	TOT PCT	2.2	12.7	6.0	1.5	
2.	COUNT	9	37	11	4	61
	ROW PCT	14.8	60.7	18.0	6.6	45.5
	COL PCT	37.5	50.7	39.3	44.4	
	TOT PCT	6.7	27.6	8.2	3.0	
999.	COUNT	12	19	9	3	43
	ROW PCT	27.9	44.2	20.9	7.0	32.1
	COL PCT	50.0	26.0	32.1	33.3	
	TOT PCT	9.0	14.2	6.7	2.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		24 17.9	73 54.5	28 20.9	9 6.7	134 100.0

3 OUT OF 12 (25.0%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.

MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY = 2.015

CHI-SQUARE = 5.80059 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4459

CRAMER'S V = 0.14712

CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT = 0.20370

LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.04110 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.00000 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.

LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0.02239

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.02006 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.01849 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.

UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) = 0.01924

KENDALL'S TAU B = -0.10446 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0878

KENDALL'S TAU C = -0.09891 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0878

GAMMA = -0.16300

SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.10585 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = -0.10308 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.

SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.10445

ETA = 0.10870 WITH V420 DEPENDENT. = 0.10536 WITH V093 DEPENDENT.

PEARSON'S R = -0.08184 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1736

TABLE E-10d

```
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *   C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
   V420      RESPONDENTS NORC SCORE                              BY  V093      POLICE        KINDNESS
CONTROLLING FOR..
   VOC3      TRACTID                                             VALUE =         4.  MID INCOME-HIGH CRIM
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *  PAGE  1 OF  1

              V093
        COUNT  I
      ROW PCT  IVERY KIN SOMEWHAT NO OPINI SOMEWHAT VERY CRU   ROW
      COL PCT  ID        KIND     ON       CRUEL    EL         TOTAL
      TOT PCT  I      1.I      2.I      3.I      4.I      5.I
V420   --------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I
           1.  I     2  I    30  I    17  I    10  I     1  I    60
  CK           I   3.3  I  50.0  I  28.3  I  16.7  I   1.7  I  33.9
               I  13.3  I  34.1  I  34.7  I  45.5  I  33.3  I
               I   1.1  I  16.9  I   9.6  I   5.6  I   0.6  I
               -I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I
           2.  I     6  I    26  I    14  I     6  I     1  I    53
               I  11.3  I  49.1  I  26.4  I  11.3  I   1.9  I  29.9
               I  40.0  I  29.5  I  28.6  I  27.3  I  33.3  I
               I   3.4  I  14.7  I   7.9  I   3.4  I   0.6  I
               -I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I
         999.  I     7  I    32  I    18  I     6  I     1  I    64
               I  10.9  I  50.0  I  28.1  I   9.4  I   1.6  I  36.2
               I  46.7  I  36.4  I  36.7  I  27.3  I  33.3  I
               I   4.0  I  18.1  I  10.2  I   3.4  I   0.6  I
               -I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I
        COLUMN      15       88       49       22        3     177
         TOTAL     8.5     49.7     27.7     12.4      1.7   100.0

    4 OUT OF    15 ( 26.7%) OF THE VALID CELLS HAVE EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY LESS THAN 5.0.
MINIMUM EXPECTED CELL FREQUENCY =  0.898
CHI SQUARE =     4.30515 WITH    8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM    SIGNIFICANCE =  0.8286
CRAMER'S V =     0.11028
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT =     0.15410
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.03540 WITH V420     DEPENDENT.         =  0.00000 WITH V093     DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) =  0.01980
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (ASYMMETRIC) =  0.01224 WITH V420     DEPENDENT.        =  0.01081 WITH V093     DEPENDENT.
UNCERTAINTY COEFFICIENT (SYMMETRIC) =  0.01148
KENDALL'S TAU B =     -0.09039   SIGNIFICANCE =   0.0866
KENDALL'S TAU C =     -0.08934   SIGNIFICANCE =   0.0866
GAMMA =   -0.13686
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -0.09118 WITH V420     DEPENDENT.          = -0.08961 WITH V093     DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -0.09039
ETA =  0.09182 WITH V420     DEPENDENT.          =  0.11645 WITH V093     DEPENDENT.
PEARSON'S R = -0.07322  SIGNIFICANCE =  0.1664
```

F. EFFECTS OF A CONTROL FOR WASHINGTON, D.C. VERSUS ATLANTA

In addition to the three-variable analyses just discussed (the contextual effects), an additional set of analyses were run which introduced a control for Atlanta versus Washington. Essentially, this involved examining the prior bivariate relationships separately for the two cities in an effort to determine whether or not any of the previously noted relationships would change if this was done. Thus, we were interested in seeing if whether any prior non-significant relationship became significant if examined separately within the two cities; or, if any prior significant relationship became non-significant. Also, while the significance of a relationship might not change, the degree of association (V and/or C) might. These three-variable analyses were performed on a selected number of the previously examined two-variable relationships.

But as we shall see, looking at the foregoing results for Atlanta and Washington separately makes only a small overall impact upon the previous bivariate relationships. In other words, controlling for city (Atlanta versus Washington) does not change the results very much at all. To be sure, there are a few isolated results of some interest, and we shall look at them, but the overall picture was that the previously delineated findings are for the most part the same in both Atlanta and in Washington, D.C.

Let us first cite the instances in which a control for city does make some difference. Recall that our first set of independent variables involved perceptions of community crime, fear of crime, perception of how crime in one's community has changed over time and the like. While the foregoing (bivariate) analyses for the most part remained quite the same under the control for city, the following results of differences did emerge (no tables will be presented here; all results are summarized in the following text; tables are, of course, available upon special request):

(1) For the relationship between age and perception of community crime increase (the older one is, the less one perceives crime in one's community as having increased), the relationship becomes non-significant for Washington, but remains significant for Atlanta. Thus, we seem to have a conditional relationship here: Age predicts this particular dependent variable only for our Atlanta residents (lumping all four tracts together, of course). (Tract type does not change in its relationship to this dependent variable; that is, the relationship stays significant.)

(2) The length of time at present address (for the respondent) was an independent variable that, it will be recalled, did not predict anything. However, under the control for city, interestingly, it becomes significant in its relationship to two dependent variables: Fear of crime (the longer at the

present address, the less the fear); and perception of community crime increase (the longer at the present address, the less likely one is to perceive crime in one's neighborhood as having increased). In the case of both dependent variables, the relationship stays the same in significance and strength for both Atlanta and for Washington.

This finding is of interest for two reasons: First, note that we may treat length at present address as an indicator of community integration. We thus again have a restatement of the now familiar theme that the longer one has been in the community (thus the more "involved" one is in the community), then the less the fear of crime, and the less the extent to which one perceives crime in one's community. Secondly, this set of findings illustrates what in research is called a suppressor effect: Some prior non-significant relationship becomes significant when a control variable is introduced. (The control variable is thus seen as having "suppressed" the relationship between the independent and the dependent variable.) We thus see that in these instances city tends to act as a suppressor variable.

(Further elaboration of this kind of result would entail detailed causal analysis, in which we would systematically consider alternative causal models and proceed by elimination. Or, one basic model might be assessed, as in path analysis. In general, a suppressor relationship is represented in research as a model giving the suppressor variable as a "confounding" or "residual" variable.)

(3) Under the control for city, the previously non-significant relationship between use of public transportation and perception of drinking in public, as well as fear of crime, becomes significant. Thus, we have another case of the suppressor effect. Once again, it involves the effect (previously "suppressed") of a variable that can be considered a community integration indicator, namely, whether or not one must rely on public transportation: Those who are forced to rely on public transportation perceive less crime in their neighborhoods and are less fearful of crime. The result is the same for both Atlanta and for Washington.

(4) When a control for city is introduced, then father's occupation (as measured by NORC score) becomes significantly related to perception of excessive drinking in public (but to no other dependent variable in this set), both for Atlanta and Washington. The level of significance is borderline, however. But it seems that this meager finding serves, once again, to underscore the lack of predictive power of individual SES variables (this time for father's occupation), a glaring absence which we have seen throughout this entire study.

We move on to the additional sets of dependent variables, which involved such things as respondent troubles with the

police, attitudes toward the police and the like. Again, the overall result was that a control for city makes little difference. Nonetheless, those few instances in which this control did make a difference are these:

(5) We encounter here a prior significant effect which becomes even stronger under the control: The relationship between tract type and trouble with the police (which you will recall is lowest in the middle-income, low-crime tract in each city) becomes somewhat stronger (in terms of the coefficient C) for both cities. What this means is that there is indeed a relationship between tract type and whether or not the respondent has had run-ins with the police -- a variable with high face validity -- and when one looks at Atlanta and Washington separately, this relationship becomes even more pronounced within each city. (And the relationship is about of the same magnitude in each city.)

(6) The previously-observed relationship(s) between tract type and positive-negative attitudes toward the police stays significant, and moderately strong, for both cities, but with the following interesting qualification: The relationship is slightly stronger for Atlanta than for Washington, D. C. (C = .30 for Atlanta and .26 for D. C.). These results are given here for their substantive importance. What they mean is this: That for both cities, the "image" of the police on the part of community residents is dependent upon census tract within the city, such that those in the middle-income, low-crime tract have the more positive attitudes toward the police and those from the low-income, high-crime tract have the more negative attitudes; while these differences persist when each city is looked at separately, it is nonetheless true that such differences exist somewhat more for Atlanta than for Washington, D. C. Stated in still another way, what tract one is from within a city makes a difference in one's attitude toward the police; and this is (slightly) more the case within Atlanta than within D. C., though it is generally true in both cities.

That, surprisingly enough, exhausts the summary of results that came out differently under a control for city. All other results, for this one control variable, and sticking with the selected variables used (all independent or predictor variables used in the prior bivariate runs were also entered into this set of control runs), did not change as a result of introducing a control for city. What this means is that all other bivariate results cited in the bulk of this report did not change with the introduction of city as a control variable. Anything which was previously non-significant remained non-significant for both Atlanta and for D. C., and anything which was previously significant remained significant for both Atlanta and for D. C., with virtually no difference in association measures for the two cities compared. (There were two or three very isolated instances of conditional

relationships not reported here because of their extreme low frequency of appearance.)

Of particular interest regarding such unchanged relationships are these (simply given as examples; this is by no means an exhaustive list): Tract type continued to predict without any changes in significance-nonsignificance; availability and use of recreational facilities continued to fail as a predictive variable, as we previously consistently noted; club affiliation, church membership and so on continued to predict just as well; alienation and self-evaluation continued in their role as nonpredictors for the most part; own-rent continued as a very consistent and strong predictor, as before; employment status, SES variables and the like stay non-significant -- with the exceptions of father's occupation and respondent's occupation already noted here and in the contextual analyses; and all other results remained the same.

So, to summarize the effects of controlling for which city one resides in, while at the same time varying all other independent variables, including tract within city: The basic picture that has now emerged from the bivariate results (and also the contextual analysis results) remains essentially unchanged -- with only several exceptions already noted. And that picture is one which tells us that the person who is more involved and integrated into the network of day-to-day activities of his or her immediate community is the one who is himself or herself less likely to be criminally involved with the police, less likely to have acquaintances who are so involved, less likely to perceive that crime around him (which he nonetheless recognizes) is a severe problem, less likely to fear crime, less likely to evaluate the police negatively, and so on, and on. We would now be in a position to hypothesize that additional controls, should they be undertaken (as for age, gender and one or two others) would have little overall effect on these results. But then, that would, of course, remain to be seen.

These results, as well as all foregoing findings, including those first presented on validity (the factor and Guttman scale analyses) are summarized in a section following. [Special note: This overall summary of the project findings appears only in the final version of the report, not the November 10, 1981 version.]

G. SUMMARY: SURVEY RESULTS

1. Scale Validation: Factor Analysis. Items on the survey questionnaire measuring four concepts were validated by means of factor analysis, a technique for examining the interrelationships among the items themselves - attitudes toward the police, alienation, self-evaluation and crime-morality. All four analyses yielded satisfactory results in that the principal factor, or main dimension for each set of scales explained about one-third of the variance in all items in a particular set. For the attitudes-toward-police scales, the main dimension underlying the scales turned out to be an evaluative or "good" versus "bad" dimension. The main dimension for the alienation scales turned out to be a "mistrust" dimension. Self-evaluation is characterized by a "self-worth" main dimension, and crime-morality items are characterized by a "permissiveness" dimension. For use in later analysis, a single criterion item -- the item correlating highest on the main factor or dimension -- was often used; such an item for a given set of scales can be regarded as the most valid measure of the set.

2. Scale Validation: Guttman Scale Analysis. Several sets of items were subjected to Guttman scale analysis; some sets revealed valid Guttman scales and some did not. Those that form valid Guttman scales are: Items pertaining to what a person does to protect his or her home from criminal activity; and the crime-morality scale (also subjected to factor analysis). Those that did not form valid Guttman scales are: Items pertaining to perceptions of crime in the immediate neighborhood; and certain fear-of-crime measures. It was concluded for these latter two subsets of measures that since they did not form an adequate scale, the items measure differing aspects of the concept being assessed; hence, the items are used separately in the later (prediction) analysis rather than together in a combined index.

3. Prediction Analyses. The prediction analyses formed the bulk of the analysis of the survey data. We were interested in predicting individuals' responses on the following kinds of dependent variables: Perceptions of troubles in one's neighborhood; fear of crime; awareness of criminal activity in one's own neighborhood; whether or not one feels safe during the day and at night; what one does to protect one's home from criminal activity; whether one has been criminally involved with the police; whether one's friends have been criminally involved with the police; one's psychological attitudes toward the police and how one feels about the local police; and other such variables. For the most part, these dependent variables pertain to individual perceptions of and reporting of crime. We were interested in discovering what variables (independent or predictor variables) were significantly related to these dependent variables. The major results are listed following. The following results remain basically

the same for the Atlanta and Washington, D. C. samples. That is, for the most part, the independent variables that predict given dependent variables for the Atlanta sample also do so for the Washington, D. C. sample. The overall structure of findings is the same in both cities. There are, however, a few exceptions; these are given in the text. The main findings, then, are these:

A. Perceptions of Community Crime: The dependent variables were whether or not the respondent thought the folowing kinds of crimes constituted problems in their own neighborhoods: Drinking; fighting; neighbors not getting along; and other such items. The best predictor of these perceptions was tract type. In general, those in the middle-income, low-crime tract were least likely to see these crimes as real problems for them in their communities, whereas those in the low-income, high-crime tract were more likely to indicate that such crimes were indeed severe problems. People in this tract type (in both Atlanta and Washington) also had the greatest fear of crime, with those in the middle-income, low-crime tract having the least fear (again in both Atlanta and in Washington). The other two tract types fell in between. Other significant predictors were: Age (the older one is, the less fearful one is and the less one sees these crimes as problems); club membership (those who are members of some kind of neighborhood club are less likely to see the crimes as problematic); membership in a neighborhood church (church members are less fearful and are less likely to indicate that the crimes are problems); frequency of church attendance (the more the attendance, the less fearful the respondent was); degree of participation in church activities (the more the participation, the less the fear); and whether one owns or rents one's dwelling (those who own are clearly less fearful and less worried about the listed crimes). It was also noted that the more alienated a person was, the more fearful of crime he or she was. Also, interestingly, the lower one's self-evaluation was, the more fearful he or she was.

It is interesting to note what independent variables ended up not predicting responses on the crime perception variables: City (Atlanta versus Washington revealed no significant differences on this set of dependent variables); recreational facilities' availability and use; contact with relatives in the community; respondent's education; occupation, and other socioeconomic characteristics; the education, occupation and other socio-economic characteristics of the respondent's father or principal guardian; marital status (no differences by marital status were found); gender (men and women did not differ on these variables); number of persons in the household; number of persons per room in the household; and the respondent's own religion (note that while church attendance and participation in church activities makes a difference, the particular denomination of one's religion does not).

B. Crime Perception and Safety. The dependent variables here were: Whether or not the respondent perceives crime in the U. S. as having increased, decreased or remained the same; whether or not the respondent perceives crime in his or her own community as having increased, decreased or remained about the same; whether or not one perceives crime in the community as being committed by "outsiders;" how safe one feels during the day; and finally, how safe one feels at night. These latter two are of particular importance. Differences on these variables are significantly predicted by the following: City (Washington respondents were more likely to report that crimes in their neighborhoods were committed by "outsides," while Atlanta residents were more likely to attribute crime to "insiders"). Also by tract type: Those in the low-income, high-crime tract perceive U. S. crime as having increased, feel their community is "more dangerous" than other communities within the city, feel least safe during the day and feel least safe at night. Those in the middle-income, low-crime tract are the lowest on these variables, with the other two tract types falling in between. The availability of recreational facilities is a significant predictor: The more the availability of such facilities, the safer the respondent in that area feels both during the day and at night. Additional predictors are: Club affiliation (club members feel that crime has decreased and feel safer both during the day and at night than do non-members); church membership (same results as for club membership); amount of church attendance (the greater the attendance, the safer one feels); and own versus rent (those who own perceive that crime has decreased in their own neighborhood and also feel safer during the day and at night than do those who rent). The picture that emerges from this set of findings, as well as those listed under "A", is this: The more involved or integrated the individual is into the immediate community, the less crime he perceives around him, the less fearful he is of crime and the safer he feels, and so on. We suggest that church membership, club affiliation, owning rather than renting, etc., are thus indicators of the extent to which the individual is integrated into the community.

C. Reporting of Burglaries, Robberies and Assaults. Both officially reported as well as unreported crimes are assessed here. All three of these types of crimes were asked about separately on the questionnaire. Atlantans perceive fewer burglaries as well as robberies and assaults on their streets than do Washington, D. C. residents. The results for tract type within these cities were consistent with our general hypotheses: Those in the middle-income, low-crime tracts report fewer crimes of all three types, with those in the low-income, low-crime tracts next, then those in the middle-income, high-crime tracts, and finally, those in the low-income, high-crime tracts report the most frequent occurrence of all three of these types of crimes. Fewer burglaries, robberies and assaults are reported by those who are members of some neighborhood

club, by those who are members of a neighborhood church, by those who are regular church attenders, by those who have relatives in the community rather than outside it, and by those who own rather than rent. We also found fewer reported burglaries, robberies and assaults for those who are members of some community group, the purpose of which is to improve relations between the community residents and the police. Once again, we note the effects of variables which either directly or indirectly measure community involvement: The more-involved-persons (owners, church attenders, and so on) report less crime of these three types.

D. Trouble with the Police and Attitudes Toward the Police. We investigated whether or not the respondent had acquaintances who have had troubles with the police and also whether or not the respondent himself or herself had had such troubles. It was found that those who have had run-ins with the police (as well as those who have friends or acquaintances who have) tended to be from the low-income, high-crime tracts in both Atlanta and Washington, tended to be younger rather than older, were those who rented rather than owned their dwelling, tended to be Catholic rather than Baptist or any other denomination and were those who were not regular church attenders. Some new predictors emerged in this portion of the analysis: Those in trouble with the police are more often males rather than females, those who are unemployed or employed part-time rather than full-time, those with less formal education and those of lower occupational rank.

Similar results were obtained with respect to the attitudetoward-police scales. Those with favorable attitudes toward their local police, both within Atlanta and within Washington were those who were in the middle-income, low-crime tracts, were older rather than younger, were those who owned rather than rented, were members of a club, were members of a church, were frequent rather than infrequent attenders of those churches, and were those who were married rather than single, separated, divorced or widowed; those who were employed full-time, and those who grew up in families of somewhat higher socioeconomic status.

E. We carried out what is called a contextual analysis where the relationship between tract type (the income and crime characteristics of the tract) and the dependent variables was examined while holding constant the individual's socioeconomic characteristics. (We also examined the relationship between the individual's socioeconomic characteristics and the dependent variables while holding constant tract type.) In general, the above results held up: Those in the low-income, high-crime tract were more fearful of crime, reported more crime in their neighborhoods, had more run-ins with the police and had stronger negative attitudes toward the police. Those in the middle-income, low-crime tract came out lowest on these dependent variables, and the other two tract types

fell in between. We drew the following general conclusion: The income and crime "status" of one's tract is more pertinent to that individual's own criminality and perception of crime than is the "status" of that self-same individual.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The results of the research indicates very strongly that community cohesion is necessary for the reduction in crime and the fear of crime. Indicators for change in community are the following:

1. Religion

The respondent's actual religious preference does not predict his/her perception of crime, but the frequency of of church attendance is the major predictor. How involved one is with the church, thus can predict how one will feel about the fear of crime and about criminal behavior among peers.

2. City (Atlanta vs. Washington, D.C.)

Regardless of whether or not one lived in Atlanta or Washington, D.C. there was no difference in perceptions and fear of crime. This is especially significant because Atlanta was directly involved in the Murdered and Missing Children case. One could say that within large urban communities, there is very little effect upon fear and perceptions of crime from one city to another. Perhaps one develops a high tolerance for violence and that tolerance level remains regardless of the city.

3. Recreation

It has been generally believed that the addition of recreational facilities will reduce crime. We found that additional recreational facilities made very little if any difference in perceptions of crime within communities nor were they related to reporting of crime.

Our conclusion is that recreational facilities must be placed in communities for recreational purposes and not for purposes of reducing criminal behavior.

4. SES Variables-Non-Predictive

Marital status, gender (male vs. female), number of persons in household, head of household, employed or not, number of bedrooms in house, had no predictive value for crime and fear of crime within communities.

5. SES Variables-Predictive

Tract type, age, whether or not a person is a member of some club, whether or not one owns or rents.

The predictive variables tell us that the degree that a person feels a part of the community will have an affect upon that person's perceptions and reporting of crime. That age is

important as well as club membership to changing perceptions within the community.

6. Alienation and Self-Evaluation

These two social-psychological variables predicted correlates of crime behavior. They were indicators of the individual's overall involvement with society. The more the alienation, and/or the lower the self-evaluation, the less the extent to which the individual "fits" into society.

The more alienated an individual is, the more likely one is to indicate that fear of crime and that crime is a problem within the community. Self-evaluation serves the same purpose within the community, i.e., the more negatively a person feels about himself/herself, the more fear of crime and crime are seen as big problems within the community.

7. Community Reporting of Burglaries, Robberies, and Assaults

Fewer robberies and assaults, are perceived as occurring on one's street in Atlanta than in Washington, D.C. We were not sure whether or not this finding had any police implications simply because Atlanta has a higher arrest rate than Washington, D.C. We did believe that people generally feel much safer in the South than they do in cities such as Washington, D.C.

8. Tracts which have community organizations tend to report less burglaries, robberies and assaults. If there are organized police community groups there is less reporting of criminal behavior.

9. Trouble with the Police

The older the respondent, the less likely he or she is to have acquaintances who have been criminally involved with the police. Age was not significantly related to whether or not the respondent had had trouble with the police.

10. Attitudes Toward the Police

There was no difference in attitudes toward the police between cities (Washington-Atlanta). This was surprising because of the Murdered and Missing Children problem in Atlanta.

Attitude toward the police is more favorable rather than less favorable or negative, depending upon tract type (middle income-low crime) for older, rather than younger, (single and over 18 who have the most negative attitudes toward the police) for respondents in communities which contain groups established to improve resident-police relations; for those who are members of some community club; for those who are members of some community church; for frequent rather than

infrequent church attenders; for those who own rather than rent; for male rather than female households; for those who are married rather than single; for those who work or full-time students; for those whose father has a higher amount of formal education; for those who are in a higher social class and for those who are less alienated.

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Pt 2

APPENDICES TO VOLUME I

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

CRIMINAL JUSTICE INSTITUTE

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

SURVEY SCHEDULE: BLACKS AND CRIME

Study I.D.	80NIAX003	1-9
City I.D.	____	10
Tract I.D.	____	11
Resp. I.D.	____	12-14

PART I

CRIME AND THE POLICE

First I'd like to ask you a few general questions about this area and your feelings toward the crime problem here.

1. (a) About how long have you lived here in _____ (name the city)?

(write out number of years and/or months) _____ 1/18-19

(b) And how long have you lived here at this present residence?

(write out number of years and/or months) _____ 1/20-21

---

2. (a) Where were you living before moving to this address?

Another address in this community	1	1/22
Another part of town	2	
Out of the city but in the metro area	3	
Out of the metro area--another part of the state (or adjacent states of Md. or Va.).....	4	
Another state (Specify which _____).....	5	
Another country (Specify which _____).....	6	
Other	7	
DK, NA	9	

(b) And how long were you living there?

(write out number of years and/or months) _____ 1/23-24

Now I'd like to ask about things that can sometimes be problems in your community. You can use this card for the next few questions (give R card I). For each item, I mention I'd like you to tell me if it's a big problem, somewhat of a problem, or not a problem in your community. (Explanation: I mean a problem generally for people in the community).

3. Troublemakers hanging around?

Not a problem	1	1/25
Somewhat a problem	2	
Big problem	3	
DK, NA	9	

(Probe: How big a problem? etc.

_____

_____

_____)

---

4. Neighbors not getting along?

Not a problem	1	1/26
Somewhat a problem	2	
Big problem	3	
DK, NA	9	

(Probe: _____

_____

_____)

---

5. Excessive drinking of alcohol in public places, like streets or playgrounds?

Not a problem	1	1/27
Somewhat a problem	2	
Big problem	3	
DK, NA	9	

(Probe: _____

_____

_____)

6. People who say insulting things or bother people as they walk down the street?

Not a problem	1	1/28
Somewhat a problem	2	
Big problem	3	
DK, NA	9	

(Probe: _____

_____

_____)

---

7. Bad elements moving into the neighborhood?

Not a problem	1	1/29
Somewhat a problem	2	
Big problem	3	
DK, NA	9	

(Probe: _____

_____

_____)

---

8. Crime or fear of crime?

Not a problem	1	1/30
Somewhat a problem	2	
Big problem	3	
DK, NA	9	

(Probe for kind of crime: _____

_____

_____)

9. Kids or adults trespassing in people's yards?

Not a problem	1	1/31
Somewhat a problem	2	
Big problem	3	
Dk, NA	9	

(Probe: _____

_____

_____)

---

10. People fighting?

Not a problem	1	1/32
Somewhat a problem	2	
Big problem	3	
DK, NA	9	

(Probe: _____

_____

_____)

---

11. People damaging the cars or property of others?

Not a problem	1	1/33
Somewhat a problem	2	
Big problem	3	
DK, NA	9	

(Probe: How big a problem? etc. _____

_____

_____)

---

12. People using drugs in public places, like streets, parks and playgrounds?

Not a problem	1	1/34
Somewhat a problem	2	
Big problem	3	
DK, NA	9	

(Probe: _____

TAKE BACK CARD: That's all for that card.

Now, I'm going to mention some things that people sometimes do to protect their homes while they are away. As I read each item, I would like you to tell me two things: first, if you would be willing to do this on this street, and second, if you have in the past done this at this address where you are now living. (circle appropriate response for each item).

			Would you be willing to do this?				Have you done this in the past?			
			YES	NO	DK NA		YES	NO	DK NA	
13.	(a)	Notify the police so they can keep a special watch on your home.	1	2	9	1/35	1	2	9	1/41
	(b)	Stop delivery of things like newspaper and mail.	1	2	9	1/36	1	2	9	1/42
	(c)	Have a neighbor keep a watch on your house or apartment.	1	2	9	1/37	1	2	9	1/43
	(d)	Have a neighbor bring in newspapers or mail.	1	2	9	1/38	1	2	9	1/44
	(e)	Give a key to a neighbor so he/she can go in and check the place once in a while.	1	2	9	1/39	1	2	9	1/45
	(f)	Leave a light or a radio on in your house.	1	2	9	1/40	1	2	9	1/46

SERIOUS CRIME

Sometimes in residential areas there are crimes such as burglary, robbery and assaults. I'd like to talk a bit about burglary, i.e., people breaking into your house and stealing things.

14. On your street, how frequently do burglaries happen? What would be your best guess about how often burglaries happen on your street? (circle one)

Never	1	1/47
Very rarely	2	
Once in a while	3	
Fairly often	4	
Repeatedly	5	
DK, NA	9	

---

15. On your street, how frequently do robberies happen? i.e., someone holding up another person or place of business with a gun or a knife for the purpose of getting money or some other goods. What would be your best guess?

Never	1	1/48
Very rarely	2	
Once in a while	3	
Fairly often	4	
Repeatedly	5	
DK, NA	9	

---

16. On your street, how frequently do assaults happen? i.e., someone, or a group, attacking or beating up someone else for no apparent reason. What would be your best guess?

Never	1	1/49
Very rarely	2	
Once in a while	3	
Fairly often	4	
Repeatedly	5	
DK, NA	9	

CRIME AND FEAR OF CRIME

Now, I'd like to ask you a few additional questions about crime or fear of crime.

17. Within the last year or two do you think that crime in the United States has increased, decreased, or remained about the same? (circle one)

Increased	1	1/50
Same	2	
Decreased	3	
DK, NA	9	

---

18. Within the past year or two do you think that crime in your community has increased, decreased, or remained about the same?

Increased	1	1/51
Same	2	
Decreased	3	
DK, NA	9	

---

19. How about any crimes that may be happening in your community - would you say they are committed mostly by the people who live here in this community or mostly by outsiders?

No crime happening in community	1	1/52
Outsiders	2	
Equally by both	3	
People living here	4	
DK, NA	9	

---

20. How do you think your community compares with others in this metropolitan area in terms of crime? Would you say it is ...(Just give me your best guess.)

Much more dangerous	1	1/53
More dangerous	2	
About average	3	
Less dangerous	4	
Much less dangerous	5	
DK, NA	9	

21. How safe do you feel (or would you feel) being out alone in your community during the day?

Very safe	1	1/54
Reasonably safe	2	
Somewhat unsafe	3	
Very unsafe	4	
DK, NA	9	

---

22. How about at night --how safe do you feel (or would you feel) being alone in your community AT NIGHT?

Very safe	1	1/55
Reasonably safe	2	
Somewhat unsafe	3	
Very unsafe	4	
DK, NA	9	

---

23. Do you think that PEOPLE IN THIS COMMUNITY have limited or changed their activities in the past few years because they are afraid of crime?

Yes	1	1/56
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

---

24. (a) In general, have YOU limited or changed your activities in the past few years because of crime? 1/57

Yes	1
No	2
Dk, NA	9

(b) If yes, can you give me an example or two of these changes in activities? 1/58-64

_____

_____

_____

Police Community Relations

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about the police and their services to this community.

25. (a) First of all, have you ever had to call on the police for any kind of service?

Yes	1	1/65
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

(b) If yes, describe the reason for the call and opinion of how service was rendered: 1/66-77

_____

_____

_____

---

26. What is your opinion of the service this community gets from the police? (circle one)

Police services very poor	1	1/78
Police services poor	2	
Police services average	3	
Police services good	4	
Police services very good	5	
DK, NA	9	

---

27. What are the ways in which you think police services could be improved in this community? 2/18-24

Describe fully: (Probe for specific suggestions)

_____

_____

_____

28. (a) As far as you know, are there any community groups organized around here to improve communications between residents and the police? (circle one)

Yes	1	2/25
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

(b) If yes, what groups are these?

Describe fully: (Probe for the name of an organization or something specific which tells what the organization does)

_____

_____

_____ 2/26-32

---

29. (a) Has anyone you've known, personally, ever been in trouble with the police? (NOTE: i.e., criminally involved) (circle one)

Yes	1	2/33
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

(b) If yes, who? (circle all that apply)

Someone in immediate family (parent, brother, or sister): Explain the kind of trouble _____	1	2/34
Relative(s) outside immediate family (aunt, uncle, cousin, etc.): Explain _____	1	2/35
Friend: Explain _____	1	2/36
Casual aquaintance: Explain _____	1	2/37
Someone know distantly (e.g.,someone down the street): Explain _____	1	2/38
Other (Specify whom _____) Explain _____	1	2/39

No. of items circled _____ 2/40

30. Have you yourself ever been in any kind of trouble with the police? (NOTE: i.e., criminally involved.) (circle one)

Yes: Explain _____	1	2/41
No	2	
Dk, NA	9	

HAND RESPONDENT SCHEDULE A

31. As you think about the police in this community, and their actual behavior, how would you rate them on each of the following traits -- using a point system of one to five. (Explain fully to Respondent and allow HIM/HER to complete the SCHEDULE)

PART II

DELIVERY OF SERVICES

Now I'd like to ask a few questions about some of the other services that most communities usually receive, such as recreation and health services, and transportation.

32. As far as you know, are there any recreation facilities provided for this community? What would be your best guess as to how many there are?

None	1	2/51
Very few	2	
A few	3	
Quite a number	4	
A whole lot	5	
DK, NA	9	

---

33. Do you (or anyone in your family) ever use any of these facilities? (circle one)

No	1	2/52
Yes, once in a while	2	
Yes, quite often	3	
DK, NA	9	

34. (a) Other than the emergency room of a hospital, do you know of any public health facilities in this community--including mental and dental facilities? (circle one)

Yes	1	2/53
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

(b) If yes, what facilities are these? Describe whether mental, dental, etc. (get a name or street location)_____

_____

_____ 2/54-63

---

35. Other than the emergency room of a hospital, do you (or anyone in your family) ever use any of the public health facilities provided in this community -- including mental and dental facilities? (circle one)

No	1	2/64
Yes, once in a while	2	
Yes, quite often	3	
DK, NA	9	

---

36. What is your opinion of the service this community gets from the city's public transportation system? (Explain: Bus and rail). (circle one)

Service very poor	1	2/65
Service poor	2	
Service about average	3	
Service good	4	
Service very good	5	
DK, NA	9	

---

37. How much do you rely on public transportation to get to and from work? (Ask even if R not currently employed). (circle one)

Can get by without public transportation (Explain how _____)....	1	2/66
Somewhat dependent on public transportation	2	
Quite dependent on public transportation	3	
Other	4	
DK, NA	9	

PART III

COMMUNITY COHENSION

Now I'd like to ask you a few more general questions about this community and your opinions about some other things that might be of concern to you.

38. First of all, where exactly do you think your community is located? You can use street names and other landmarks, such as shops or churches, as boundaries.

_____

_____

_____

_____ 2/67-70

---

39. (a) Do you have relatives (outside of the people in your household) living in this community? (circle one)

Yes	1	2/71
No	2	
(SKIP TO QUESTION 41)		
DK, NA	9	

(b) If yes, how many?
(write out number) _____ 2/72-73

---

40. How often do you visit with these relatives? (circle one)

Weekly or more	1	2/74
Two to four times a month	2	
One to two times a month	3	
A few times a year	4	
Perhaps once a year	5	
Rarely	6	
Never	7	
DK, NA	9	

41. (a) How much face-to-face contact do you have with parents or relatives who live outside this city? What is your best guess? (circle one)

Weekly or more	1	2/75
Two to four times a month	2	
One to two times a month	3	
A few times a year	4	
Perhaps once a year	5	
Rarely	6	
Never	7	
DK, NA	9	

(b) (Probe for occasions) _____
_____
_____ 2/76-77

---

42. (a) How about your closest friends, do they live in this community? (circle one)

Yes	1	2/78
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

(b) If no, where do your closest friends live? (circle one)

In a nearby community	1	3/18
In another part of town	2	
Out of city but in the metro area (the suburbs)	3	
Another city (not in metro area) but in this state (or nearby states of Md. & Va.)	4	
Out of the state	5	
Other	6	
DK, NA	9	

---

43. Do you work in this community or in some other section of town? (NOTE: If R not currently working, ask for last job.)

Work(ed) in this community	1	3/19
Work(ed) in another section of the city (e.g. downtown)	2	
Work(ed) outside of the city (e.g. in the suburbs or some distance from the community)	3	
Never worked	4	
Other (Specify where: _____ _____	5	
DK, NA	9	

44. Who do you see as a leader (s) in this community? That is, someone you would go to if you needed to get something done. What is the name of the person(s) and what office (if any) does she/he hold?

Write out: _____

_____

_____ 3/20-29

---

45. Have you ever contacted a city official about a problem you or someone in this community were having? That is, either in person or writing a letter. (circle one)

Yes	1	3/30
(ASK QUESTION 46)		
No	2	
(SKIP TO QUESTION 47)		
DK, Na	9	

---

46. Who was the city official(s) you contacted? What is his/her names(s) and position(s); and what was the reason why you made such a contact? _____

_____

_____ 3/31-40

(SKIP TO QUESTION 48)

---

47. Generally speaking, what is the reason why you never contacted a city official?

(Write out): _____

_____

_____

_____ 3/41-47

48. How about some other agency than city officials, such as business or banking. Have you ever had any contact with them about a problem you or someone in this community were having?

Yes	1	3/48
(ASK QUESTION 49)		
No	2	
(SKIP TO QUESTION 50)		
DK, NA	9	

---

49. What agency was this, and what was the reason why you contacted them?

Write out: _____

_____

_____ 3/49-58

(SKIP TO QUESTION 51)

---

50. Generally speaking, what is the reason why you never contacted any such agency?

(write out: _____

_____

_____ 3/59-65

---

51. (a) As far as you know, are there any groups or organizations in this community which you can go to if you had a problem with such things as housing, employment, trash pick-ups, street lighting, etc.

Yes	1	3/66
No	2	
Dk, NA	9	

(b) If yes, do you yourself ever contact these organizations? (circle one)

No	1	3/67
Yes, once in a while	2	
Yes, quite often	3	
DK, NA	9	

52. (a) Do you belong to any organization, clubs, etc.?

Yes	1	3/68
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

(b) If yes, what kind of organization and when was the last time you attended a meeting?

Organization			Last Attended
Sports Club	_____	3/69	_____
Recreational Group	_____	3/70	_____
Youth Organization	_____	3/71	_____
Political Group	_____	3/72	_____
Trade Union	_____	3/73	_____
Professional Assoc.	_____	3/74	_____
Cooperative	_____	3/75	_____
PTA	_____	3/76	_____
Fraternity	_____	3/77	_____
Civil Rights	_____	3/78	_____
Neighborhood	_____	4/18	_____
Other (Specify: _____)	_____	4/19	_____
Other (Specify: _____)	_____	4/20	_____
Other (Specify: _____)	_____	4/21	_____

PART IV

CRIME DEFINITIONS

Next I'd like to know your feelings regarding some actions that people might take on occasions when they believe they have a right to. (HAND RESPONDENT SCHEDULE B)

53. Using the sheet in your hand, I want you to do the following: As I read a list of things which people might do, I want you to judge, from one to five, whether or not you think the act is right or wrong. Circle the actual number, ranging from right to wrong that you would give the act.

a) As a way of showing their anger against a white store owner who has consistently been charging "rip off" prices to ghetto residents, a group of Black youngsters decide to set fire to his store one night.

b) An unemployed man uses a gun to hold up a grocery store in order to provide food and clothing for his family.

c) A young Black male kills a white policeman after the policeman calls him names (uses racial slurs) and threatens to "blow his (the Black male's) brains out."

d) Someone decides to purchase a color TV or an expensive watch for a good bargain even though he/she knows it's "hot."

e) A woman becomes a prostitute (sells her body) in order to provide food and clothing for her children.

f) A group of prisoners in the state penitentiary are kept in isolation for several weeks where they are subject to insults from guards, and not even the most basic conveniences like toilet paper. They then decide to violently take over the prison, and in the process one of the guards is killed.

g) Someone who works in a bank or place of business downtown is able to "fix" the books so that he/she is able to get away with a huge sum of money. That person then uses the money to buy some of the finer things of life, such as a color TV, a new car, or a stereo system.

PART III

ATTITUDE MEASUREMENT

Now I'd like to know your opinions and feelings about some things.

54. People differ about the way they feel about the world and their community. And as you know a lot has been said that the reason why there is so much crime in the Black community depends on how Blacks view the world. (HAND R CARD 2) I am going to read you a list of statements, tell me whether you:

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Have no opinion

4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

(Write numerical code in the space provided)

a) These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on. _____ 4/29

b) Success is more dependent on luck than real ability. _____ 4/30

c) Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself. _____ 4/31

d) It is hard to figure out who you can really trust these days. _____ 4/32

e) It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future of Black people. _____ 4/33

f) In spite of what some people say, the condition of the average Black person is getting worse. _____ 4/34

g) There's little use writing to public officials because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average person. _____ 4/35

h) There is very little that the poor in America can do to raise their standard of living. ____ 4/36
(LET R KEEP CARD)

55. People also differ in the way they feel about themselves. And, again, it has been said that crime in the Black community depends on how Blacks view themselves. Once again I am going to read you a list of statements, tell me whether you:

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Have no opinion

4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

(Write numerical code in the space provided)

a)	I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others. _____	4/37
b)	I feel that I have many good qualities. _____	4/38
c)	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure. _____	4/39
d)	I am able to do things as well as most other people. _____	4/40
e)	I feel I do not have much to be proud of. _____	4/41
f)	I take a positive attitude toward myself. _____	4/42
g)	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself. _____	4/43
h)	I certainly feel useless at times. _____	4/44
i)	At times, I think I am no good at all. _____	4/45

(TAKE BACK CARD. THAT'S ALL FOR THAT CARD.)

PART V

EDUCATION AND SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about your school experience.

56. First of all, how much schooling have you had? (circle one)

Still enrolled in High School ..... (SKIP TO QUESTION 58 AND BE SURE TO COMPLETE SUPPLEMENT)	01	
Dropped out of grade school ..... (ASK QUESTION 57)	02	
Completed grade school only ..... (ASK QUESTION 57)	03	
Dropped out of High School..... (ASK QUESTION 57)	04	
Graduated from High School but received no additional education ..... (SKIP TO QUESTION 58)	05	
Graduated from High School and had vocational training ..... (SKIP TO QUESTION 58)	06	
Had vocational training but did not graduate from High School ..... (SKIP TO QUESTION 58)	07	
Completed one to two years of college ..... (SKIP TO QUESTION 58)	08	
Completed two to three years of college ..... (SKIP TO QUESTION 58)	09	
Graduated from college ..... (SKIP TO QUESTION 58)	10	
Graduate or professional training ..... (SKIP TO QUESTION 58)	11	
Other (Specify: _____ _____ _____)	12	4/46-47
DK, NA	99	

57. What would you say is the main reason why you dropped out of (or never attended) High School? (circle all that apply)

To take a job	1	4/48
Because of teenage pregnancy	1	4/49
To support my family	1	4/50
To support my child	1	4/51
Just wasn't making the grades	1	4/52
To be with friends	1	4/53
Because of teachers who just didn't care	1	4/54
Because I just got "bored" or "fed" up with school	1	4/55
Because I just couldn't make the adjustment to school	1	4/56
Because parents just couldn't afford to keep me in school	1	4/57
Because I ran into trouble police	1	4/58
Was expelled from school because of some other misconduct (short of getting in trouble with the police)	1	4/59
Not enough guidance counseling	1	4/60
Other (Specify: _____ _____ _____)	1	4/61

(# of items circled) _____ 4/62-63

---

58. (a) Did you (are you) attend (ing) School here in _____? (circle one)
(name the city)

Yes	1	4/64
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

(b) If yes, what is the name of the school?

(write out) _____ 4/65-66

(c) Is this a private or public school? (circle one)

Public	1	4/67
Private	2	
Other (Specify: _____)	3	
DK, NA	9	

59. What would you say was (is) generally the racial make-up of your school? (circle one)

All Black ..... (SKIP TO QUESTION 62)	1	4/68
More than half Black	2	
About even between Blacks & Whites	3	
Mostly white	4	
Other (Specify: _____)	5	
DK, NA	9	

---

60. In general, were (are) white students treated any differently in your school? (circle one)

Yes	1	4/69
No ..... (SKIP TO QUESTION 62)	2	
DK, NA	9	

---

61. How were (are) white students treated differently? (circle all that apply)

More respect from teachers	1	4/70
Not get called into principal's office as often	1	4/71
More privileges (Explain: _____ _____	1	4/72
Better grades even though not worked for	1	4/73
More attention from teachers	1	4/74
More attention from guidance counselors	1	4/75
More attention from coaches	1	4/76
Treated worse than Blacks	1	4/77
Not expelled as often as Blacks	1	4/78
Other (Specify: _____ _____	1	5/18
(# of items circled) _____		5/19-20

---

62. In general, how much did (do) you like school? (circle one)

Very much	1	5/21
Somewhat	2	
Not too much	3	
Not at all: I hated it	4	
DK, NA	9	

63. (a) While in school, do you recall ever having heard of any financial assistance programs which could help you get beyond the high school level? (circle one)

Yes	1	5/22
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

(b) If yes, which program(s)?
(Write out) _____

_____

_____ 5/23-32

---

64. How many times do you recall ever discussing your education or job plans for after graduating from school alone with a guidance counselor? (circle one)

Never	1	5/33
Once	2	
Two or three times	3	
Four or five times	4	
Six or more times	5	
Our counselors only meet with groups of students	6	
We did (do) not have guidance counselor	7	
DK, NA	9	

PART VI

Finally, I'd like to ask some questions about yourself and your family.

65. What is your birthdate?

_____ (Month) _____ (Day) _____ (Year)

66. What is your present marital status? (circle one)

Single (under 18 years old)	1	5/34
Single (19 and above)	2	
Married	3	
Separated	4	
Divorced	5	
Widowed	6	
Living together	7	
DK, NA	9	

---

67. How many children do you currently have?

Write out: _____ 5/35-36

---

68. (a) In which religion were you reared?

Write out: _____ . 5/37-38

(b) Basically, is this the denomination with which you still identify or have you been converted to another? (circle one)

Identify with same religion	1	5/39
Converted to another (Specify which: _____)	2	
No longer identify with any religion	3	
Atheist	4	
Other	5	
Dk, NA	9	

---

69. About how often, if ever, have you attended religious services in the last year? (circle one)

Once a week or more	1	5/40
Two or three times a month	2	
Once a month	3	
A few times a year or less	4	
Other	5	
Never	6	
DK, NA	9	

70. (a) Have you taken part in any of the activities or organizations of your church, other than simply attending services, within the past year? (circle one)

Yes	1	5/41
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

(b) If yes, describe the kind of activity(s):

_____

_____ 5/42-48

---

71. Of those relatives you really feel close to, how many are of the same religion as you? (circle one)

All of them	1	5/49
Nearly all of them	2	
More than half of them	3	
Less than half of them	4	
None of them	5	
Don't identify with any religion	6	
DK, NA	9	

---

72. Thinking of your closest friends, how many are of the same religion as you? (circle one)

All of them	1	5/50
Nearly all of them	2	
More than half of them	3	
Less than half of them	4	
None of them	5	
Don't identy with any religion	6	
DK, NA	9	

---

73. To which racial group do you belong? (circle one)

Oriental	1	5/51
American Indian	2	
Spanish - surnamed American of Cuban, Mexican or Puerto Rican descent	3	
Black (Afro-American)	4	
Black (West Indian or Caribbean descent)	5	
Black (African)	6	
None of these (Specify which: _____)	7	
DK, NA	9	

74. Who are the other members of this immediate household, what are their ages and sex, and what relationship are they to you? Just give me their first names only.

	NAMES	AGE	SEX	RELATION
1.	Respondent:			//////////
		(5/52-53)	(5/54)	
2.				
		(5-55-56)	(5/57)	(5/58-59)
3.				
		(5/60-61)	(5/62)	(5/63-64)
4.				
		(5/65-66)	(5/67)	(5/68-69)
5.				
		(5/70-71)	(5/72)	(5/73-74)
6.				
		(5/75-76)	(5/77)	(6/18-19)
7.				
		(6/20-21)	(6/22)	(6/23-24)
8.				
		(6/25-26)	(6/27)	(6/28-29)
9.				
		(6/30-31)	(6/32)	(6/33-34)
10.				
		(6/35-36)	(6/37)	(6/38-39)
11.				
		(6/40-41)	(6/42)	(6/43-44)
12.				
		(6/45-46)	(6/47)	(6/48-49)

a) Total # in household: _____ 6/50-51
b) No. of male adults: _____ 6/52-53
c) No. of female adults: _____ 6/54-55
d) No. of male children: _____ 6/56-57
e) No. of female children: _____ 6/58-59

75. Who is the head of the household?

Write out the first name of person listed in Question 74: _____ 6/60

---

76. Do you or your family own this house, rent it from someone, or live free of charge?

Rent	1	6/61
Own	2	
Free of charge	3	
DK, NA	9	

---

77. What is (was) your father's main occupation?

Write out: _____ 6/62-63

---

78. How much schooling did your father have? (circle one)

Father never attended school	01	6/64-65
Grade school education only	02	
Dropped out of High School	03	
Graduated from High School but received no additional education	04	
Graduated from High School and had vocational training	05	
Had vocational training but did not graduate from High School	06	
Completed one to two years of college	07	
Completed two to three years of college	08	
Graduated from college	09	
Graduate or professional training	10	
Other (Specify: _____)	11	
DK, NA	99	

---

79. What is your main occupation?

(Write out) _____ 6/66-67

(if still enrolled in high school, be sure to complete supplement)

80. Are you currently employed? (circle one)

No (unemployed)	1	6/68
(SKIP TO QUESTION 83)		
Yes, occasional part-time	2	
(SKIP TO QUESTION 83)		
Yes, regular part-time	3	
(ASK QUESTION 81)		
Yes, full-time	4	
(ASK QUESTION 81)	5	
Retired	6	
(SKIP TO QUESTION 85)		
Disabled	7	
(SKIP TO QUESTION 85)		
Other (Specify: _____)	8	
DK, NA	9	

---

81. Do you work for someone else, such as a company or organization, or are you self-employed? (circle one)

Work for someone else	1	6/69
Self-employed	2	
Other (Specify: _____		
_____)	3	
DK, NA	9	

---

82. How did you manage to obtain the job in which you are now employed? (Probe for persons or organizations which helped)

_____

_____

_____ 6/70-71

(SKIP TO QUESTION 87)

---

83. (a) Are you currently actively looking for full-time work? (circle one)

Yes	1	6/72
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

(b) If yes, what kinds of things are you doing to find work? (circle one)

Filling out forms at state unemployment office	1	6/73
Making contact with employment agencies	2	
Checking newspapers, other advertising	3	
Visiting work sites	4	
Word of mouth from friends and relatives	5	
Other (Specify: _____ _____)	6	
DK, NA	9	

---

84. How long have you been without employment? (circle one)

Less than one month	01	6/74
1-3 months	02	
4-6 months	03	
7-12 months	04	
1-2 years	05	
3-5 years	06	
6-10 years	07	
More than 10 years	08	
Retired	09	
DK, NA	99	

---

85. How have you been able to make ends meet without regular employment? (Probe for welfare, social security, disability, or any kind of "hustling" or illegal activity)

Describe fully: _____

_____

_____ 6/75

---

86. (a) If you can't find any source of income here in (_____), would you consider moving to another city or another part of the country? (circle one)

Yes	1	6/76
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

(b) (Probe for reasons and where): _____

_____ 6/77

_____ 7/18-19

---

87. Do you have any source of financial support, such as family, relatives, or friends, that you could call on in times of crises? (circle all that apply)

Yes, family	1	7/20
Yes, relatives	1	7/21
Yes, friends	1	7/22
Yes, others (such as church groups or fraternal organizations)	1	7/23
Yes, others (Specify: _____	1	7/24
No one to call on	1	7/25

(# of items circled) _____ 7/26

---

88. How many bedrooms are there in the house where you now live?

(Write out) _____ 7/27

89. HAND RESPONDENT CARD 3

Into which of the groups listed on this card would you consider yourself? (circle one)

Lower working class	1	7/28
Middle working class	2	
Lower middle class	3	
Middle class	4	
Upper middle class	5	
Lower upper class	6	
Upper class	7	
Other (Specify: _____	8	
DK, NA	9	

TAKE BACK CARD 3 AND HAND RESPONDENT CARD 4

90. Using this card, into which of the income groups listed would you say your family's total income for last year (1979) fell? Be sure to include earnings from all family members who worked or received income from welfare or social security. Just give me the number shown beside the dollar figures.

No income	1	7/29
$100 to $3,000	2	
$3,001 to $5,000	3	
$5,001 to $8,000	4	
$8,001 to $12,000	5	
$12,001 to $18,000	6	
$18,001 to $25,000	7	
$25,001 and over	8	
Dk, NA.....	9	

Thank you very much for your time Mr(s)._____

(Inform R. that he/she can obtain a copy of the final report by calling the office in about a year's time.)

BE SURE TO COMPLETE HIGH SCHOOL SUPPLEMENT IF R IS HIGH SCHOOLER 15-18 YEARS OLD.

Respondents Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone Number: _____

HIGH SCHOOL SUPPLEMENT (15-18 YEARS OLDS)

91. What was the grade you completed at the end of this school year?

Write out: _____ 7/30-31

---

92. As far as you know, are there problems with any of the following in your school? (circle all that apply)

Marijuana use	1	7/32
Hard drugs (such as heroine)	1	7/33
Other types of drugs, such as amphetamines -- "uppers" or "downers" ...	1	7/34
Alcoholism	1	7/35
Teenage Pregnancy	1	7/36
Violent - fights	1	7/37
Vandalism ...destroying school property	1	7/38
Theft, including school property	1	7/39
Other problems (Specify: _____ _____)	1	7/40

(# of items circled): _____ 7/41-42

---

93. If something happened and you could not graduate from high school, how would you feel? (circle one)

Very happy: I'd like to quit	1	7/43
I wouldn't care one way or the other.....	2	
I would be somewhat disappointed	3	
I'd be very disappointed	4	
DK, NA	9	

---

94. Do you feel that you can get to see a guidance counselor when you want to or need to? (circle one)

Yes	1	7/44
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

95. Does your guidance counselor have the information you feel you need? (circle one)

Yes	1	7/45
No	2	
Have no guidance counselor	3	
DK, NA	9	

---

96. In general, do you think that any of your teachers are interested in helping you? (circle one)

No, not at all	1
Yes, but only a little	2
Yes, quite a bit	3
Yes, a lot	4
DK, NA	9

97. What particular plans do you have for yourself next year? (circle any <u>two</u> which most apply)

Enter the military	1	7/47
Go to vocational, technical, business or trade school	1	7/48
Go to college	1	7/49
Enter apprenticeship or on-the-job training programs	1	7/50
Try to find a full-time job	1	7/51
Continue high school	1	7/52
Get married	1	7/53
Become full-time housewife or mother	1	7/54
Other: (Specify: _____) _____	1	7/55
I don't know	1	7/56

---

98. (a) What would you like to be doing four years from now?

(Write out) _____ 7/57-58

(b) What do you think you will be doing four years from now? _____ 7/59-60

99. What type of work or profession do you think you will take up?

(Write out) _____

_____ 7/61-62

---

100. Approximately what is the average time you spend on homework a day? (circle one)

None: No homework is ever assigned	1	7/63
None: I have homework but didn't bother to do it	2	
Some: Less than an hour a day	3	
Between an hour and two hours a day	4	
More than two hours a day	5	
DK, NA	9	

101. How do you spend most of your immediate after-school hours, say between 3:30 and 6:00 in the evenings? (circle any two which apply)

Doing chores at home	1	7/64
Doing homework	1	7/65
Hanging out with friends (Explain:)...	1	7/66
Participate in some sports activity (e.g., baseball, basketball, or football) not organized by any particular group...	1	7/67
Participate in some form of organized sports activity	1	7/68
Watch T. V.	1	7/69
Other: (Specify: _____ _____	1	7/70
(# of items circled) _____		7/71

---

102. How do you spend most of your late evening hours, say between 6:00 (Mondays thru Fridays) and midnight; that is, during the regular school time? (circle any two which apply)

Doing chores at home	1	7/72
Doing homework	1	7/73
Hanging out with friends	1	7/74
Participate in some sports activity (e.g., baseball, basketball, or football) not organized by any particular group.....	1	7/75
Participate in some form of organized sports activity	1	7/76
Watch T.V.....	1	7/77
Other: (Specify: _____ _____	1	7/78
# of items circled _____		8/18

---

103. Do you ever skip school intentionally? (circle one)

Yes, all the time	1	8/19
Yes, about once a week	2	
About once a month	3	
No, I never skip school intentionally ..... (SKIP TO QUESTION 106)	4	
DK, NA	9	

104. When you skip, do your friends join you, or do you skip alone? (circle one)

Friends join me	1	8/20
Skip alone	2	
DK, NA	9	

---

105. When you skip school what mostly do you spend the time doing? (circle any <u>two</u> which apply) (Probe)

Hang out at another school where my friends are (Explain: _____)	1	8/21
Hang out on the street or by the shops in my neighborhoods with friends (Explain: _____)	1	8/22
Hang out mostly downtown with friends (Specify where & Explain _____)	1	8/23
Generally hang out alone	1	8/24
Participate in some sports activity not organized by any particular group	1	8/25
Participate in some organized sports activity	1	8/26
Other: (Specify: _____)	1	8/27
Stay home.....	1	8/28
(# of items circled) _____		8/29

---

106. Now that school is out for the summer, what kinds of activities have you been involved in mostly? (circle any <u>two</u> which apply)

Working full-time summer job	1	8/30
Working part-time summer job	1	8/31
Helping parents around the house	1	8/32
Working on personal hobby	1	8/33
Going to summer school	1	8/34
Going to summer camp	1	8/35
Enrolled in organized athletic or recreational activity	1	8/36
Mostly playing games with friends in nearby parks or lots	1	8/37
Just hanging out	1	8/38
Stay home	1	8/39
Babysitting	1	8/40
Other: _____	1	8/41
(Specify: _____)	1	8/42
(# of items circled) _____		8/43

HAND R CARD 4

I am going to read you a list of some of the things which teenagers sometimes do without necessarily being caught. As I go down this list, generally speaking would you say that you or your friends did it "almost always," "quite often," or "never."

107.

		ALMOST ALWAYS	QUITE OFTEN	SOMETIMES	NEVER	DK NA	
a)	Driving a car without a license..	1	2	3	4	9	8/44
b)	Skipped school	1	2	3	4	9	8/45
c)	Carried a knife, razor, etc.....	1	2	3	4	9	8/46
d)	Run away from home..	1	2	3	4	9	8/47
e)	Reckless or fast driving	1	2	3	4	9	8/48
f)	Taken things worth over $10.00	1	2	3	4	9	8/49
g)	Used force to get money from someone..	1	2	3	4	9	8/50
h)	Fight	1	2	3	4	9	8/51
i)	Car theft (taken a car with-out the owner's permission..	1	2	3	4	9	8/52
j)	Bought alcoholic beverage	1	2	3	4	9	8/53
k)	Drank alcoholic beverage	1	2	3	4	9	8/54
l)	Sold narcotics...	1	2	3	4	9	8/55
m)	Used narcotics ...	1	2	3	4	9	8/56
n)	Sniffed glue	1	2	3	4	9	8/57
o)	Destroyed property worth over $10.00..	1	2	3	4	9	8/58
p)	Hard to handle at home	1	2	3	4	9	8/59
q)	Come home later than midnight ..	1	2	3	4	9	8/60

108. (a) Do you live with both parents? (circle one)

Yes	1	8/61
No	2	
DK, NA.....	9	

(b) Did you live with <u>both</u> parents three years ago?

Yes	1	8/62
No	2	
DK, NA	9	

109. As far as you know, how much schooling do your parents want you to get? (circle one)

She wants me to quit high school without graduating	01	8/63-64
She wants me to graduate from high school and stop there	02	
She wants me to graduate from high school and then go to a vocational, technical or business school	03	
She wants me to go to a two-year or junior college	04	
She wants me to go to a four-year college or university	05	
She wants me to go to a graduate or professional school after graduating from 4 - year college or university	06	
No idea what she wants for me	07	
Haven't seen mother in years	08	
Mother deceased	09	
Other	10	
NA	99	

---

110. How close would you say you are to your mother? (circle one)

Not close at all	1	8/65
Not very close	2	
Fairly close	3	
Very close	4	
Mother deceased	5	
DK, NA	9	

---

111. How close would you say you are to your father? (circle one)

Not close at all	1	8/66
Not very close	2	
Fairly close	3	
Very close	4	
Father deceased	5	
DK, NA	9	

THAT'S ALL ..... THANK YOU VERY MUCH .....

SCHEDULE A

RESPONSE TO QUESTION 31 -- POLICE RATINGS

Very Honest	Somewhat Honest	No Opinion	Somewhat Corrupt	Very Corrupt	
1	2	3	4	5	2/42
Very Bad	Somewhat Bad	No Opinion	Somewhat Good	Very Good	
1	2	3	4	5	2/43
Very Unfair	Somewhat Fair	No Opinion	Somewhat Fair	Very Fair	
1	2	3	4	5	2/44
Very Lazy	Somewhat Lazy	No Opinion	Somewhat Hardworking	Very Hardworking	
1	2	3	4	5	2/45
Very Smart	Somewhat Smart	No Opinion	Somewhat Dumb	Very Dumb	
1	2	3	4	5	2/46
Very Friendly	Somewhat Friendly	NO Opinion	Somewhat Unfriendly	Very Unfriendly	
1	2	3	4	5	2/47
Very Kind	Somewhat Kind	No Opinion	Somewhat Cruel	Very Cruel	
1	2	3	4	5	2/48
Very Harsh	Somewhat Harsh	No Opinion	Somewhat Easygoing	Very Easygoing	
1	2	3	4	5	2/49
Very Tough	Somewhat Tough	No Opinion	Somewhat Softhearted	Very Softhearted	
1	2	3	4	5	2/50

SCHEDULE B (FOR QUESTION 53)

a)	Quite Right	Somewhat Right	No Opinion	Somewhat Wrong	Quite Wrong	
	1	2	3	4	5	4/22
b)	Quite Wrong	Somewhat Wrong	No Opinion	Somewhat Right	Quite Right	
	1	2	3	4	5	4/23
c)	Quite Wrong	Somewhat Wrong	No Opinion	Somewhat Right	Quite Right	
	1	2	3	4	5	4/24
d)	Quite Right	Somewhat Right	No Opinion	Somewhat Wrong	Quite Wrong	
	1	2	3	4	5	4/25
e)	Quite Right	Somewhat Right	No Opinion	Somewhat Wrong	Quite Wrong	
	1	2	3	4	5	4/26
f)	Quite Right	Somewhat Wrong	No Opinion	Somewhat Wrong	Quite Right	
	1	2	3	4	5	4/27
g)	Quite Right	Somewhat Right	No Opinion	Somewhat Wrong	Quite Wrong	
	1	2	3	4	5	4/28

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

1. Time interview began: Time ended: _____

2. Was respondent: Enthusiastic Cooperative Indifferent

   Hostile ?

3. Where did interview take place? Indoors Porch Front Steps

   Backyard Sidewalk

   Other (Where _____)

4. (a) Was anyone else present during the interview?

   Yes No

   (b) If yes, do you think this affected respondents answers?

   Yes No

   (c) If yes, how? _____

   _____

   _____

5. (a) Was the interview interrupted (i.e. broken off) in anyway?

   Yes No

   (b) If yes, describe how and for how long

   _____

   _____

   _____

6. (a) Was respondent distracted in anyway during the course of the interview? (e.g. by T.V., mailman, or children, etc.)

   (b) If yes, describe: _____

   _____

   Other comments: _____

   _____

   _____

CENSUS TRACT INFORMATION

1.	Census tract No.	_____	9/1-4
2.	Crime Rate per 1,000 population	_____	9/5-7
3.	Income	$_____	9/8-12
4.	Population Density	_____	9/13-17
5.	Percent Black Population	_____	9/18-20
6.	Percent White Population	_____	9/21-22
7.	Percent Unemployment	_____	9/23-26
8.	Housing Density	_____	9/27-31
9.	Age Ratio	_____	9/32-35
10.	Sex Ratio	_____	9/36-39
11.	Birth Rate	_____	9/40-43
12.	Ratio of Police to Population	_____	9/44-47
13.	Ratio Recreation Facilities	_____	9/48-51
14.	Ratio Health Facilities	_____	9/52-55
15.	Ratio Political Representation	_____	9/56-59
16.	Ratio # schools to school-age population	_____	9/60-63

Interviewer's Name _____

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWING

Every questionnaire, whether it is self-administered or administered by an interviewer, should contain clear instructions. Even though the survey instrument was administered by an interviewer, there was a thorough explanation and review of the questionnaire given to the interviewee. A disadvantage of a self-administered questionnaire is that if the subject somehow misinterprets a question or records his/her responses in a confusing way, there is little that can be done to remedy the situation. In a questionnaire which is administered by an interviewer, there is the possibility of making sure that questions are understood before the responses are recorded.

The questionnaire which is administered by an interviewer is the more appropriate technique for revealing information about complex, emotional subjects or for probing the sentiments that may underlie an expressed opinion. If a verbal report is to be accepted at face value, it must be elicited in circumstances that encourage the greatest possible freedom and honesty of expression.

Explanations as to how responses would be handled and recorded were addressed. Several questions required that specific instructions be given to the interviewers. The following are examples of these types of questions:

> Question 31 (Police Rating): - "As you think about the police in the community and their actual behavior, how would you rate them on each of the following traits -- using a point system of one to five."

This question required the respondent to write his responses directly on the questionnaire. In rating the behavior of police, respondents were asked whether they felt that the police were:

(1) Very honest
(2) Somewhat honest
(3) No opinion
(4) Somewhat corrupt
(5) Very corrupt

Another question which required the respondent to write his responses directly on the the questionnaire was question 53.

> Question 53 (Crime Definitions): - "Using the sheet in your hand, I want you to do the following: As I read a list of things which people might do, I want you to judge from one to five whether or not you think the act is right or wrong. Circle the actual number, ranging

from right to wrong, that you would give the act."

Respondent's were asked to evaluate a series of crime situations and record their responses regarding whether the acts were:

(1) Quite right
(2) Somewhat right
(3) No opinion
(4) Somewhat wrong
(5) Quite wrong

In order for questions of this kind to be answered correctly, clear and detailed explanations of the questions were given to each of the interviewers.

Once the interviewers were in their respective communities, the task of locating a respondent at a designated household began. If a respondent was not home or for some reason did not have the time to be interviewed but wanted to participate at some other point in time, a rule of three call backs became mandatory (refer to sample design for call back criteria).

The rate of refusals for Atlanta and Washington, D. C., was another task taken on by the staff. Each interviewer was required to record respondents who refused to participate in the survey.

"Refusal rate" refers to a measure of the interviewers unsuccessful attempts to acquire an interview. There are many instances and circumstances which fall under the umbrella of a refusal. The following were considered refusals for the purpose of this study:

(1) True refusals (persons who did not wish to participate) (110)
(2) Non-locators (70)
    (a) Non-existent addresses
    (b) Vacant houses
    (c) Vacant lots
(3) Call backs (253)
    (a) No answers
    (b) Those people too busy at the time
(4) Available respondents not interviewed * (1,650)

Rates of refusal were calculated in the following manner: The cells below represent different methods of calculating refusal rates.

---

* Available respondents not interviewed consisted of those respondents which appeared in the list to be interviewed but were not needed once the age criterion was met.

Cell I expresses a "raw" percentage rate which included the total number of potential respondents available to be interviewed. These potential respondents were arrived at through the selection and design outlined in the sample design, which included an oversample by a factor of three for Atlanta and Washington, D. C. (see sample design). The items which appear in the denominator include the number of completed questionnaires (621), available respondents not interviewed (1,650), call backs (253) and non-locators (70). Each value is summed up and then divided into the true refusal (110). The following equation for cell I is as follows:

$$\frac{R}{(A)+(B)+(C)+(D)} \times \%$$

Where:
R = true refusal
A - complete questionnaires
B - available respondents not interviewed
C = call backs
D = non-locators
% = percentage

$$\text{So, } \frac{110}{(621)+(1,650)+(253)+(70)} \times 100 = \frac{110}{2,594} = 4.24\%$$

4.24% falls below the normal range of refusal rates which is 10-20 percent for a study of this magnitude and design.

Cell II represents an "adjusted" refusal rate which includes in the denominator the number of completed questionnaires (621), the available respondents not interviewed, and the number of call backs. The sum of these values equals 2,524. The numerator is expressed by the true refusals (110) plus the non-locators (70). The following formula for cell II is as follows:

$$\frac{R + D}{(A)+(B)+(C)} \times \%$$

Where:
R = true refusals
A = completed questionnaires
B = available respondents not interviewed
C = call backs
D = non-locators
% = percentage

$$\text{So, } \frac{110+70}{(621)+(1,650)+(253)} \times 100 = \frac{180}{2,524} = 7.13\%$$

The "adjusted" refusal rate represents those people who did not wish to participate in the study (true refusal) and those addresses which were vacant or vacant lots (non-locators).

These two instances were exluded from the total number of possible interviews for two reasons:

1. True refusals consisted of those respondents who said "no" although they were chosen as potential respondents through the sample design.
2. Non-locators consisted of those addresses which did not exist.

7.13% again falls below the normal range of refusal rates for this type of study.

Cell III represents a refusal rate which includes in the denominator the number of completed questionnaires (621), the number of call backs (253), and non-locators (70). The sum of these values equals 944. The numerator is expressed by the true refusals (110). The following formula for Cell III is as follows:

$$\frac{R}{(A)+(C)+(D)} \times \%$$

Where:
R = true refusals
A = completed questionnaires
C = call backs
D = non-locators
% = percentage

$$\text{So, } \frac{110}{(621)+(253)+(70)} \times 100 = \frac{110}{944} = 11.65\%$$

11.65% falls within the normal range of refusal rates for this type of study.

Completion Time

The completion time of a single questionnaire was calculated using three measures of central tendency and the range. The mean, median, mode and range were used to compute these measures. Table 1 illustrates the frequency distribution of completion time for the 621 questionnaires.

Measure of central tendency refers to a statistical method that yields a single value which gives information about an entire distribution. There are a number of measures of central tendency which are designed to give representative values of a given distribution. The most popular are mean, median and mode. For the purpose of this study, range which is considered a measure of variability, was also employed.

Frequency Distribution of Interview Completion Times

TABLE 1

TIME (MINUTES)	TOTAL
0-4	2
5-9	1
10-14	5
15-19	10
20-24	20
25-29	87
30-34	70
35-39	69
40-44	76
45-49	33
50-54	36
55-59	32
60-64	20
65-69	27
70-74	16
75-79	7
80-84	9
85-89	2
90-94	0
95-99	3
100-104	2
105-109	0
110-114	2
115-119	0
120-124	0
125-129	1
130-134	0
135-139	0
140-144	1
Time Not Recorded	90
	621

The sum of the questionnaires used to compute the completion time equals 621 rather than 624 (which is the total number of questionnaires which were received). The sum of 90 (time not recorded) accounts for those interviewers who did not record their completion time.

The frequency distributions were then grouped into intervals of fifteen (15) minutes. Table 2 illustrates the grouped data.

Grouped Frequency Distribution of Interview Completion Times

TABLE 2

TIME	FREQUENCY
5-19	18
20-34	177
35-49	178
50-64	88
65-79	50
80-94	11
95-109	5
110-124	2
125-139	1
140-154	1
Time Not Recorded	90
	f = 621

Measures of variability can be defined as the fluctuation of scores about a measure of central tendency. In contrast, a measure of central tendency yields the best single value which describes the performance of the group of data as a whole (average). It is a value that best represents the entire group of data. There is more to describing a group of data than noting the average performance because a measure of central tendency tells nothing concerning the variation of data about the average. Some scores fall below the average while others fall above it. The fluctuation of scores about a measure of central tendency is called variability (refer to Bartz, Descriptive Statistics, 1979; Champion, Basic Statistics for Social Research, 1970).

The range is the simplest and most straight-forward measure of variation about a mean. The range is the distance between the two extreme scores. This value describes the dispersion of a distribution. The calculation of the range is computed by subtracting the least value from the highest value of a distribution.

RANGE

144 - 5 = 139

Where:
144 = longest completion time of a single questionnaire
5 = shortest completion time of a single questionnaire

In terms of this measure, 139 minutes indicates the range of completion time for a single questionnaire.

Although the range is a good preliminary measure of variability, it lacks accuracy for two reasons:

1. A single extreme value can greatly alter the range (which existed in our data).

2. The range is based on only two scores and does not tell anything about the pattern of the variability of the entire distribution.

The mean represents the "average" value of a given distribution. For the purpose of this study, we employed the mean for grouped data since it was the most convenient form of measuring our data.

A formula for calculating the mean for grouped data is illustrated in the following way:

$$M = Mp + i \left(\frac{fd}{N} \right)$$

Where:
Mp = the midpoint of the interval at the origin
i = the size of the interval
N = the number of scores
fd = the sum of the fd column

The computation for the mean for grouped data is:

TIME	f	d	fd
5-19	18	4	72
20-34	177	3	531
35-49	178	2	356
50-64	88	1	88
65-79	50	0	0
80-94	11	1	-11
95-109	5	2	-10
110-124	2	3	-6
125-139	1	4	-4
140-154	1	5	-5
	N=531		fd = 1,011

1. To obtain the values in the "d" column, one of the intervals is chosen as the "origin" and a zero is placed in the "d" column opposite that interval. Any interval can be chosen.

2. Count (+) up by units from the zero until you reach the top of the distribution.

3. Count down (-) from the zero until you reach the bottom of the distribution. The value of "d" is simply the distance each interval is from the origin.

4. To obtain the values in the "fd" column, you simply multiply "f" by "d" for each interval. Finally, to obtain the sum of the "fd" column you add the positive values and the negative values.

So,

$$M = Mp + i \left(\frac{fd}{N} \right)$$

Mp = 72
i = 15
fd = 1,011
N = 531

$$M = 72+15 \ \frac{1,011}{531}$$

$$M = 72+15 \ (1.90)$$

$$M = 72+ \ (28.55)$$

Mean = 100.55

The mean completion time of a single questionnaire was calculated at approximately 100 minutes.

The median represents the 50th percentile of a distribution. It is that point that exactly separates the upper half of a distribution from the lower half. Referring to Table II, the formula for calculating the median for grouped data is as follows:

$$\text{Median} = L + i \ \frac{R}{F50}$$

Where:
L = the exact lower limit of the interval containing the median
i = the size of the interval
R = the remainder after subtracting necessary frequencies from 50% of N
F50 = the frequency of the interval containing the median

The computation of the median for grouped data is:

1. Calculation of the mean which is 50% of N.

2. Count up from the bottom of the "f" column by adding each frequency until you get as close to your desired number (265.5) without exceeding it. This says this is the median or P_{50} is within the next interval.

3. Subtract the frequencies that have been totalled from the value that is actually needed, 50% of N.

4. Refer to the interval which contains the median and locate its comparable interval which will give you the frequency for this interval (F_{50}).

5. Determine the exact lower limit for the interval containing the median. As mentioned earlier, the formula for the median for grouped data is:

$$\text{Median} = L + i \frac{R}{F_{50}}$$

$$34.5 + 15 \frac{107.5}{215}$$

$$34.5 + 15\ (.60)$$

$$34.5 + 9$$

$$\text{Median} = 43.5$$

50% of 513 = 265.5

1 + 1 + 2 + 5 + 11 + 50 + 88 = 158

R = 265.5 - 158 = 107.5

F_{50} = 178

L = 34.5

i = 15

The median completion time of a single questionnaire was calculated at approximately 43 minutes.

The mode can be defined as the value which appears most frequently in a distribution. Since the actual identity of each individual value is lost when the scores are grouped in a frequency distribution, we can only make an assumption concerning the value of the mode. This value is referred to as the crude mode. It is computed by simply using the mid-point of the interval with the greatest frequency. Referring to Table II, the crude mode was arrived at by taking the mid-point of the interval, 31-45, which is 38.5.

Again, the mean, median and mode all represent a measure of central tendency. The question regarding which one is the best measure to use which will give a true description of a distribution is somewhat academic. The mode is a fairly crude measure if it is being used to describe grouped data. The mean is most often used as a measure of central tendency. However, there are many instances where the median is a valuable measure. Since the median is not affected by extreme values, it is very useful in instances where the distribution is either positively or negatively skewed. This situation occurred in developing the completion time distribution (see Table 2). (Since the mean (100) takes into account the exact value of each score while the median (43.5) represents the center of the distribution and would not be affected very much by the addition of a single score at the extreme end.) In developing the completion time frequency distribution, one score was recorded at the 140-154 interval which represents the greatest amount of time for completing a questionnaire. Clearly, the median would be the most accurate picture of completion time in this instance.

Interview Problems

Many times the interviewer encountered problems in getting designated respondents to participate in the study. At this point the interviewer briefly explained the nature and intent of the study, how respondents were selected and assured the respondent that anonymity would be maintained. These three concerns seemed to be the questions most often asked by the respondents. If these questions were explained, the respondent usually agreed to the interview.

A few instances occurred where interviews were not completed. If the majority of the questionnaire was completed, the questionnaire was included in the sample. Codes "9" (don't know/no answer) were then assigned to the remaining questions which were not answered by the respondent.

As in any interview situation, several instances occurred which were unusual and even humorous. One instance occurred where an interview was in progress when the respondent's husband returned home from work and became very suspicious as to the type of questions being asked. He then ordered the interviewer to leave; consequently, the questionnaire was not completed.

An interviewer in one of the low-income, high-crime areas was in the middle of interviewing an elderly woman who dozed off to sleep. After realizing what had happened, the interviewer waited approximately twenty minutes before the woman woke up and then proceeded to complete the session.

Another problem encountered during the start-up period involved an interviewer who felt certain questions were inappropriate or inapplicable to the respondent and, therefore, chose not to ask them. It was vital that every question be asked except where the interviewer was so instructed by a skip pattern.

> Example: An elderly man was being interviewed who appeared to be either retired or disabled. Question 79, "What is your main occupation," was not asked by the interviewer because it was assumed he was not employed. Later on, during the course of the conversation, it was found that the man was employed on a part-time basis. The interviewer then coded his occupation.
>
> Another such instance occurred concerning the series of questions concerning religion. Question 68(a), "In which religion were you reared." If the respondent replied "none," the second section (b), which states, "Basically, is this the denomination with which you still identify or have you been converted to another?" was not asked. Question 69: "About how often, if ever, have you attended religious services in the last year?"
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Once a week or more . . . . . | 1 |
> | Two or three times a month . . . . | 2 |
> | Once a month . . . . . | 3 |
> | A few times a year or less . . . . | 4 |
> | Other . . . . . | 5 |
> | Never . . . . . | 6 |
> | DK/NA . . . . . | 7 |

This question was not asked since the interviewer felt it was

inapplicable because the respondent did not identify with any religion. Many times people attend church with family members or friends whether they identify with that religion or not. If the respondent does not attend religious services, he would simply respond by saying "never." Once this problem was addressed and the interviewer was informed as to the correct procedure, the problem was amended.

The time of day which the interviewers went out to interview often dictated the age and sex of the respondents who were available to be interviewed. In low-income communities, for instance, many elderly residents and women receiving public assistance tended to be home and available more often than other residents. Consequently, it was necessary for interviewers to return to these tracts during the evening hours (6:00-9:00 p.m.) in order to fulfill the required age category criterion. Likewise, in the middle-income areas, many residents were employed during the daytime hours and, therefore, could not be reached. Again, it was necessary for interviewers to return during evening hours in order to conduct the interviews.

The typical interview situation occurred in the respondent's home or on their front porch (since it was hot and most respondents were sitting outdoors). This allowed for an informal environment which aided the interviewer. Many respondents offered food and drink to the interviewer which also brought about a more casual interaction. An effort was made by the interviewers to create a pleasant, non-threatening atmosphere in the hopes that the respondents would reply in an open and honest manner to the questions.

A random selection (approximately one-third) of the respondents were contacted by the staff a few days after they were interviewed in order to verify whether an interview had actually taken place. All of the respondents contacted verified that an interview had taken place.

APPENDIX C

EDITING

Questionnaire Editing

Most researchers would agree that editing completed questionnaires prior to coding is the most effective and efficient method of insuring accuracy and uniformity during the coding process. Editing refers to the process of reviewing all questionnaires to make sure the information provided is legible and in conformance with research requirements. Research assistants assigned the task of editing are responsible for thoroughly examining each completed questionnaire for completeness, accuracy and clarity.

Several steps were taken during this phase by the research assistants. The first step was to make certain that each question was answered by the respondent. If certain questions were not answered, determinations as to why the particular question was not responded to were necessary. Several plausible explanations existed. Perhaps the interviewer neglected to ask the question. This would be concluded if all other questions had been responded to by the respondent, thus leading the editor to the conclusion that the unanswered question was a mere oversight on the part of the interviewer. Interviewer oversights appeared rarely. Another conclusion which could be drawn from such an occurrence would be that the respondent declined to comment on the particular question. This was also a rare occurrence. Respondents generally were eager to answer all questions. However, in both instances, if unanswered questions appeared, they were assigned a code "9" which indicates a "don't know" or "no answer" to the particular question.

In all research projects that involve computer analyses, codes must be developed to indicate missing values. Missing values refers to unknown information or unanswered questions. The convention adopted by the research staff in addressing missing values was to assign a code "9" unless otherwise instructed.

To illustrate the applicability of code "9," it is necessary to briefly review the codebook. Included in the questionnaire are certain questions intended to elicit responses from all subjects. For instance, questions #17-#24 (see codebook pp. 6 and 7) address issues concerning the respondents fear (or lack of fear) of crime. Question #17 asks the respondent if he/she feels that crime in the United States has increased, decreased or remained about the same. All respondents, whether high school students or adults, employed or unemployed, married or single should be able to comment on this question. However, there were instances when such questions were not answered by the respondent. If these questions

or similar questions were not answered, it was assumed by the editor that either the question was not asked by the interviewer or the respondent failed to comment on it. Thus, if question #17 or any within the fear of crime series were unanswered, code "9" would be assigned.

There were a few instances in the questionnaire where the assignment of code "9" might be misleading. For example, four Likert-type scales are included in the questionnaire which contains fixed responses (see codebook pp. 11 and 12). These scales are designed in such a way as to require respondents to respond to certain items in terms of the degree of approval or disapproval. The responses to various items are scored in such a way that a response indicative of the most favorable item will be a code "5" on a scale of 1-5 and the least favorable item will receive a code "1." A neutral code "3" is provided for those individuals who are somewhat indecisive. An example of a scale question would be question #31 which asks the respondent to rate police officers as being (1) very honest, (2) somewhat honest, (3) no opinion, (4) somewhat corrupt, and (5) very corrupt. There were a few questionnaires in which the respondent answered all but one or two of the scale items. Because unanswered scale items appeared so infrequently, the editors decided to interpret the unanswered items as indicating "no opinion." Therefore, in accordance with established precedent of similar studies, rather than assigning a code "9" to the unanswered scale question, a code "3" was assigned, which indicates "no opinion." This procedure was adopted for all scales.

A second explanation addressing why certain questions were not answered was that perhaps the particular question was not applicable to the respondent. Determinations of inapplicable questions were made by examining the questions preceding the unanswered one to determine if certain responses rendered the following question inapplicable. If the unanswered question begins with "if yes" referring to the answer to the previous question, the editor would then look at the preceding question to see if the respondent answered "yes." An answer of "no" to the preceding question would render the unanswered question inapplicable, and thus it was determined that the question was appropriately skipped. A code "0" would be assigned to the question, indicating the inapplicability of the question. For example, question #51(a) (see questionnaire p. 16) asks the respondent if there are any groups or organizations within his community to which he/she can go for problems with housing, employment, trash pick-up, etc. Provided that the respondent answered "yes" to 51(a), question 51(b) instructed the interviewer to ask the respondent if he/she ever contacts these organizations. If the respondent answered "no" to 51(a), there is no reason for question 51(b) to be asked; therefore, 51(b) would be assigned code "0" indicating its inapplicability.

Throughout the questionnaire designated skip patterns appear. Among the employment questions, such inquiries appear addressing the respondent's employment status, how present employment was obtained and steps taken towards gaining employment. If a respondent is presently unemployed, retired or disabled, certain employment questions would not be applicable. An interviewer would not ask these individuals such inappropriate questions. To make sure that the interviewer did not ask inappropriate questions, there were instructions to skip to the next applicable question. During the editing process, it was important to make sure that skip patterns were accurately interpreted by the interviewer. If certain questions were skipped which should not have been, a code "9" (don't know/no answer) would be assigned. Appropriately skipped questions would receive a code "0" indicating the question's inapplicability.

Other Responses

The questionnaire allowed for "other" responses which provided respondents with an alternative answer if he/she failed to see the applicability of the predetermined pre-coded responses. However, the final analysis plan does not allow for "other" responses; therefore, these were carefully examined by the editor to determine if their essence could be captured by the pre-coded responses. Question #52(b) asks the respondent what organizations he/she is affiliated with. There was one instance where the respondent indicated that he was a member of the Boy Scouts. Because Boy Scouts did not receive a specific response category in the questionnaire, the interviewer recorded the response in the "other" category. However, youth organizations receive a specific response category. It was determined by the editing staff that such a response could be captured by the pre-coded response category "youth organization." If the response could not be captured by pre-coded response categories, new variable categories were developed during the editing stage and assigned codes.

Open-Ended Questions

Working with a questionnaire which, for the most part, consists of precoded responses was extremely advantageous for the research assistants assigned the task of coding. However, most researchers would agree that a combination of fixed alternative answer questions and open-ended questions yield more fruitful research findings (see Babbie, 1973; Selltiz et al, 1976). Therefore, both types of questions were included in the questionnaire.

Pre-coded responses require that the interviewer elicit only those responses already designated as being applicable to the particular question. Predetermined, fixed alternative answers appear following each question, with each having a previously designated code. Pre-coded questionnaires alleviate

many problems that result from an overabundance of open-ended questions (e.g., increased amount of time for editing questionnaires).

Out of a total of 111 questions, approximately 20 open-ended questions appear. Open-ended questions tended to be exploratory in nature. Inclusion of the open-ended questions provided the respondents with the opportunity to address certain questions openly and honestly without any restrictions. Certain issues are complex enough so that it would not only be impossible but pratical to attempt to restrict respondents' answers to fixed alternative response categories.

The standardization of responses to open-ended questions proved to be one of the more complex stages of the editing process. This step was necessary to circumvent any problems which might occur during the coding process. This process essentially involved what is referred to as content analysis (see Selltiz et al, 391, 1976). In order to carry out the task of standardizing open ended responses, the editors initially had to compile lists of all responses elicited by the open-ended questions. Next, the editor cancelled out duplicate answers to each question. From this cancellation process, a composite list of all responses elicited by each open-ended question was developed. It was important that the editors recorded the responses in such a way that mutually exclusive categories were derived. Fortunately, most open-ended questions tended to yield similar responses; therefore, the lists were not overly extensive. During the codebook construction stage (see codebook construction infra) these responses were assigned codes.

To illustrate some of the complexities encountered during this stage, a few examples from the questionnaire will be provided. Question #24(a) (see questionnaire, page 8) asks the respondent if his/her activities have changed any in response to fear of crime. Fixed alternative response categories of "yes," "no" and "don't know/no answer" are provided for the respondent. However, the second part of the question is an open-ended inquiry. Part (b) asks the respondent to give an example or two of these activity changes. If the respondent answered "yes" to 24(a) then he/she was expected to provide a list of activity changes in response to 24(b). Several varied responses were elicited from this question, such as burning lights more frequently, leaving family alone less frequently, not allowing children to play outside, not going out at night alone, not walking through the alley anymore, carrying a pistol, takeing certain precautions like putting up burglar bars, and so on. To illustrate how such varied responses were standardized, one is instructed to refer to the corresponding question number appearing in the codebook (see code codebook, pages 7 and 8, variables #45-51). For instance, variable #45, question #24(b), "limit outside activity/ association" would correspond to those persons who stated

that they "didn't go out at night alone", "no longer walked through the alley" and other similiar responses. Variable #46, "travel with groups" would correspond to individual responses such as "no longer jog alone," "walk to the bus stop with others," and other similar responses. Variable #47 "more locks and lights" would correspond to those individuals who reacted to the fear of crime by installing burglar bars, more lights or locks. Variable #48 "watch children more" corresponds to responses such as "don't allow children to play outside" or "go outside with children." Variable #49 "carry weapons" refers to those individuals who, in reaction to the fear of crime, carry different types of weapons. Variable #50 "no longer carry money" corresponds to those individuals who responded by saying that they leave money at home when traveling from place to place or similar type responses. Variable #51 "number of items" is present to instruct the coder to record the number of activity changes listed by each respondent.

Another example of the complex standardization of open-ended responses was the process undertaken to standardize the responses to question #38 (see questionnaire, page 13). Question #38 asked the respondent to list his/her community boundaries. It was necessary for the editors to use street maps to determine where the respondent considered the community boundaries to exist in relation to the respondent's present address. Determinations had to be made as to whether the street names provided by the respondent corresponded to the predetermined tract boundaries, a portion of the tract, the respondent's street only, or outside of the tract. All responses were listed and located on street maps in order to standardize these responses. Responses were categorized and assigned codes as (see page 14 of the codebook).

The questionnaire also included open-ended questions which asked what high school the respondent attended and the names and relationship of people living within the same household of the respondent. Question #74 (see questionnaire, page 27) asked the respondent to list the other members of his/her immediate household, to list their ages and sex and to state what relationship they are to the respondent. This question, as you can see from the codebook (page 31), elicited various responses. The typical responses such as mother, father, brother, sister and the not so typical responses of male friend, female friend and roommate were among the answers. Compilation of all responses to this question was also necessary. The same procedure for the categorization and assignment of codes to these responses was employed by the editors.

With editing completed, the research staff has taken one major step towards providing reliable research findings. In the next section, a detailed discussion of codebook construction will be presented to demonstrate the second step taken towards preparing data for computer analysis.

APPENDIX D

CODEBOOK CONSTRUCTION

The construction of a codebook is essential as it is a guide or manual which describes the location of variables and code assignments to those variables. The codebook serves as a set of rules which define "what counts for what" in the context of the study.

The codebook serves two basic functions: It locates variables and assists in interpretation during analysis; and it is a guide which is used in the coding process. The codebook is based on the initial ideas and design of the study.

Construction of the codebook involved developing mutually exclusive categories which represent one or more columns for a single variable. Coding categories should yield a complete classification of all values that appear in the study. Construction of the codebook also involved transforming raw data into some type of standardized form which can be used for analysis.

Upon completion of the editing process, code sheets were developed to transfer data from the questionnaire to code sheets for keypunching. The codesheets consisted of nine sheets, each sheet representing a single record having eighty columns per sheet. The eighty columns represent a code(s) for any given response. These codes were then transferred from the questionnaire to the codesheets. Columns 1-17 of each codesheet represent the following data:

Column 1-9	Study Identification
Column 10	City Identification
Column 11	Tract Identificatioon
Column 12-14	Respondent Identification
Column 15	Crime Rate of Tract
Column 16	Income Rate of Tract
Column 17	Age Category of Respondent

Columns 18 through 78 were reserved for response data. Columns 79 and 80 of each codesheet represented the record number of that codesheet.

The questionnaire was precoded which allowed most responses to be transferred directly to the code sheets.

Example: Question 40

"How often do you visit with these relatives?"

Weekly or more	1
Two to four times a month . . .	2
One to two times a month	3

A few times a year 4
Perhaps once a year 5
Rarely 6
Never 7
DK/NA 9

During the construction of the codebook, certain decisions were made concerning interpretation of questions. All responses to open ended questions were listed and general categories were developed in order for coders to simply locate the response category which best represented the respondent's reply. The coders were not required to interpret any responses, since this task was completed by the staff prior to the coding process.

Example: Question 27

"What are the ways in which you think police services could be improved in this community?"

Some of the responses to this question were:

1. Quicker response time
2. More visibility
3. Police should interact more with the community
4. Better pay
5. Better services
6. None

These six responses were the types of replies most often given by the respondents. As mentioned earlier, general categories were developed based on the actual responses given by respondents. The following is an example of how these categories were developed and recorded in the codebook:

Example: Question 27

Improvement of Police Services: (Variable Name)

More patrol visibility
Faster response time
No need
Better police community relationships
Pay increase
Improve police services

The codebook was organized in a manner which would provide the reader with a visual aid in locating variables and code assignments. The organization of the codebook was outlined in the following manner.

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V159	51(a)	Community Maintenance Program		3/66
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

This organization permitted easy interpretation of the questionnaire and also reduced errors when transferring the data from the questionnaire to the codesheets.

Each variable was assigned a number and a name. A list was developed which identified the following (see Codebook):

Variable Number: The number which is assigned to each variable in the questionnaire.
Question Number: Identifies the question in the questionnaire.
Variable Name: An abbreviation of a question which briefly describes the essence of the question.
Code Number: Identifies the number which is assigned to each response category.
Card/Column Number: Locates the record number and column number of a response on the codesheet.

Another task taken on by the staff during codebook construction was the development of open-ended responses and the number of items which represented the total number of responses given for that question. For any response which the respondent answered, a "1" code was assigned. By the same token, if the respondent did not answer a given response for the same question, a "9" code was assigned [refer to editing for further explanation of missing values]. All open-ended responses required a unique variable number and card/column number.

Example: Question 105

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Activities When Skip School		
V373	105	Hang With Friends	1/9	8/21
V374	"	Neighborhood Streets or Shops	1/9	8/22
V375	"	Hang Downtown	1/9	8/23
V376	"	Hang Out Alone	1/9	8/24
V377	"	Participate in Sports	1/9	8/25
V378	"	Participate in Organized Sports	1/9	8/26
V379	"	Getting High	1/9	8/27
V380	"	Stay Home	1/9	8/28
V381	"	Number Items		8/29

The names of high schools which respondents attended were taken directly from the questionnaire and a list was developed to which numerical codes were assigned (see Codebook pgs. 56,57).

Question 58(a)

"Did you (are you) attend(ing) school here in _____?"

Question 58(b)

"If yes, what is the name of the school?"

Two occupational lists were developed for the following questions:

Question 77 - "Father's Occupation"
Question 79 - "Respondent's Occupation"
Question 99 - "Employment Projection"

The first occupational list which appears in the body of the codebook was taken from the 1970 Census. Codes were assigned to this list based on category type. Each occupation category consisted of a variety of specific occupations which were placed in one broad category. For example, under the category of "Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers," occupations such as accountants, actors, architects, athletes, dancers, dentists, reporters, entertainers, farm and home management advisors, librarians, lawyers, nurses, photographers, radio operators, social workers and teachers were listed. One code was assigned to each occupational category rather than to a specific occupation. Consequently, one code assignment represented a variety of occupation titles which ranged from "professional" to "kindred workers."

Since each category included such inconsistent occupation titles, it was necessary to develop an additional list which allowed for more specific occupations. This list was developed by taking the actual response from the questionnaire and alpabetizing this list. Numerical codes were then assigned to the list (see Codebook pages 58-68).

Example: Question 79

"What is your main occupation?"

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V433	79	Specific Occupation (Respondent)		8/67-69
"	"	Accountant	001	"
"	"	Administrative Assistant	002	"
"	"	Air Conditioner/Heating Repairman	003	"
		..(list continues through)...		
"	"	Pilot/Navigator	203	"
"	"	Professional Athlete	204	"
"	"	Stewardess	205	"

Finally, these occupations were given an occupational

prestige score. The rating scale was developed by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC, 1947; Reiss, et al, 1961). NORC developed a rating of ninety occupations from a national sample of adult and teenage Americans. In 1947, NORC conducted a study of public attitudes regarding the prestige of 90 selected occupations.

The alphabetized occupations were then assigned codes using the NORC prestige scores (see Codebook pages 433-4380.

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V434	79	NORC Scores		8/70-72
"	"	Dentist	099	"
"	"	Doctor	099	"
"	"	Psychologist/Psychiatrist	099	"
"	"	Architect	098	"
"	"	Lawyer	098	"

Once the codebook had been completed, the process of transferring the data from the questionnaire to the codesheets began.

APPENDIX E

Missing Values

All Don't Know and No Answer = "9"
All Not Applicable = "0"
The exception to the above being:
Question #31, variables 87-95.
Question #53, variables 176-182.
Question #54, variables 183-190.
Question #55, variables 191-199.
Where Don't Know = "3"

Don't Know and No Answer code (9) will be defined as any question which is not addressed by the respondent (nothing is circled), or in a multi-variable question (i.e., more than one possible response), where one or two responses are circled. All others are coded as "9".

Not Applicable code ("0") apply when designated by a skip pattern. Those questions where Interviewer/Coder is instructed to skip are coded "0". Two part questions imply a possible skip.

All blank columns are shown as "B".

Q #74-"Family Member Relations"
All "99" will be defined as DK/NA.
Any person 99 years or older will be coded as "98".

NOTE:

Respondent's ID # appears in columns 12-14. Column "15" defines whether respondent is a high schooler or adult, where 1=high school and 2=adult. Exact age of respondent is indicated in card/column 5/52-53.

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V1		Study I.D.	80NIAX003	1/1-9
V2		City I.D.		1/10
		Atlanta	1	
		D.C.	2	
V3		Tract I.D.		1/11
"		Low Income-Low Crime	1	
"		Low Income-High Crime	2	
"		Middle Income-Low Crime	3	
"		Middle Income-High Crime	4	
V4		Respondent I.D.		1/12-14
V5		Crime Rate of Tract		1/15
"		High	1	
"		Low	2	
V6		Income Category of Tract		1/16
"		Middle	1	
"		Low	2	
V7		Age Category of Respondent		1/17
"		Teenage (15-18)	1	
"		Young Adult (19-25)	2	
"		Adult (26-64)	3	
"		Senior (65+)	4	
"		DK/NA	9	
V8	1	Years in City (write out)		1/18-19
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V9	1(b)	Length Present Address		1/20-21
"		DK/NA	99	
V10	2	Prior Address		1/22
"	"	Another Address	1	
"	"	Another Part of Town	2	
"	"	Out of City But in Metro Area	3	
"	"	Outside Metro Area	4	
"	"	Another State	5	
"	"	Another County	6	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V11	2(b)	Length Prior Address		1/23-24
"		DK/NA	99	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V12	3	Community Trouble Makers		1/25
"	"	Not a Problem	1	
"	"	Somewhat a Problem	2	
"	"	Big Problem	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V13	4	Confusion Among Neighbors		1/26
"	"	Not a Problem	1	
"	"	Somewhat a Problem	2	
"	"	Big Problem	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V14	5	Excessive Public Drinking		1/27
"	"	Not a Problem	1	
"	"	Somewhat a Problem	2	
"	"	Big Problem	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V15	6	Insulting Remarks		1/28
"	"	Not a Problem	1	
"	"	Somewhat a Problem	2	
"	"	Big Problem	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V16	7	Bad Elements		1/29
"	"	Not a Problem	1	
"	"	Somewhat a Problem	2	
"	"	Big Problem	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V17	8	Fear of Crime		1/30
"	"	Not a Problem	1	
"	"	Somewhat a Problem	2	
"	"	Big Problem	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V18	9	Trespassing in Yards		1/31
"	"	Not a Problem	1	
"	"	Somewhat a Problem	2	
"	"	Big Problem	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V19	10	People Fighting		1/32
"	"	Not a Problem	1	
"	"	Somewhat a Problem	2	
"	"	Big Problem	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V20	11	Property Damage		1/33
"	"	Not a Problem	1	
"	"	Somewhat a Problem	2	
"	"	Big Problem	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V21	12	Public Drug Usage		1/34
"	"	Not a Problem	1	
"	"	Somewhat a Problem	2	
"	"	Big Problem	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V22	13(a)	Future Police Watch		1/35
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V23	13(b)	Future Mail Postponement		1/36
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V24	13(c)	Future Neighbor Watch		1/37
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V25	13(d)	Future Neighbor Mail Delivery		1/38
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V26	13(e)	Future Neighbor House Check		1/39
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V27	13(f)	Future House Light		1/40
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V28	13(a)	Past Police Watch		1/41
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V29	13(b)	Past Mail Postponement		1/42
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V30	13(c)	Past Neighbor Watch		1/43
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V31	13(d)	Past Neighbor Mail Delivery		1/44
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V32	13(e)	Past Neighbor House Check		1/45
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V33	13(f)	Past House Light		1/46
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V34	14	Frequency of Burglaries		1/47
"	"	Never	1	
"	"	Very Rarely	2	
"	"	Once in Awhile	3	
"	"	Fairly Often	4	
"	"	Repeatedly	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V35	15	Frequency of Robberies		1/48
"	"	Never	1	
"	"	Very Rarely	2	
"	"	Once in Awhile	3	
"	"	Fairly Often	4	
"	"	Repeatedly	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V36	16	Frequency of Assaults		1/49
"	"	Never	1	
"	"	Very Rarely	2	
"	"	Once in Awhile	3	
"	"	Fairly Often	4	
"	"	Repeatedly	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V37	17	U. S. Crime Increase		1/50
"	"	Increased	1	
"	"	Same	2	
"	"	Decreased	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V38	18	Community Crime Increase		1/51
"	"	Increased	1	
"	"	Same	2	
"	"	Decreased	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V39	19	Perpetrators of Community Crime		1/52
"	"	No Crime Happening in Community	1	
"	"	Outsiders	2	
"	"	Equally by Both	3	
"	"	People Living Here	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V40	20	Community Crime Rate		1/53
"	"	Much More Dangerous	1	
"	"	More Dangerous	2	
"	"	About Average	3	
"	"	Less Dangerous	4	
"	"	Much Less Dangerous	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V41	21	Safe Alone During Day		1/54
"	"	Very Safe	1	
"	"	Reasonably Safe	2	
"	"	Somewhat Unsafe	3	
"	"	Very Unsafe	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V42	22	Safe Alone During Night		1/55
"	"	Very Safe	1	
"	"	Reasonably Safe	2	
"	"	Somewhat Unsafe	3	
"	"	Very Unsafe	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V43	23	Community Activity Changes		1/56
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V44	24(a)	Respondent's Activity Changes		1/57
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V45	24(b)	Limit Outside Activity/Association	1/9	1/58
V46	"	Travel With Groups	1/9	1/59
V47	24(b)	More Locks and Lights	1/9	1/60
V48	"	Watch Children More	1/9	1/61
V49	"	Carry Weapons	1/9	1/62
V50	"	No Longer Carry Money	1/9	1/63
V51	"	Number Items (Q-24(b))		1/64
V52	25(a)	Police Service Call		1/65
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Reason for Police Service		
V53	25(b)	Burglary/Theft/Auto	1/9	1/66
V54	"	Robbery	1/9	1/67
V55	"	Illness/Death	1/9	1/68
V56	"	Domestic Dispute/Fighting/ Disorderly Conduct	1/9	1/69
V57	"	Murder	1/9	1/70
V58	"	Rape	1/9	1/71
V59	25(b)	Manslaughter/Accidental Killings	1/9	1/72
V60	"	Kidnaping/Missing Person	1/9	1/73
V61	"	More Patroling/Routine	1/9	1/74
V62	"	Number Items (Q-25(b))		1/75

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V63	25(c)	Opinion of Services		1/76
"	"	Good	1	
"	"	Satisfactory	2	
"	"	Poor	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Blank Column		1/77
V64	26	Police Community Service		1/78
"	"	Police Services Very Poor	1	
"	"	Police Services Poor	2	
"	"	Police Services Average	3	
"	"	Police Services Good	4	
"	"	Police Services Very Good	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Deck Number	01	1/79-80
		Study I. D.	80NIAX003	2/1-9
		City I. D.		2/10
		Atlanta	1	
		D. C.	2	
		Tract I. D.		2/11
		Low Income-Low Crime	1	
		Low Income-High Crime	2	
		Middle Income-Low Crime	3	
		Middle Income-High Crime	4	
		Respondent I. D.		2/12-14
		Crime Rate of Tract		2/15
		High	1	
		Low	2	
		Income Category of Tract		2/16
		Middle	1	
		Low	2	
		Age Category of Respondent		2/17
		Teenage (15-18)	1	
		Young Adult (19-25)	2	
		Adult (26-64)	3	
		Senior (65)	4	
		DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Improvement of Police Services		
V65	27	More Patrol Visibility	1/9	2/18
V66	"	Faster Response Time	1/9	2/19
V67	"	No Need	1/9	2/20
V68	"	Better Police-Community Relationships	1/9	2/21
V69	"	Pay Increase	1/9	2/22
V70	"	Improve Police Services	1/9	2/23
V71	"	Number Items (Q-27)		2/24
V72	28(a)	Police Community Groups		2/25
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Community Police Groups		
V73	28(b)	Boys Club	1/9	2/26
V74	"	4-Cs/Community Clubs	1/9	2/27
V75	"	Community Block Clubs	1/9	2/28
V76	"	Church Clubs	1/9	2/29
V77	"	Number Items (Q-28(b))		2/30
		Blank Columns		2/31-32
V78	29(a)	Police Involvement/Personal Acquaintance		2/33
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Trouble With Police		
V79	29(b)	Immediate Family	1/9	2/34
V80	"	Outside Family	1/9	2/35
V81	"	Friend	1/9	2/36
V82	"	Casual Acquaintance	1/9	2/37
V83	"	Distant Acquaintance	1/9	2/38
V84	"	Neighbor	1/9	2/39
V85	"	Number Items (Q-29(b))		2/40
V86	30	Respondent Trouble With Police		2/41
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V87	31(a)	Police Honesty/Corruption (+)		2/42
"	"	Very Honest	1	
"	"	Somewhat Honest	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Corrupt	4	
"	"	Very Corrupt	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V88	31(b)	Police Good/Bad (-)		2/43
"	"	Very Bad	1	
"	"	Somewhat Bad	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Good	4	
"	"	Very Good	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V89	31(c)	Police Fairness (-)		2/44
"	"	Very Unfair	1	
"	"	Somewhat Unfair	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Fair	4	
"	"	Very Fair	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V90	31(d)	Police Lazy/Hardworking (-)		2/45
"	"	Very Lazy	1	
"	"	Somewhat Lazy	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Hardworking	4	
"	"	Very Hardworking	4	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V91	31(e)	Police Smartness (+)		2/46
"	"	Very Smart	1	
"	"	Somewhat Smart	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Dumb	4	
"	"	Very Dumb	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V92	31(f)	Police Friendliness (+)		2/47
"	"	Very Friendly	1	
"	"	Somewhat Friendly	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Unfriendly	4	
"	"	Very Unfriendly	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V93	31(g)	Police Kindness (+)		2/48
"	"	Very Kind	1	
"	"	Somewhat Kind	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Cruel	4	
"	"	Very Cruel	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V94	31(h)	Police Harsh/Easygoing (-)		2/49
"	"	Very Harsh	1	
"	"	Somewhat Harsh	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Easygoing	4	
"	"	Very Easygoing	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V95	31(i)	Police Toughness (-)		2/50
"	"	Very Tough	1	
"	"	Somewhat Tough	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Softhearted	4	
"	"	Very Softhearted	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V96	32	Community Recreational Facilities		2/51
"	"	None	1	
"	"	Very Few	2	
"	"	A Few	3	
"	"	Quite a Number	4	
"	"	A Whole Lot	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V97	33	Responsible Usage of Recreational Facilities		2/52
"	"	No	1	
"	"	Yes, Once in Awhile	2	
"	"	Yes, Quite Often	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V98	34	Public Health Facilities		2/53
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Public Health Facilities Named		
V99	34(b)	Public Health Clinic	1/9	2/54
V100	"	SCM House (Washington, D.C.)	1/9	2/55
V101	"	Out Reach Clinic/Mental	1/9	2/56
V102	"	Dental Clinic	1/9	2/57
V103	"	Medical Clinic	1/9	2/58
V104	"	Hospital	1/9	2/59
V105	"	Don't Know	1/9	2/60
V106	"	Number Items (Q-34(b))		2/61
		Blank Columns		2/62-63
V107	35	Respondent Usage Public Health		2/64
"	"	No	1	
"	"	Yes, Once in Awhile	2	
"	"	Yes, Quite Often	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V108	36	Opinion of Public Transportation		2/65
"	"	Service Very Poor	1	
"	"	Service Poor	2	
"	"	Service About Average	3	
"	"	Service Good	4	
"	"	Service Very Good	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V109	37	Reliance on Public Transportation		2/66
"	"	Can Get By Without	1	
"	"	Somewhat Dependent	2	
"	"	Quite Dependent	3	
"	"	No Need	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V110	38	Community Boundaries		2/67-68
"	"	City	01	
"	"	Whole Tract	02	
"	"	Section of Town	03	
"	"	Respondent's Block Only	04	
"	"	1-2 Adjoining Streets	05	
"	"	3-4 Adjoining Streets	06	
"	"	Portion of Tract and Outside Boundaries	07	
"	"	Portion of Tract	08	
"	"	Community Outside Respondent's Residence	09	
"	"	Respondent's Street Only	10	
"	"	Whole Tract and Outside Boundaries	11	
"	"	Don't Know	99	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Blank Columns		2/69-70
V111	39	Relatives Inside Community		2/71
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V112	39(b)	Number of Relatives Inside Community (write out number)		2/72-73
V113	40	Visitation With Relatives Outside Community		2/74
"	"	Weekly or More	1	
"	"	Two to Four Times a Month	2	
"	"	One to Two Times a Month	3	
"	"	A Few Times a Year	4	
"	"	Perhaps Once a Year	5	
"	"	Rarely	6	
"	"	Never	7	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V114	41(a)	Contact Out of Town Relatives		2/75
"	"	Weekly or More	1	
"	"	Two to Four Times a Month	2	
"	"	One to Two Times a Month	3	
"	"	A Few Times a Year	4	
"	"	Perhaps Once a Year	5	
"	"	Rarely	6	
"	"	Never	7	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V115	41(b)	Occasions		2/76-77
"	"	No Special Occasion	01	
"	"	Holiday	02	
"	"	Re-Union	03	
"	"	Vacation	04	
"	"	Illness/Funerals	05	
"	"	Any Occasion	06	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V116	42(a)	Close Friends in Community		2/78
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Deck Number	02	2/79-80

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Study I. D.	80NIAX003	3/1-9
		City I. D.		3/10
		Atlanta	1	
		D. C.	2	
		Tract I. D.		3/11
		Low Income-Low Crime	1	
		Low Income-High Crime	2	
		Middle Income-Low Crime	3	
		Middle Income-High Crime	4	
		Respondent I. D.		3/12-14
		Crime Rate of Tract		3/15
		High	1	
		Low	2	
		Income Category of Tract		3/16
		Middle	1	
		Low	2	
		Age Category of Respondent		3/17
		Teenage (15-18)	1	
		Young Adult (19-25)	2	
		Adult (26-64)	3	
		Senior (65)	4	
		DK/NA	9	
V117	42(b)	Close Friends Outside Community		3/18
"	"	In a Nearby Community	1	
"	"	In Another Part of Town	2	
"	"	Out of City	3	
"	"	Another City	4	
"	"	Out of State	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V118	43	Work in Community		3/19
"	"	Worked in This Community	1	
"	"	Worked in Another Section of Town	2	
"	"	Worked Outside City	3	
"	"	Never Worked/Unemployed/Retired	4	
"	"	Traveled	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Leader in Community		
V119	44	Political/Religious Official	1/9	3/20
V120	"	Neighbor	1/9	3/21
V121	"	Respondent	1/9	3/22
V122	"	Relative	1/9	3/23
V123	"	No One	1/9	3/24
V124	"	Number Items (Q-44)		3/25
		Blank Columns		3/26-29
V125	45	Contacted City Officials		3/30
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V126	46(a)	Name/Postion City Official		3/31
"	"	Councilman	1	
"	"	Mayor	2	
"	"	Someone in Mayor's Office	3	
"	"	Department Official (such as Housing, Planning, etc.)	4	
"	"	Police/Fire	5	
"	"	Someone From Judiciary (attorney, court, etc.)	6	
"	"	Social Service/Welfare	7	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Reason for Contact of City Official		
V127	46(b)	Employment/Money	1/9	3/32
V128	"	Neighborhood Problem	1/9	3/33
V129	"	Maintenance/Repair	1/9	3/34
V130	"	Crime Problem	1/9	3/35
V131	"	Sanitation	1/9	3/36
V132	"	Transportation	1/9	3/37
V133	"	Health	1/9	3/38
V134	"	Number Items (Q-46b)		3/39
		Blank Columns		3/40

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Reason for No Contact of City Officials		
V135	47	No Need	1/9	3/41
V136	"	None of Official's Business	1/9	3/42
V137	"	More Hassel and Runaround	1/9	3/43
V138	"	Didn't Know Who to Contact or What to Say	1/9	3/44
V139	"	Problem Not Too Severe	1/9	3/45
V140	"	Help From Neighbor/Relative	1/9	3/46
V141	"	Number Items (Q-47)		3/47
V142	48(a)	Contact With Private Agency		3/48
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Name of Private Agency		
V143	49	Legal Business	1/9	3/49
V144	"	EOA Summer Employment	1/9	3/50
V145	"	Landlord	1/9	3/51
V146	"	Television Station	1/9	3/52
V147	"	Bank	1/9	3/53
V148	"	Utility Company/MARTA	1/9	3/54
V149	"	City/County Agency	1/9	3/55
V150	"	Can't Remember	1/9	3/56
V151	"	Number Items (Q-49)		3/57
		Blank Columns		3/58
		Reason for Non-Contact of Agency		
V152	50	Didn't Know Any	1/9	3/59
V153	"	No Need	1/9	3/60
V154	"	Get Run Around	1/9	3/61
V155	"	Criminal Record	1/9	3/62
V156	"	Didn't Realize Agency Capability/Concern	1/9	3/63
V157	"	Didn't Know Who to Contact	1/9	3/64
V158	"	Number Items (Q-50)		3/65
V159	51(a)	Community Maintenance Programs		3/66
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V160	51(b)	Usage of Community Maintenance		3/67
"	"	No	1	
"	"	Yes	2	
"	"	Yes, Once in Awhile	3	
"	"	Yes, Quite Often	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V161	52	Club Affiliation		3/68
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Kinds of Organizational Affiliation		
V162	52(b)	Sports Club	1/9	3/69
V163	"	Recreational Group/Social	1/9	3/70
V164	"	Youth Organization	1/9	3/71
V165	"	Political Group	1/9	3/72
V166	"	Trade Union	1/9	3/73
V167	"	Professional Association	1/9	3/74
V168	"	Cooperative	1/9	3/75
V169	"	PTA	1/9	3/76
V170	"	Fraternity/Sorority	1/9	3/77
V171	"	Civil Rights	1/9	3/78
		Deck Number	03	3/79-80
		Study I.D.	80NIAX003	4/1-9
		City I. D.		4/10
		Atlanta	1	
		D. C.	2	
		Tract I. D.		4/11
		Low Income-Low Crime	1	
		Low Income-High Crime	2	
		Middle Income-Low Crime	3	
		Middle Income-High Crime	4	
		Respondent I. D.		4/12-14
		Crime Rate of Tract		4/15
		High	1	
		Low	2	
		Income Category of Tract		4/16
		Middle	1	
		Low	2	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Age Category of Respondent		4/17
		Teenager (15-18)	1	
		Young Adult (19-25)	2	
		Adult (26-64)	3	
		Senior (65+)	4	
		Kinds of Organizational Affiliation (continued)		
V172	52(b)	Neighborhood/Church	1/9	4/18
V173	"	Health	1/9	4/19
V174	"	School Organizations	1/9	4/20
V175	"	Number Items (Q-52(b))		4/21
		Crime Definitions		
V176	53(a)	Angry Black Arsonists (+)		4/22
"	"	Quite Right	1	
"	"	Somewhat Right	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Wrong	4	
"	"	Quite Wrong	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V177	53(b)	Unemployed Hold-Up Man (-)		4/23
"	"	Quite Wrong	1	
"	"	Somewhat Wrong	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Right	4	
"	"	Quite Right	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V178	53(c)	Intimidated Black/White Killing (-)		4/24
"	"	Quite Wrong	1	
"	"	Somewhat Wrong	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Right	4	
"	"	Quite Right	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V179	53(d)	Hot Merchandise (+)		4/25
"	"	Quite Right	1	
"	"	Somewhat Right	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Wrong	4	
"	"	Quite Wrong	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V180	53(e)	Destitute Prostitute (+)		4/26
"	"	Quite Right	1	
"	"	Somewhat Right	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Wrong	4	
"	"	Quite Wrong	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V181	53(f)	Prisoner Uprising (+)		4/27
"	"	Quite Right	1	
"	"	Somewhat Right	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Wrong	4	
"	"	Quite Wrong	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V182	53(g)	Bank Book Fixer (+)		4/28
"	"	Quite Right	1	
"	"	Somewhat Right	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Somewhat Wrong	4	
"	"	Quite Wrong	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
		Attitude Measurement		
V183	54(a)	Interpersonal Dependence (+)		4/29
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V184	54(b)	Success/Luck or Ability (-)		4/30
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagre	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V185	54(c)	Negative Future Perspective (-)		4/31
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V186	54(d)	Interpersonal Mistrust (-)		4/32
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V187	54(e)	Dismal Outlook for Black Children (-)		4/33
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V188	54(f)	Misconception of Black Situation (-)		4/34
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V189	54(g)	Disinterested Public Officials (-)		4/35
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V190	54(h)	Raising Poor Standard of Living (-)		4/36
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Self Evaluation		
V191	55(a)	Feelings of Self Worth (+)		4/37
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V192	55(b)	Personal Good Qualities (+)		4/38
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V193	55(c)	Personal Failure (-)		4/39
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V194	55(d)	Self Confidence (+)		4/40
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V195	55(e)	Lack of Self Pride (-)		4/41
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V196	55(f)	Positive Attitude (+)		4/42
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V197	55(g)	Self Satisfaction (+)		4/43
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V198	55(h)	Feelings of Uselessness (-)		4/44
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	
V199	55(i)	Low Self Esteem (-)		4/45
"	"	Strongly Agree	1	
"	"	Agree	2	
"	"	No Opinion	3	
"	"	Disagree	4	
"	"	Strongly Disagree	5	
"	"	DK/NA	3	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V200	56	Amount of Schooling		4/46-47
"	"	Still Enrolled in High School	01	
"	"	Dropped Out of Grade School	02	
"	"	Completed Grade School Only	03	
"	"	Dropped Out of High School	04	
"	"	Graduated From High School But Received No Additional Education	05	
"	"	Graduated From High School and Had Vocational Training	06	
"	"	Had Vocational Training But Did Not Graduate From High School	07	
"	"	Completed Zero to Two Years College	08	
"	"	Completed Two or Three Years College	09	
"	"	Graduated From College	10	
"	"	Graduate or Professional Training	11	
"	"	Obtained GED	12	
"	"	Never Attended School	13	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
		Reason for High School Drop Out		
V201	57	Employment/Child Support	1/9	4/48
V202	"	Teenage Pregnancy	1/9	4/49
V203	"	Family Support/Marriage	1/9	4/50
V204	"	Too Far Away	1/9	4/51
V205	"	Poor Grades	1/9	4/52
V206	"	Accompany Friends	1/9	4/53
V207	"	Uncaring Teachers	1/9	4/54
V208	"	Bored	1/9	4/55
V209	"	Poor Adjustment	1/9	4/56
V210	"	Could Not Afford	1/9	4/57
V211	"	Trouble With Police	1/9	4/58
V212	"	Expelled	1/9	4/59
V213	"	Lack of Counseling	1/9	4/60
V214	"	Health Reasons/Death	1/9	4/61
V215	"	Number Items (Q-57)		4/62-63
V216	58	City of School		4/64
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V217	58(b)	Name of School (See Appendix)		4/65-66
V218	58(c)	Private or Public School		4/67
"	"	Public	1	
"	"	Private	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V219	59	Racial Make-Up		4/68
"	"	All Black	1	
"	"	More Than Half Black	2	
"	"	About Even Between Blacks and Whites	3	
"	"	Mostly Whites	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V220	60	Racial Discrimination		4/69
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Differential Treatment of Whites		
V221	61	More Respect	1/9	4/70
V222	"	Leniency From Principal	1/9	4/71
V223	"	More Privileges	1/9	4/72
V224	"	Better Grades	1/9	4/73
V225	"	More Teacher Attention	1/9	4/74
V226	"	More Counselor Attention	1/9	4/75
V227	"	More Coach Attention	1/9	4/76
V228	"	Treated Worse	1/9	4/77
V229	"	Not Expelled as Often	1/9	4/78
		Deck Number	04	4/79-80
		Study I. D.	80NIAX003	5/1-9
		City I. D.		5/10
		Atlanta	1	
		D. C.	2	
		Tract I. D.		5/11
		Low Income-Low Crime	1	
		Low Income-High Crime	2	
		Middle Income-Low Crime	3	
		Middle Income-High Crime	4	
		Respondent I. D.		5/12-14
		Crime Rate of Tract		5/15
		High	1	
		Low	2	
		Income Category of Trace		5/16
		Middle	1	
		Low	2	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Age Category of Respondent		5/17
		Teenager (15-18)	1	
		Young Adult (19-25)	2	
		Adult (26-64)	3	
		Senior (65+)	4	
V230	61	Better Lunches	1/9	5/18
V231	"	Number of Items (Q-61)		5/19-20
V232	62	Fondness of School		5/21
"	"	Very Much	1	
"	"	Somewhat	2	
"	"	Not Too Much	3	
"	"	Not At All: I Hated It	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V233	63(a)	Awareness of Financial Assistance		5/22
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Types of Financial Assistance		
V234	63(b)	Cooperative Vocational Program	1/9	5/23
V235	"	Scholarship	1/9	5/24
V236	"	CETA	1/9	5/25
V237	"	Educational Opportunity Grant	1/9	5/26
V238	"	College Work-Study	1/9	5/27
V239	"	Guaranteed Student Loan Program	1/9	5/28
V240	"	Federal Government Loan	1/9	5/29
V241	"	Federal Benefits	1/9	5/30
V242	"	Source Unknown	1/9	5/31
V243	"	Number Items (Q-63(b))	1/9	5/32
V244	64	Discussion of Job Plans		5/33
"	"	Never	1	
"	"	Once	2	
"	"	Two or Three Times	3	
"	"	Four or Five Times	4	
"	"	Six or More Times	5	
"	"	Our Counselors Meet With Groups	6	
"	"	Did Not Have Guidance Counselor	7	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

SKIP TO QUESTION #66

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V245	66	Marital Status		5/34
"	"	Single (Under 18-years-old)	1	
"	"	Single (19 and over)	2	
"	"	Married	3	
"	"	Separated	4	
"	"	Divorced	5	
"	"	Widowed	6	
"	"	Living Together	7	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V246	67	Number of Children (write out)		5/35-36
V247	68(a)	Religion Reared		5/37-38
"	"	Baptist	01	
"	"	Protestant	02	
"	"	Holiness/Sanctified	03	
"	"	Hebrew	04	
"	"	African Methodist Episcopalian (AME)	05	
"	"	Muslim	06	
"	"	Methodist	07	
"	"	Catholic	08	
"	"	Pentecostal	09	
"	"	Jehovah's Witness	10	
"	"	Episcopalian	11	
"	"	Seventh Day Adventist	12	
"	"	Lutheran	13	
"	"	Christian	14	
"	"	Non-Denominational	15	
"	"	None	16	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V248	68(b)	Present Religion		5/39
"	"	Identify With Same Religion	1	
"	"	Converted to Another	2	
"	"	No Longer Identify With Any Religion	3	
"	"	Atheist	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V249	69	Religious Service Attendance		5/40
"	"	Once a Week or More	1	
"	"	Two or Three Times a Month	2	
"	"	Once a Month	3	
"	"	A Few Times a Year or Less	4	
"	"	Never	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V250	70(a)	Participation in Church Activities		5/41
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Kind of Activity		
V251	70(b)	Prayer Meetings	1/9	5/42
V252	"	Auxillary/Missionaries	1/9	5/43
V253	"	Trips/Games	1/9	5/44
V254	"	Teacher	1/9	5/45
V255	"	Church Officers	1/9	5/46
V256	"	Number Items (Q-70(b))		5/47
		Blank Column		5/48
V257	71	Relatives of Same Religion		5/49
"	"	All of Them	1	
"	"	Nearly All of Them	2	
"	"	More Than Half of Them	3	
"	"	Less Than Half of Them	4	
"	"	None of Them	5	
"	"	Don't Identify With Any Religion	6	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V258	72	Friends of Same Religion		5/50
"	"	All of Them	1	
"	"	Nearly All of Them	2	
"	"	More Than Half of Them	3	
"	"	Less Than Half of Them	4	
"	"	None of Them	5	
"	"	Don't Identify With Any Religion	6	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V259	73	Racial Group		5/51
"	"	Oriental	1	
"	"	American Indian	2	
"	"	Spanish (Surnamed American or Cuban, Mexican or Puerto Rican descent)	3	
"	"	Mexican or Puerto Rican descent		
"	"	Black (Afro American)	4	
"	"	Black (West Indian or Carribean descent)	5	
"	"	Black (African)	6	
"	"	None of These	7	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V260	74	Respondent Age (write out)		5/52-53
"	"	DK/NA	99	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V261	"	Respondent's Sex		5/54
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V262	"	Family Member Age - No. 2 (write out)		5/55-56
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V263	"	Family Member Sex		5/57
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V264	"	Family Member Relation - No. 2		5/58-59
"	"	Father/Husband	01	
"	"	Mother/Wife	02	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	03	
"	"	Brother/Son	04	
"	"	Uncle	05	
"	"	Aunt	06	
"	"	Cousins	07	
"	"	Niece	08	
"	"	Nephew	09	
"	"	Grandfather	10	
"	"	Grandmother	11	
"	"	Male-in-Law	12	
"	"	Female-in-Law	13	
"	"	Male Friend	14	
"	"	Female Friend	15	
"	"	Roommate	16	
"	"	Grandson	17	
"	"	Granddaughter	18	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V265	"	Family Member Age - No. 3 (write out)		5/60-61
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V266	"	Family Member Sex - No. 3		5/62
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V267	74	Family Member Relation - No. 3		5/63-64
"	"	Father/Husband	01	
"	"	Mother/Wife	02	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	03	
"	"	Brother/Son	04	
"	"	Uncle	05	
"	"	Aunt	06	
"	"	Cousins	07	
"	"	Niece	08	
"	"	Nephew	09	
"	"	Grandfather	10	
"	"	Grandmother	11	
"	"	Male-in-Law	12	
"	"	Female-in-Law	13	
"	"	Female Friend	14	
"	"	Male Friend	15	
"	"	Roommate	16	
"	"	Grandson	17	
"	"	Granddaughter	18	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V268	"	Family Member Age - No. 4 (write out)		5/65-66
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V269	"	Family Member Sex - No. 4		5/67
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V270	74	Family Member Relation - No. 4		5/68-69
"	"	Father/Husband	01	
"	"	Mother/Wife	02	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	03	
"	"	Brother/Son	04	
"	"	Uncle	05	
"	"	Aunt	06	
"	"	Cousins	07	
"	"	Niece	08	
"	"	Nephew	09	
"	"	Grandfather	10	
"	"	Grandmother	11	
"	"	Male-in-Law	12	
"	"	Female-in-Law	13	
"	"	Female Friend	14	
"	"	Male Friend	15	
"	"	Roommate	16	
"	"	Grandson	17	
"	"	Granddaughter	18	
"	"	DK/NA	19	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V271	74	Family Member Age - No. 5 (write out)		5/70-71
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V272	"	Family Member Sex - No. 5		5/72
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V273	"	Family Member Relation		5/73-74
"	"	Father/Husband	01	
"	"	Mother/Wife	02	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	03	
"	"	Brother/Son	04	
"	"	Uncle	05	
"	"	Aunt	06	
"	"	Cousins	07	
"	"	Niece	08	
"	"	Nephew	09	
"	"	Grandfather	10	
"	"	Grandmother	11	
"	"	Male-in-Law	12	
"	"	Female-in-Law	13	
"	"	Female Friend	14	
"	"	Male Friend	15	
"	"	Roommate	16	
"	"	Grandson	17	
"	"	Granddaughter	18	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V274	"	Family Member Age - No. 6 (write out)		5/75-76
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V275	"	Family Member Age - No. 6		5/77
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Blank Column		5/78
		Deck Number	05	5/79-80
		Study I. D.	80NIAX003	6/1-9
		City I. D.		6/10
		Atlanta	1	
		D. C.	2	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Tract I. D.		6/11
		Low Income-Low Crime	1	
		Low Income-High Crime	2	
		Middle Income-Low Crime	3	
		Middle Income-High Crime	4	
		Respondent I. D.		6/12-14
		High	1	
		Low	2	
		Income Category of Tract		6/16
		Middle	1	
		Low	2	
		Age Category of Respondent		6/17
		Teenager (15-18)	1	
		Young Adult (19-25)	2	
		Adult (26-64)	3	
		Senior (65+)	4	
V276	74	Family Member Relation - No. 6		6/18-19
"	"	Father/Husband	01	
"	"	Mother/Wife	02	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	03	
"	"	Brother/Son	04	
"	"	Uncle	05	
"	"	Aunt	06	
"	"	Cousins	07	
"	"	Niece	08	
"	"	Nephew	09	
"	"	Grandfather	10	
"	"	Grandmother	11	
"	"	Male-in-Law	12	
"	"	Female-in-Law	13	
"	"	Female Friend	14	
"	"	Male Friend	15	
"	"	Roommate	16	
"	"	Grandson	17	
"	"	Granddaughter	18	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V277	"	Family Member Age - No. 7 (write out)		6/20-21
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V278	"	Family Member Sex - No. 7		6/22
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V279	74	Family Member Relation - No. 7		6/23-24
"	"	Father/Husband	01	
"	"	Mother/Wife	02	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	03	
"	"	Brother/Son	04	
"	"	Uncle	05	
"	"	Aunt	06	
"	"	Cousins	07	
"	"	Niece	08	
"	"	Nephew	09	
"	"	Grandfather	10	
"	"	Grandmother	11	
"	"	Male-in-Law	12	
"	"	Female-in-Law	13	
"	"	Female Friend	14	
"	"	Male Friend	15	
"	"	Roommate	16	
"	"	Grandson	17	
"	"	Granddaughter	18	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V280	"	Family Member Age - No. 8 (write out)		6/25-26
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V281	"	Family Member Sex - No. 8		6/27
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V282	"	Family Member Relation - No. 8		6/28-29
"	"	Father/Husband	01	
"	"	Mother/Wife	02	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	03	
"	"	Brother/Son	04	
"	"	Uncle	05	
"	"	Aunt	06	
"	"	Cousins	07	
"	"	Niece	08	
"	"	Nephew	09	
"	"	Grandfather	10	
"	"	Grandmother	11	
"	"	Male-in-Law	12	
"	"	Female-in-Law	13	
"	"	Female Friend	14	
"	"	Male Friend	15	
"	"	Roomate	16	
"	"	Grandson	17	
"	"	Granddaughter	18	
"	"	DK/NA	99	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V283	74	Family Member Age - No. 9		6/30-31
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V284	"	Family Member Sex - No. 9		6/32
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V285	"	Family Member Relation - No. 9		6/33-34
"	"	Father/Husband	01	
"	"	Mother/Wife	02	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	03	
"	"	Brother/Son	04	
"	"	Uncle	05	
"	"	Aunt	06	
"	"	Cousins	07	
"	"	Niece	08	
"	"	Nephew	09	
"	"	Grandfather	10	
"	"	Grandmother	11	
"	"	Male-in-Law	12	
"	"	Female-in-Law	13	
"	"	Female Friend	14	
"	"	Male Friend	15	
"	"	Roommate	16	
"	"	Grandson	17	
"	"	Granddaughter	18	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V286	"	Family Member Age - No. 10		6/35-36
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V287	"	Family Member Sex - No. 10		6/37
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V288	74	Family Member Relation - No. 10		6/38-39
"	"	Father/Husband	01	
"	"	Mother/Wife	02	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	03	
"	"	Brother/Son	04	
"	"	Uncle	05	
"	"	Aunt	06	
"	"	Cousins	07	
"	"	Niece	08	
"	"	Nephew	09	
"	"	Grandfather	10	
"	"	Grandmother	11	
"	"	Male-in-Law	12	
"	"	Female-in-Law	13	
"	"	Female Friend	14	
"	"	Male Friend	15	
"	"	Roommate	16	
"	"	Grandson	17	
"	"	Granddaughter	18	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V289	"	Family Member Age - No. 11 (write out)		6/40-41
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V290	"	Family Member Sex - No. 11		6/42
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V291	"	Family Member Relation - No. 11		6/43-44
"	"	Father/Husband	01	
"	"	Mother/Wife	02	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	03	
"	"	Brother/Son	04	
"	"	Uncle	05	
"	"	Aunt	06	
"	"	Cousins	07	
"	"	Niece	08	
"	"	Nephew	09	
"	"	Grandfather	10	
"	"	Grandmother	11	
"	"	Male-in-Law	12	
"	"	Female-in-Law	13	
"	"	Female Friend	14	
"	"	Male Friend	15	
"	"	Roommate	16	
"	"	Grandson	17	
"	"	Granddaughter	18	
"	"	DK/NA	99	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V292	74	Family Member Age - No. 12 (write out)		6/45-46
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V293	"	Family Member Sex - No. 12		6/47
"	"	Male	1	
"	"	Female	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V294	"	Family Member Relation - No. 12		6/48-49
"	"	Father/Husband	01	
"	"	Mother/Wife	02	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	03	
"	"	Brother/Son	04	
"	"	Uncle	05	
"	"	Aunt	06	
"	"	Cousins	07	
"	"	Niece	08	
"	"	Nephew	09	
"	"	Grandfather	10	
"	"	Grandmother	11	
"	"	Male-in-Law	12	
"	"	Female-in-Law	13	
"	"	Female Friend	14	
"	"	Male Friend	15	
"	"	Roommate	16	
"	"	Grandson	17	
"	"	Granddaughter	18	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V295	74(a)	Total Number in Household (write out)		6/50-51
		DK/NA	99	
V296	74(b)	Number of Male Adults (write out)		6/52-53
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V297	74(c)	Number of Female Adults (write out)		6/54-55
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V298	74(d)	Number of Male Children (write out)		6/56-57
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V299	74(e)	Number of Female Children (write out)		6/58-59
"	"	DK/NA	99	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V300	75	Head of Household		6/60
"	"	Father/Husband/Male	1	
"	"	Mother/Wife/Female	2	
"	"	Grandfather	3	
"	"	Sister/Daughter	4	
"	"	Brother/Son	5	
"	"	Uncle	6	
"	"	Grandmother	7	
"	"	Aunt	8	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V301	76	Status of Home Ownership		6/61
"	"	Rent	1	
"	"	Own	2	
"	"	Free	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V302	77*	Father's Occupation		6/62-63
"	"	Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	01	
"	"	Accountants		
"	"	Actors/Actresses		
"	"	Airplane Pilots and Navigators		
"	"	Architects		
"	"	Artists and Art Teachers		
"	"	Atheletes		
"	"	Authors		
"	"	Chemists		
"	"	Chiropractors		
"	"	Clergymen		
"	"	College Presidents, Professors and Instructors		
"	"	Dancers and Dancing Teachers		
"	"	Dentists		
"	"	Designers		
"	"	Dieticians and Nutritionists		
"	"	Draftsmen		
"	"	Editors and Reporters		
"	"	Engineers, Technical		
"	"	Entertainers		
"	"	Farm and Home Management Advisors		
"	"	Foresters and Conservationists		
"	"	Funeral Directors and Embalmers		
"	"	Lawyers and Judges		

* Also see V433, Appendix II, for specific occupation 8/67-69
* Also see V434, Appendix II, for NORC scores 8/70-72

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V302	77	Librarians	01	6/62-63
"	"	Musicians and Music Teachers		
"	"	Natural Scientists		
"	"	Nurses		
"	"	Optometrists and Osteopaths		
"	"	Personnel and Labor Relations Workers		
"	"	Pharmacists		
"	"	Photographers		
"	"	Physicians and Surgeons		
"	"	Radio Operators		
"	"	Recreation and Group Workers		
"	"	Social and Welfare Workers		
"	"	Sports Instructors and Officials		
"	"	Surveyors		
"	"	Teachers		
"	"	Technicians, Testing		
"	"	Therapists, Healers		
"	"	Veterinarians		
"	"	Farmers	02	
"	"	Managers, Officials and Proprietors (except farm)	03	
"	"	Buyers and Department Store Heads		
"	"	Buyers and Shippers, Farm Products		
"	"	Conductors, Railroad		
"	"	Credit Men		
"	"	Floormen and Floor Managers		
"	"	Inspectors, Public Administrators (federal, state and local)		
"	"	Managers and Superintendents (building)		
"	"	Officers, Pilots, Pursers and Engineers, Ship Officials, Lodge, Society, Union		
"	"	Postmasters		
"	"	Purchasing Agents, Buyers		
"	"	Managers, Officials and Proprietors (salaried construction, manufacturing, transportation)		
"	"	Telecommunications, Utilities and Sanitary Services		
"	"	Wholesale Trade		
"	"	Retail Trade (food, 5 & 10 stores, apparel stores, furniture, motor vehicle, accessories, gas stations, eating and drinking places, hardware, and building materials)		
"	"	Banking and Other Finance		
"	"	Insurance and Real Estate		

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V302	77	Business Services	03	6/62-63
"	"	Automobile Repair Services and Garages		
"	"	Miscellaneous Repair Services		
"	"	Personal Services		
"	"	All Other Services		
"	"	Self-Employed People (construction, manufacturing, transportation, telecommunications, sanitary services)		
"	"	Retail Trade		
"	"	Clerical and Kindred Workers	04	
"	"	Agents		
"	"	Attendants (Physician and Dental)		
"	"	Baggagemen, Transportation		
"	"	Bank Tellers		
"	"	Cashiers		
"	"	Collectors, Bills and Accounts		
"	"	Dispatchers and Starters, Vehicle		
"	"	Express Messengers and Railway Mail		
"	"	Clerks		
"	"	Mail Carriers		
"	"	Messengers and Office Boys		
"	"	Office and Machine Operators		
"	"	Shipping and Receiving Clerks/Stock		
"	"	Stenographers, Typists and Secretaries		
"	"	Telegraph Messengers		
"	"	Telegraph Operators		
"	"	Telephone Operators		
"	"	Ticket and Station and Express Agents		
"	"	Sales Workers	05	
"	"	Advertising Agents and Salesmen		
"	"	Auctioneers		
"	"	Demonstrators		
"	"	Hucksters and Peddlers		
"	"	Insurance Agents and Brokers		
"	"	Newsboys		
"	"	Real Estate Agents and Brokers		
"	"	Stock and Bond Salesmen		
"	"	Salesmen and Sales Clerks (manufacturing, wholesale trade and other industries)		
"	"	Craftsmen, Foreman and Kindred Workers	06	
"	"	Bakers/Butchers		
"	"	Blacksmiths		
"	"	Boilermakers		
"	"	Bookmakers		

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V302	77	Brick Masons, Stone Masons and Tilesetters	06	6/62-63
"	"	Cabinet Makers		
"	"	Carpenters		
"	"	Cement and Concrete Finishers		
"	"	Compositors and Typesetters		
"	"	Cranesmen, Derrickmen and Hoistmen		
"	"	Decorators and Window Dressers		
"	"	Electricians		
"	"	Electrotypes and Sterotypers		
"	"	Engravers (except photoengravers)		
"	"	Excavating, Grading and Road Machinery Operators		
"	"	Foremen (construction, manufacturing, railroad and transportation)		
"	"	Forgemen and Hammermen		
"	"	Furriers		
"	"	Glaziers		
"	"	Heat Treators, Annealers and Temperers		
"	"	Inspectors (scalers and graders, log and lumber, construction, railroads, transportation and communication)		
"	"	Jewelers, Watch Makers, Goldsmiths and Silversmiths)		
"	"	Job Setters Metal		
"	"	Linemen, Servicemen		
"	"	Locomotive Engineers and Firemen		
"	"	Loom Fixers		
"	"	Machinists		
"	"	Mechanics and Repairmen (airplane, automotive office machinery, radio and TV)		
"	"	Millers (grain, flour, feed, etc.)		
"	"	Millwrights		
"	"	Molders, Metal		
"	"	Motion Picture Projectionists		
"	"	Opticians, Lens Grinders, Polishers		
"	"	Painters, Construction and Maintenance		
"	"	Paper Hangers		
"	"	Pattern and Model Makers (except paper)		
"	"	Photoengravers and Lithographers		
"	"	Piano and Organ Tuners and Repairmen		
"	"	Plasterers		
"	"	Plumbers and Steamfitters		
"	"	Pressmen and Plate Printers (printing		
"	"	Rollers and Slaters		
"	"	Shoemakers and Repairers		
"	"	Stationary Engineers		
"	"	Stone-Cutters and Carvers		
"	"	Structural Metal Workers		

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V302	77	Tailors and Tailoresses	06	6/62-63
"	"	Tinsmiths, Coppersmiths and Sheet Metal Workers		
"	"	Toolmakers and Die Makers and Setters		
"	"	Upholsterers		
"	"	Craftsmen		
"	"	Member of Armed Forces		
"	"	Operatives and Kindred Workers	07	
"	"	Apprentices (auto mechanics, bricklayers, carpenters and electricians)		
"	"	Asbestos and Insulation Workers		
"	"	Attendants (auto service and parking)		
"	"	Blasters and Powdermen		
"	"	Boatmen, Canalmen and Lockkeepers		
"	"	Brakemen (railroad)		
"	"	Bus Drivers/Cab Drivers/Truck Drivers		
"	"	Chainmen, Rodmen, Axmen, Surveying		
"	"	Conductors, Bus and Street Railway		
"	"	Deliverymen and Routemen		
"	"	Dressmakers and Seamstresses (except factory)		
"	"	Dyers		
"	"	Filers, Nut and Vegetable Graters and Packers		
"	"	Furnacemen, Smeltermen and Pourers		
"	"	Heaters (metal)		
"	"	Laundry and Dry Cleaning Operators		
"	"	Meat Cutters		
"	"	Milliners		
"	"	Mine Operatives and Laborers (coal, crude and oil)		
"	"	Motormen (mine, factory and logging camp)		
"	"	Motormen (street, subway and elevated railway)		
"	"	Oilers and Greasers (except auto)		
"	"	Painters (except construction		
"	"	Photographic Process Workers		
"	"	Power Station Operators		
"	"	Sailors and Deck Hands		
"	"	Sawyers		
"	"	Spinners, Textile Workers		
"	"	Manufacture Workers of Durable Goods and Non-durable Goods		
"	"	Private Household Workers	08	
"	"	Housekeepers, private household (living in and out)		

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V302	77	Laundresses, private household (living in and out)	08	
"	"	Private Household Workers (living in and out)		
"	"	Service Workers (except private household)	09	
"	"	Attendants (hospital and other institutions, professional and personal service, recreation and amusement)		
"	"	Barbers, Beauticians and Manicurists		
"	"	Bartenders		
"	"	Boarding and Lodging House Keepers		
"	"	Boothblacks		
"	"	Charwomen and Cleaners		
"	"	Cooks (except private household)		
"	"	Counter and Fountain Workers		
"	"	Elevator Operators		
"	"	Firemen		
"	"	Grasscutters		
"	"	Guards, Watchmen and Doorkeepers		
"	"	Housekeepers and Stewards (except private household)		
"	"	Janitors and Sextons		
"	"	Midwives		
"	"	Policemen and Detectives (government and private)		
"	"	Porters		
"	"	Practical Nurses		
"	"	Sheriffs, Bailiffs		
"	"	Ushers (recreation and amusement)		
"	"	Waiters and Waitresses		
"	"	Watchmen (crossing) and Bridge Tenders		
"	"	Farm Laborers and Foremen	10	
"	"	Farm Foremen		
"	"	Farm Laborers, Wage Workers		
"	"	Farm Laborers, Unpaid Family Workers		
"	"	Farm Service Workers, Self-Employed		
"	"	Laborers (except farm and mine)	11	
"	"	Manufacturing (durable goods) (saw mills, wood products, furniture and fixtures, stone and clay and glass products, and pottery related products)		
"	"	Metal Industry (steel works, blast furnaces, primary iron and steel industry)		

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V302	77	Machinery (agricultural tractors, office, store machinery and devices, electrical machinery)	11	6/62-63
"	"	Transport Equipment (motor vehicles and aircraft)		
"	"	Professional, Photographic and Watches		
"	"	Manufacturing (non-durable goods) (food manufacturers, tobacco, textile mill products, carpets, rugs, etc., apparel, paper and allied products, paperboard mills, containers, boxes, chemical drugs, etc., paints and varnishes, etc., rubber products, leather and leather products, non-manufacturing industries, construction, railroads, transportation, telecommunication, wholesale and retail trade, business and repair service, personal services, public administration and all other services)		
"	"	Student	12	6/64-65
"	"	Unemployed/Never Worked	13	
"	"	Retired	14	
"	"	Housewife	15	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V303	78	Education of Father		6/64-65
"	"	Father Never Attended School	01	
"	"	Grade School Education Only	02	
"	"	Dropped Out of High School	03	
"	"	Graduated From High School But Received No Additional Education	04	
"	"	Graduated From High School And Had Vocational Training	05	
"	"	Had Vocational Training But Did Not Graduate From High School	06	
"	"	Completed One to Two Years of College	07	
"	"	Completed Two to Three Years of College	08	
"	"	Graduated From College	09	
"	"	Graduate or Professional Training	10	
"	"	DK/NA	99	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V304	79*	Respondent's Main Occupation (See V302)		6/66-67
V305	80	Employment Status		6/68
"	"	No (unemployed)	1	
"	"	Yes, occasional part-time	2	
"	"	Yes, reguar part-time	3	
"	"	Yes, full-time	4	
"	"	Retired	5	
"	"	Disabled	6	
"	"	Never Worked	7	
"	"	Student	8	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V306	81	Status of Employed		6/69
"	"	Work for Someone Else	1	
"	"	Self-Employed	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V307	82	Means of Obtaining Employment		6/70-71
"	"	Former Employer/Company	01	
"	"	Friend	02	
"	"	Family Member (primary and extended)	03	
"	"	School Job Counselor/Vocational	04	
"	"	Civil Service	05	
"	"	Applied in Person/Applied	06	
"	"	Union	07	
"	"	Newspaper/Put Ad in Newspaper	08	
"	"	Agency/Employment Office/Referred	09	
"	"	Human Resources	10	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V308	83(a)	Looking for Employment		6/72
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V309	83(b)	Steps Taken Toward Employment		6/73
"	"	Filling Out Forms at State Unemployment Office	1	
"	"	Making Contact with Employment Agencies	2	
"	"	Checking Newspapers and Other Advertising	3	
"	"	Visiting Work Sites	4	
"	"	Word-of-Mouth from Friends and Relatives	5	
* Also see V435, Appendix II, for specific occupation				8/73-75
* Also see V436, Appendix II, for NORC score				8/76-78

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V309	83(b)	Leaving Town to Look for Employment	6	6/73
"	"	Nothing at the Moment	7	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V310	84	Length of Unemployment		6/74
"	"	Never Worked	1	
"	"	Zero to Six Months	2	
"	"	Seven to Twelve Months	3	
"	"	One to Two Years	4	
"	"	Three to Five Years	5	
"	"	Six to Ten Years	6	
"	"	More Than Ten Years	7	
"	"	Retired	8	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V311	85	Finances Without Employment		6/75
"	"	Social Security/Retirement	1	
"	"	Disability/Insurance/Unemployment	2	
"	"	Welfare/Public Assistance/Food Stamps	3	
"	"	Allowance	4	
"	"	Family Support	5	
"	"	Pension/Veterans	6	
"	"	On Own/Illegal Activities	7	
"	"	Odd Jobs/Part-time Work	8	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V312	86(a)	Change Location for Employment		6/76
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V313	86(b)	Reason for Location Change		6/77
"	"	More Money/Employment	1	
"	"	Relatives Moved Elsewhere	2	
"	"	More To Do In Other State	3	
"	"	Any Reason	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Blank Column		6/78
		Deck Number	06	6/79-80
		Study I. D.	80NIAX003	7/1-9
		City I. D.		7/10
		Atlanta	1	
		D. C.	2	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Tract I. D.		7/11
		Low Income-Low Crime	1	
		Low Income-High Crime	2	
		Middle Income-Low Crime	3	
		Middle Income-High Crime	4	
		Respondent I. D.		7/12-14
		Crime Rate of Tract		7/15
		High	1	
		Low	2	
		Income Category of Tract		7/16
		Middle	1	
		Low	2	
		Age Category of Respondent		7/17
		Teenager (15-18)	1	
		Young Adult (19-25)	2	
		Adult (26-64)	3	
		Senior (65+)	4	
		DK/NA	9	
V314	86(c)	Where Respondent Would Relocate		7/18
"	"	Southwest	1	
"	"	West	2	
"	"	Mid-West	3	
"	"	Northeast	4	
"	"	Overseas	5	
"	"	Another Town in State Including Maryland and Virginia	6	
"	"	Anywhere	7	
"	"	Southeast	8	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Blank Column		7/19
V315	87	Financial Support		
V316	"	Family Financial Support	1/9	7/20
V317	"	Relative Financial Support	1/9	7/21
V318	"	Friend Financial Support	1/9	7/22
V319	"	Church Financial Support/God	1/9	7/23
V320	"	Credit Union/Bank	1/9	7/24
V321	"	No One to Call	1/9	7/25
V322	"	Number Item (Q-87)		7/26

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V323	88	Number of Bedrooms (write out)		7/27
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V324	89	Socioeconomic Class		7/28
"	"	Lower Working Class	1	
"	"	Middle Working Class	2	
"	"	Lower Middle Class	3	
"	"	Middle Class	4	
"	"	Upper Middle Class	5	
"	"	Lower Upper Class	6	
"	"	Upper Class	7	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V325	90	Income Status		7/29
"	"	No Income	1	
"	"	$100 to $3,000	2	
"	"	$3,001 to $5,000	3	
"	"	$5,001 to $8,000	4	
"	"	$8,001 to $12,000	5	
"	"	$12,001 to $18,000	6	
"	"	$18,001 to $25,000	7	
"	"	$25,001 and Over	8	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V326	91	High School Grade Completed (write out)		7/30-31
"	"	DK/NA	99	
		Problems in School		
V327	92	Marijuana Use	1/9	7/32
V328	"	Hard Drugs	1/9	7/33
V329	"	"Uppers" or "Downers"	1/9	7/34
V330	"	Alcoholism	1/9	7/35
V331	"	Teenage Pregnancy	1/9	7/36
V332	"	Violent Fights	1/9	7/37
V333	"	Vandalism	1/9	7/38
V334	"	Theft	1/9	7/39
V335	"	Rudeness	1/9	7/40
V336	"	Number Items (Q-92)		7/41
		Blank Column		7/42
V337	93	Could Not Graduate		7/43
"	"	Very Happy: I'd Like to Quit	1	
"	"	I Wouldn't Care One Way or Another	2	
"	"	I Would Be Somewhat Dissappointed	3	
"	"	I Would Very Disappointed	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V338	94	Access to Guidance Counselor		7/44
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V339	95	Informative Guidance Counselor		7/45
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	Have No Guidance Counselor	3	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V340	96	Interest of Teachers		7/46
"	"	No, Not At All	1	
"	"	Yes, But Only a Little	2	
"	"	Yes, Quite a Bit	3	
"	"	Yes, A Lot	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Plans for Next Year		
V341	97	Enter Military	1/9	7/47
V342	"	Vocational Training	1/9	7/48
V343	"	College	1/9	7/49
V344	"	Apprenticeship	1/9	7/50
V345	"	Full Time Job	1/9	7/51
V346	"	Continue High School	1/9	7/52
V347	"	Get Married	1/9	7/53
V348	"	Full Time Housewife	1/9	7/54
V349	"	Don't Know	1/9	7/55
V350	"	Number Items (Q-97)		7/56
V351	98(a)	Desired Four Year Projection		7/57-58
"	"	Nursing	01	
"	"	Secretary	02	
"	"	Working	03	
"	"	Military	04	
"	"	Entertainment	05	
"	"	Making Money	06	
"	"	College/Education	07	
"	"	Married	08	
"	"	House, Car and Children	09	
"	"	Engineer	10	
"	"	Professional Sports	11	
"	"	Broadcasting/Journalism	12	
"	"	Law	13	
"	"	Musician	14	
"	"	Accountant	15	
"	"	Aviation	16	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V351	98(a)	Computer Technologist	17	7/57-58
"	"	Mortician	18	
"	"	Truck Driver	19	
"	"	Mechanic	20	
"	"	Carpentry	21	
"	"	Management	22	
"	"	Travel	23	
"	"	Medicine	24	
"	"	Cosmetology	25	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V352	98(b)	Believed Four Year Projection		7/59-60
"	"	Nursing	01	
"	"	Secretary	02	
"	"	Working	03	
"	"	Military	04	
"	"	Entertainment	05	
"	"	Making Money	06	
"	"	College/Education	07	
"	"	Married	08	
"	"	House, Car and Children	09	
"	"	Engineer	10	
"	"	Professional Sports	11	
"	"	Broadcasting/Journalism	12	
"	"	Law	13	
"	"	Musician	14	
"	"	Accountant	15	
"	"	Aviation	16	
"	"	Computer Technology	17	
"	"	Mortician	18	
"	"	Truck Driver	19	
"	"	Mechanic	20	
"	"	Carpentry	21	
"	"	Management	22	
"	"	Travel	23	
"	"	Medicine	24	
"	"	Cosmetology	25	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V353	99*	Employment Projection (See V302)		7/61-62
"	"	DK/NA	99	

*	Also see V437, Appendix II, for specific occupation	9/18-20
*	Also see V438, Appendix II, for NORC score	9/21-23

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V354	100	Average Time on Homework		7/63
"	"	None: No Homework Is Ever Assigned	1	
"	"	None: I Have Homework But Don't Bother To Do It	2	
"	"	Some: Less Than An Hour A Day	3	
"	"	Between An Hour and Two Hours a Day	4	
"	"	More Than Two Hours a Day	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Immediate After School Hours		
V355	101	After School Chores/Work	1/9	7/64
V356	"	After School Homework	1/9	7/65
V357	"	After School Socializing	1/9	7/66
V358	"	After School Sports	1/9	7/67
V359	"	After School Organized Sports/Meeting	1/9	7/68
V360	"	After School TV/Rest	1/9	7/69
V361	"	After School Phone	1/9	7/70
V362	"	Number Items (Q-101)		7/71
		Immediate Late Evening Hours		
V363	102	Late Evening Chores/Work	1/9	7/72
V364	"	Late Evening Homework	1/9	7/73
V365	"	Late Evening Socializing	1/9	7/74
V366	"	Late Evening sports	1/9	7/75
V367	"	Late Evening Organized Sports/Meeting	1/9	7/76
V368	"	Late Evening TV/Rest	1/9	7/77
V369	"	Late Evening Phone	1/9	7/78
		Deck Number	07	7/79-80
		Study I. D.	80NIAX003	8/1-9
		City I. D.		8/10
		Atlanta	1	
		D. C.	2	
		Tract I. D.		8/11
		Low Income-Low Crime	1	
		Low Income-High Crime	2	
		Middle Income-Low Crime	3	
		Middle Income-High Crime	4	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Respondent I. D.		8/12-14
		Crime Rate of Trace		8/15
		High	1	
		Low	2	
		Income Category of Tract		8/16
		Middle	1	
		Low	2	
		Age Category of Respondent		8/17
		Teenager (15-18)	1	
		Young Adult (19-25)	2	
		Adult (26-64)	3	
		Senior (65+)	4	
		DK/NA	9	
V370	102	Number Items (Q-102)		8/18
V371	103	Skip School		8/19
"	"	Yes, All of The Time	1	
"	"	Yes, About Once a Week	2	
"	"	About Once a Month	3	
"	"	No, Never Skip School Intentionally	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V372	104	Friends Accompany Skip		8/20
"	"	Friends Joined Me	1	
"	"	Skip Alone	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Activities When Skip School		
V373	105	Hang With Friends	1/9	8/21
V374	"	Neighborhood Streets and Shops	1/9	8/22
V375	"	Hang Downtown	1/9	8/23
V376	"	Hang Out Alone	1/9	8/24
V377	"	Participate in Sports	1/9	8/25
V378	"	Participate in Organized Sports	1/9	8/26
V379	"	Get High	1/9	8/27
V380	"	Stay Home	1/9	8/28
V381	"	Number Items (Q-105)		8/29
		Summer Activities		
V382	106	Full-Time Summer Job	1/9	8/30
V383	"	Part-Time Summer Job	1/9	8/31

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V384	106	Helping Parents/Friends	1/9	8/32
V385	"	Personal Hobby	1/9	8/33
V386	"	Summer School	1/9	8/34
V387	"	Summer Camp	1/9	8/35
V388	"	Recreational Camp	1/9	8/36
V389	"	Playing Games	1/9	8/37
V390	"	Just Hanging Out/Looking for Job	1/9	8/38
V391	"	Stay Home	1/9	8/39
V392	"	Babysitting	1/9	8/40
V393	"	Volunteer Work	1/9	8/41
V394	"	Traveling	1/9	8/42
V395	"	Number Items (Q-106)	1/9	8/43
V396	107	Driving Car Without License		8/44
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V397	"	Skipped School		8/45
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V398	"	Carried Knife/Razor		8/46
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V399	"	Run Away From Home		8/47
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V400	107	Reckless Driving		8/48
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V400	107	Reckless Driving		8/48
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V401	"	Taken Over $1,000		8/49
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V402	"	Taken Money With Force		8/50
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V403	"	Fight		8/51
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V404	"	Car Theft		8/52
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V405	"	Bought Alcoholic Beverages		8/53
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V406	"	Drank Alcoholic Beverages		8/54
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V407	107	Sold Narcotics		8/55
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V408	"	Used Narcotics		8/56
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V409	"	Sniffed Glue		8/57
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V410	"	Destroyed Property Over $10.00		8/58
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V411	"	Hard to Handle		8/59
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V412	"	Home After Midnight		8/60
"	"	Almost Always	1	
"	"	Quite Often	2	
"	"	Sometimes	3	
"	"	Never	4	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V413	108(a)	Live With Both Parents		8/61
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V414	108(b)	Residence With Both Parents		8/62
"	"	Yes	1	
"	"	No	2	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V415	109	Parent's Desire of Schooling		8/63-64
"	"	They Want Me To Quit High School Without Graduating	01	
"	"	They Want Me To Graduate From High School and Stop There	02	
"	"	They Want Me To Graduate From High School and Then Go To A Vocational, Technical or Business School	03	
"	"	They Want Me To Go To a Two Year or Junior College	04	
"	"	They Want Me To Go To A Four Year College or University	05	
"	"	They Want Me To Go To A Graduate or Professional School	06	
"	"	No Idea What They Want For Me	07	
"	"	DK/NA	99	
V416	110	Close to Mother		8/65
"	"	Not Close At All	1	
"	"	Not Very Close	2	
"	"	Fairly Close	3	
"	"	Very Close	4	
"	"	Mother Deceased	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
V417	111	Close To Father		8/66
"	"	Not Close At All	1	
"	"	Not Very Close	2	
"	"	Fairly Close	3	
"	"	Very Close	4	
"	"	Father Deceased	5	
"	"	DK/NA	9	
		Blank Columns		8/67-68
		Deck Number	08	8/78-79
		Study I. D.	80NIAX003	9/1-9
		City I. D.		9/10
		Atlanta	1	
		D. C.	2	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
		Tract I. D.		9/11
		Low Income-Low Crime	1	
		Low Income-High Crime	2	
		Middle Income-Low Crime	3	
		Middle Income-High Crime	4	
		Respondent I. D.		9/12-14
		Crime Rate of Tract		9/15
		High	1	
		Low	2	
		Income Category of Tract		9/16
		Middle	1	
		Low	2	
		Age Category of Respondent		9/17
		Teenage (15-18)	1	
		Young Adult (19-25)	2	
		Adult (26-64)	3	
		Senior (65+)	4	
		DK/NA	9	
V418	01	Crime Rate Per 1,000 Population		
V419	02	Income of Tract		
V420	03	Population Density		
V421	04	Percent Black Population		
V422	05	Percent White Population		
V423	06	Percent Unemployment		
V424	07	Housing Density		
V425	08	Age Ratio		
V426	09	Sex Ratio		
V427	10	Birth Rate		
V428	11	Ratio Police/Population		
V429	12	Ratio Recreation Facilities		
V430	13	Ratio Health Facilities		

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V431	14	Ratio Political Representation		
V432	15	Ratio Schools/School Age Population		
		Blank Column		
		Deck Number	09	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V217	58(b)	Name of Schools (Washington, D. C.)		4/65-66
"	"	Dunbar High School	01	
"	"	Shaw High School	02	
"	"	Roosevelt High School	03	
"	"	Cardoza High School	04	
"	"	Terrell Junior High School	05	
"	"	Randall Junior High School	06	
"	"	Chamberlain High School	07	
"	"	McKinney High School	08	
"	"	Paul Junior High School	09	
"	"	Brown Junior High School	10	
"	"	Garder Patterson Elementary	11	
"	"	St. Celila's High School	12	
"	"	Phelph's High School	13	
"	"	Notre Dame Academy	14	
"	"	Eastern High School	15	
"	"	Spingarn High School	16	
"	"	Armstrong High School	17	
"	"	St. Patrick's Academy High School	18	
"	"	Macklin High School	19	
"	"	Ballou High School	20	
"	"	School Without Walls	21	
"	"	H. D. Woodson Junior High School	22	
"	"	Woodrow Wilson High School	23	
"	"	Ancostia High School	24	
"	"	National Cathedral High School	25	
"	"	"M" Street High School	26	
"	"	John Carroll High School	27	
"	"	Franklin Adult Education	28	
"	"	Edman Burke Elementary	29	
"	"	Bell High School	30	
"	"	Western High School	31	
"	"	McKinley Technical High School	32	
"	"	Holy Comforter High School	33	
"	"	Evans Junior High School	34	
"	"	Suitland High School	35	
		Atlanta		
"	"	Westside High School	36	
"	"	Booker T. Washington High School	37	
"	"	David Howard High School	38	
"	"	Northside High School	39	
"	"	Southwest High School	40	
"	"	Murphy High School	41	
"	"	George High School	42	
"	"	Ballard Hudson High School	43	
"	"	Atlanta Street Academy	44	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V217	58(b)	Name of Schools (continued)		4/65-66
"	"	Bass High School	45	
"	"	Elberton City High School	46	
"	"	Gray Street	47	
"	"	Price Vocational High School	48	
"	"	J. E. Brown High School	49	
"	"	Ware Elementary	50	
"	"	North Fulton High School	51	
"	"	West Fulton High School	52	
"	"	Smith High School	53	
"	"	Harper High School	54	
"	"	Fred Douglas High School	55	
"	"	Carver High School	56	
"	"	E. P. Johnson Elementary	57	
"	"	H. M. Turner High School	58	
"	"	Therell High School	59	
"	"	Spencer High School	60	
"	"	Sylvia Bryan's Institute	61	
"	"	Sylvan High School	62	
"	"	Price High School	63	
"	"	Archer High School	64	
"	"	Coolidge High School (D. C.)	65	
"	"	St. John Military High School (D. C.)	66	
"	"	St. Anthony (D. C.)	67	
"	"	Roosevelt High School (Atlanta)	68	
"	"	Woodward Academy (Atlanta)	69	
"	"	Francis High School (D. C.)	70	
"	"	Kennedy Middle School (Atlanta)	71	
"	"	St. Ann's (D. C.)	72	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V433	77	Specific Occupation (Father)		8/67-69
"	"	Accountant	001	
"	"	Administrative Assisstant	002	
"	"	Air Conditioner/Heating Repairman	003	
"	"	Airplane Mechanic	004	
"	"	Apprentice	005	
"	"	Architect	006	
"	"	Assembly Worker	007	
"	"	Assistant Dean	008	
"	"	Assistant Manager	009	
"	"	Baker	010	
"	"	Bank Teller	011	
"	"	Barber	012	
"	"	Bartender	013	
"	"	Bill Collector	014	
"	"	Blacksmith	015	
"	"	Board of Education	016	
"	"	Bookbinder	017	
"	"	Box Maker	018	
"	"	Brick Mason	019	
"	"	Budget Analyst	020	
"	"	Bus Driver	021	
"	"	Business	022	
"	"	Butcher	023	
"	"	Cab Driver	024	
"	"	Carpenter	025	
"	"	Cartographer	026	
"	"	Cashier	027	
"	"	Cement Mixer	028	
"	"	Chauffer	029	
"	"	Chemist	030	
"	"	Civil Servant	031	
"	"	Clerk Typist	032	
"	"	Coal Miner	033	
"	"	Collection Specialist	034	
"	"	College Student	035	
"	"	Communications Specialist	036	
"	"	Computer Programmer	037	
"	"	Computer Salesperson	038	
"	"	Construction	039	
"	"	Contractor	040	
"	"	Cook/Chef	041	
"	"	Correctional Officer	042	
"	"	Counter Clerk	043	
"	"	Country Club Manager	044	
"	"	Crane Operator	045	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V433	77	Specific Occupation (Father)		8/67-69
"	"	Custodian/Janitor	046	
"	"	Dancer	047	
"	"	Data Specialist	048	
"	"	Dental Lab Technician	049	
"	"	Dentist	050	
"	"	Detective	051	
"	"	Dishwasher	052	
"	"	Doctor	053	
"	"	Domestic	054	
"	"	Dredger	055	
"	"	Dry Cleaner Worker	056	
"	"	Economic Assistant	057	
"	"	Educator	058	
"	"	Electrical Supervisor	059	
"	"	Electrician	060	
"	"	Electronics	061	
"	"	Elevator Operator	062	
"	"	Engineer	063	
"	"	Environmental Services	064	
"	"	Factory Worker	065	
"	"	Farmer	066	
"	"	Film Processor	067	
"	"	Financial Advisor	068	
"	"	Fireman	069	
"	"	Florist	070	
"	"	Flower Mill	071	
"	"	Food Service Worker	072	
"	"	Food Factory Worker	073	
"	"	Ford Motor Company	074	
"	"	Foreman	075	
"	"	Foster Parent	076	
"	"	Foundry	077	
"	"	Freelance - TV	078	
"	"	Fund Raiser	079	
"	"	Furniture Mover	080	
"	"	General Motors Worker	081	
"	"	Government Worker	082	
"	"	Grass Cutter	083	
"	"	Handyman	084	
"	"	Hardware	085	
"	"	Heavy Equipment	086	
"	"	High School Student	087	
"	"	Housewife	088	
"	"	Hospital Orderly	089	
"	"	Housekeeping Supervisor	090	
"	"	Horse Trainer	091	
"	"	Hustler	092	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V433	77	Specific Occupation (Father)		8/67-69
"	"	Information Coordinator	093	
"	"	Insect/Rodent Controller	094	
"	"	Inspector	095	
"	"	Insurance	096	
"	"	Journalist	097	
"	"	Lab Technician	098	
"	"	Laborer	099	
"	"	Landscaper	100	
"	"	Laundry Worker	101	
"	"	Lawyer	102	
"	"	Librarian	103	
"	"	Lifeguard	104	
"	"	Long Shoreman	105	
"	"	Machine Operator	106	
"	"	Maintenance Man	107	
"	"	Management Trainee	108	
"	"	Manager	109	
"	"	Manufacturer	110	
"	"	Masseur	111	
"	"	Mechanic	112	
"	"	Merchant Seaman	113	
"	"	Messenger	114	
"	"	Miller	115	
"	"	Military	116	
"	"	Minister	117	
"	"	Mortician	118	
"	"	Motor Transportation Specialist	119	
"	"	Motor Vehicle Operator	120	
"	"	Movie Projectionist	121	
"	"	Musician	122	
"	"	Naval Engineer	123	
"	"	Night Club Owner	124	
"	"	Nurse	125	
"	"	Nurse Administrator	126	
"	"	Nurse Assistant	127	
"	"	Nursery Aide	128	
"	"	Oceanographer	129	
"	"	Odd Jobs/Part-Time	130	
"	"	Oil Mill	131	
"	"	Paint Foreman	132	
"	"	Painter	133	
"	"	Patient Representative	134	
"	"	Personnel Specialist	135	
"	"	Pattern Company Worker	136	
"	"	Peanut Processor	137	
"	"	Pharmaceutical Services	138	
"	"	Photographer	139	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V433	77	Specific Occupation (Father)		8/67-69
"	"	Plant Worker	140	
"	"	Planter	141	
"	"	Plumber	142	
"	"	Policeman	143	
"	"	Politician	144	
"	"	Porter/Railroad	145	
"	"	Postman	146	
"	"	Postal Clerk	147	
"	"	Principal	148	
"	"	Printer	149	
"	"	Private Sitter	150	
"	"	Psychologist/Psychiatrist	151	
"	"	Railroad Worker	152	
"	"	Real Estate Broker	153	
"	"	Realty Inspector	154	
"	"	Receptionist	155	
"	"	Recreation Supervisor	156	
"	"	Researcher	157	
"	"	Retail Sales	158	
"	"	Roofer	159	
"	"	Rooming House Manager	160	
"	"	Sanitation Department	161	
"	"	Saw Operator	162	
"	"	Security Guard	163	
"	"	Secretary	164	
"	"	Self-employed	165	
"	"	Serge Operator	166	
"	"	Service Station Owner	167	
"	"	Sewing/Seamstress	168	
"	"	Sheriff	169	
"	"	Shoemaker	170	
"	"	Shipper Clerk	171	
"	"	Social Worker	172	
"	"	Statistician	173	
"	"	Steam Pipe Fitter	174	
"	"	Steel/Iron Worker	175	
"	"	Stock Clerk	176	
"	"	Store Owner	177	
"	"	Street Vendor	178	
"	"	Supervisor	179	
"	"	Switchboard Operator	180	
"	"	TV Repairman	181	
"	"	Tailor	182	
"	"	Tax Examiner	183	
"	"	Teacher/Instructor	184	
"	"	Teaching Assistant	185	
"	"	Textile	186	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V433	77	Specific Occupation (Father)		8/67-69
"	"	Theatre Manager	187	
"	"	Tile Setter	188	
"	"	Train Conductor	189	
"	"	Transit Worker	190	
"	"	Truck Driver	191	
"	"	Upholsterer	192	
"	"	Utility Company	193	
"	"	Vice President/College	194	
"	"	Waiter	195	
"	"	Waitress	196	
"	"	Warehouse Clerk	197	
"	"	Warehouse Worker	198	
"	"	Unemployed/Never Worked	199	
"	"	Deceased	200	
"	"	Disabled/Retired	201	
"	"	Cosmetologist	202	
"	"	Pilot/Navigator	203	
"	"	Professional Athlete	204	
"	"	Stewardess	205	
"	"	DK/NA	999	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V434	77	NORC Scores		8/70-72
"	"	Dentist	099	
"	"	Doctor	099	
"	"	Psychologist/Psychiatrist	099	
"	"	Architect	098	
"	"	Lawyer	098	
"	"	Electrical Supervisor	097	
"	"	Electrician	097	
"	"	Electronics	097	
"	"	Assistant Dean	096	
"	"	Assistant Manager	096	
"	"	Engineer	096	
"	"	Environmental Services	096	
"	"	Financial Advisor	096	
"	"	Naval Engineer	096	
"	"	Patient Representative	096	
"	"	Personnel Specialist	096	
"	"	Researcher	096	
"	"	Statistician	096	
"	"	Teacher/Instructor	096	
"	"	Vice President/College	096	
"	"	Pilot/Navigator	096	
"	"	Fund Raiser	095	
"	"	Journalist	095	
"	"	Oceanographer	095	
"	"	Pharmaceutical Services	095	
"	"	Politician	095	
"	"	Chemist	095	
"	"	Civil Servant	094	
"	"	Government Worker	094	
"	"	Tax Examiner	094	
"	"	Accountant	092	
"	"	Business	091	
"	"	Educator	089	
"	"	Insurance	089	
"	"	Motor Vehicle Operator	089	
"	"	Realty Inspector	089	
"	"	Supervisor	089	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V434	77	NORC Scores		8/70-72
"	"	Cartographer	088	
"	"	Manufacturer	088	
"	"	Hardware	087	
"	"	Data Specialist	086	
"	"	Principal	086	
"	"	Real Estate Broker	086	
"	"	Recreation Supervisor	084	
"	"	Social Worker	084	
"	"	Theatre Manager	084	
"	"	Mortician	083	
"	"	Administrative Assistant	082	
"	"	Board of Education	082	
"	"	Clerk Typist	082	
"	"	Secretary	082	
"	"	Masseur	082	
"	"	Postman	080	
"	"	Airplane Mechanic	079	
"	"	Contractor	079	
"	"	Computer Salesperson	077	
"	"	Self-employed	076	
"	"	Bank Teller	075	
"	"	Store Owner	075	
"	"	Detective	074	
"	"	Budget Analyst	073	
"	"	Dental Lab Technician	073	
"	"	Economic Assistant	073	
"	"	Farmer	073	
"	"	Fireman	073	
"	"	Foreman	073	
"	"	Lab Technician	073	
"	"	Motor Transportation	073	
"	"	Movie Projectionist	073	
"	"	Photographer	073	
"	"	Postal Clerk	073	
"	"	Receptionist	073	
"	"	Stock Clerk	073	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V434	77	NORC Scores		8/70-72
"	"	Communication Specialist	072	
"	"	Musician	072	
"	"	Switchboard Operator	072	
"	"	Country Club Owner	071	
"	"	Florist	071	
"	"	Night Club Owner	071	
"	"	Nurse	071	
"	"	Nurse Administrator	071	
"	"	Book Binder	069	
"	"	Cashier	069	
"	"	Manager	068	
"	"	Mechanic	068	
"	"	Rooming House Manager	068	
"	"	Service Station Manager	068	
"	"	Minister	067	
"	"	Bill Collector	066	
"	"	Collection Specialist	066	
"	"	Sheriff	066	
"	"	Bus Driver	066	
"	"	Film Processor	066	
"	"	Librarian	064	
"	"	Plumber	064	
"	"	Steel/Iron Worker	064	
"	"	Freelance - TV	063	
"	"	Military (present)	063	
"	"	Handyman	062	
"	"	Serge Operator	062	
"	"	TV Repairman	062	
"	"	Air Conditioner/Heating Repairman	061	
"	"	Assembly Worker	061	
"	"	Dancer	061	
"	"	Housekeeper Supervisor	061	
"	"	Horse Trainer	061	
"	"	Retail Trade	061	
"	"	Train Conductor	061	
"	"	Transit Worker	061	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V434	77	NORC Scores		8/70-72
"	"	Printer	060	
"	"	Professional Athlete	060	
"	"	Shipping Clerk	058	
"	"	Maintenance	057	
"	"	Nurse Assistant	056	
"	"	Apprentice	055	
"	"	Manager	055	
"	"	Plant Worker	055	
"	"	Management Trainee	055	
"	"	Upholsterer	053	
"	"	Crane Operator	052	
"	"	Dredger	052	
"	"	Information Coordinator	052	
"	"	Utility Company	052	
"	"	Baker	050	
"	"	Brick Mason	050	
"	"	Nursery Aide	050	
"	"	Teaching Assistant	050	
"	"	Foundry	049	
"	"	Inspector	048	
"	"	Bartender	046	
"	"	Peanut Processor	046	
"	"	Stewardess	046	
"	"	Policeman	044	
"	"	Tile Setter	044	
"	"	Butcher	043	
"	"	Messenger	043	
"	"	Computer Programmer	042	
"	"	Factory Worker	042	
"	"	Ford Motor Company	042	
"	"	General Motors Worker	042	
"	"	Counter Clerk	041	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V434	77	NORC Scores		8/70-72
"	"	Tailor	040	
"	"	Truck Driver	040	
"	"	Flower Mill	039	
"	"	Miller	039	
"	"	Oil Mill	039	
"	"	Sewing/Seamstress	039	
"	"	Steel/Iron Worker	039	
"	"	Waiter	039	
"	"	Waitress	039	
"	"	Correctional Officer	038	
"	"	Hospital Orderly	038	
"	"	Lifeguard	038	
"	"	Security Guard	038	
"	"	Pattern Company Worker	038	
"	"	Barber	037	
"	"	Cab Driver	037	
"	"	Chauffeur	037	
"	"	Dry Cleaner Worker	037	
"	"	Laundry Worker	037	
"	"	Paint Foreman	037	
"	"	Painter	037	
"	"	Cosmetologist	037	
"	"	Military (former)	036	
"	"	Carpenter	035	
"	"	Cement Mixer	034	
"	"	Roofer	034	
"	"	Food Service Worker	032	
"	"	Food Factory Worker	032	
"	"	Heavy Equipment	032	
"	"	Laborer	032	
"	"	Blacksmith	031	
"	"	Boxmaker	031	
"	"	Cook/Chef	031	
"	"	Railroad Worker	031	
"	"	Elevator Operator	028	
"	"	Warehouse Clerk	028	

Var #	Quest #	Var Name	Code #	C/C #
V434	77	NORC Scores		8/70-72
"	"	Furniture Mover	027	
"	"	Long Shoreman	025	
"	"	Merchant Seaman	025	
"	"	Shoemaker	022	
"	"	Grass Cutter	019	
"	"	Landscaper	019	
"	"	Planter	019	
"	"	Coal Miner	018	
"	"	Custodian/Janitor	018	
"	"	Dishwasher	018	
"	"	Insect/Rodent Controller	018	
"	"	Maintenance	018	
"	"	Sanitation Department	018	
"	"	Construction	016	
"	"	Porter/Railroad	016	
"	"	Textile	013	
"	"	Saw Operator	010	
"	"	Hustler	008	
"	"	Odd Jobs/Part-time	008	
"	"	Street Vendor	008	
"	"	Domestic	007	
"	"	Private Sitter	007	
"	"	College Student	999	
"	"	Deceased	999	
"	"	Disabled (retired)	999	
"	"	Foster Parent	999	
"	"	High School Student	999	
"	"	Housewife	999	
"	"	Unemployed/Never Worked	999	
"	"	DK/NA	999	

APPENDIX F

CODING AND RELIABILITY

Coding

Completion of editing and codebook construction serves as a precursor to the task of coding. "Coding" refers to the process of transferring data from the questionnaire onto codesheets. Three tools are necessary to perform the task of coding: the questionnaire; the codebook; and the codesheet. The codebook served as an instruction manual to coders. Transferral of data onto codesheets requires the coder to refer to the codebook to determine the appropriate code and the correct record and card column number to assign respondent's answers.

Prior to the actual coding, a brief orientation was necessary for all persons responsible for coding. Without a clear understanding of how to interpret the codebook, a greater chance of coding error is presented. Each item appearing in the codebook designates a certain action to be taken by the coder when transferring the information from the codebook to the codesheet. For instance, variable number 45 in the codebook refers to one of the possible responses to question number 24(b). If the response represented by variable number 45 appeared in the questionnaire as an answer to question number 24(b), the coder would know to assign code "1" to the appropriate space on the codesheet. Reading straight across from variable number 45, the coder is directed by the codebook to enter code "1" on record number 1 in column number 58.

After coder training was completed, the coding process officially began. Coders play a very important role in the research plan. Their task is one of the final steps taken in preparing data for computer analysis. It is the primary responsibility of the coder to insure accuracy in transferring data from the questionnaire onto the codesheet. What must be a recurring thought in the mind of the coder is the fact that the information recorded on codesheets will be sent directly to the keypuncher and then to the computer for further analysis. Thus, the accuracy of the findings appearing in the final report reflect the skill and care exercised by the coder in transferring information from the questionnaire to the codesheet.

Research assistants were responsible for coding 624 completed questionnaires. To eliminate the possibility of coder bias with respect to the tract, randomization was employed when selecting cases to be coded. Selecting cases to be coded at random served two purposes - first the possibility of systematic errors appearing in one particular tract was reduced, and secondly randomization served to increase the consistency of coder reliability with respect to

the tract.

The task of coding consumed three months of the research assistants' time. On the average, 208 questionnaires were coded each month and 52 were coded per week. When assessing the actual amount of time spent each week or each month on coding during this three month time span, it is important to consider how much time within the three month span was spent coding exclusively. Three vacation periods - Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year's - were included within the three months. Also, a week was set aside to devote time exclusively to the preparation of the November board meeting. Taking into consideration unavoidable departures from the task of coding, sufficient time was devoted to each questionnaire to insure accuracy and efficiency in the completion of the coding task. Although such concentrated effort was put forth in completing the coding task, the possibility of human error cannot be avoided. To address the possibility of such errors, an inter-coder reliability check was necessary. Inter-coder reliability will be addressed in the next section.

Reliability

Inter-coder reliability checks are vital to the final research product. Reliability checks require the monitoring of coders' work to make certain that consistency in coding and coder decision-making is evident. To ascertain the degree of coding consistency, it was necessary to recode a randomly selected third of the total number of completed questionnaires.

The process of inter-coder reliability checks required that the questionnaires first be grouped by tract. The total number of completed questionnaires per tract was obtained and a third of the tract was randomly selected to be included in the reliability check (see Table 3). There were a total of 94 completed interviews in tract number 82.02. Taking one-third of the total (94) dictates that 31 questionnaires be included in the reliability check. Therefore, 31 randomly selected questionnaires representing tract number 82.02 were recoded for reliability. The same procedure was adopted for all tracts. Upon recoding, coders were instructed to record the total number of errors per questionnaire. Recoding one-third of the total number of questionnaires yielded a reliability sample of 206 questionnaires (See Table 1). Inter-coder reliability checks consumed three weeks of the research time frame.

The end product of the inter-coder reliability check is the calculation of a reliability coefficient indicating the amount of coder error. The initial step involved totalling the number of errors per tract. This was accomplished by first grouping the questionnaires according to whether they were representative of adult or high school respondents. Referring to the questionnaire (page 32), the reader will

notice that after the respondent is asked question number 90, the interviewer is then instructed to thank the respondent and inform him/her that the interview has been completed. However, if the individual being interviewed is presently enrolled in high school or has just completed high school within the past year, the interviewer is instructed to ask the respondent some additional questions (numbers 91-111) included as a high school supplement. These individuals are referred to as high schoolers. Essentially, what you have is a bifurcated sample - those individuals responding only to questions number 1-90 (adults) and those individuals responding to questions number 1-90 plus the supplemental questions (high schoolers).

The total number of errors present among high school or adult questionnaires in a particular tract is placed in the reliability equation as the numerator, with the product of the total number of applicable card/columns times the total number of questionnaires included in the reliability check for the particular tract as the denominator. It is important to emphasize that applicable card columns would depend on whether one is calculating the reliability for adult or high school questionnaires. The number of applicable card/columns for high schoolers is greater than adults because high schoolers responded to the supplemental questions. Including the product of the total number of applicable card/columns times the total number of questionnaires included in the reliability check as the denominator provides an indication of the maximum number of errors possible for all respondents in that particular tract. The resulting number is placed in the reliability equation (see Table 4). Adult and high school questionnaires receive the same treatment for each tract (refer to tables).

There are two ways to ascertain the reliability coefficient for the entire sample. One could either obtain a weighted reliability average or an unweighted reliability average. The weighted reliability average equation presents the amount of error present in each tract as the numerator (see reliability equation infra) and the corresponding product representing applicable card-columns times the number of cases included in the reliability for the particular tract as the denominator. The sum of the numerator is then divided by the sum of the denominator and the resulting number is subtracted by 1. This procedure will probably yield the more accurate estimate because each tract score has the advantage of receiving its exact weight. In contrast, the unweighted reliability average treats all scores as if they were equally weighted. The unweighted average takes the sum of the reliability scores, divides the sum by the total number of tracts (8) and then subtracts by 1. Both averages tend to yield the same or very similar results as you can see from the table. The equations for calculating the weighted and unweighted reliability averages are represented as:

$$R_1 \text{ (weighted)} = 1 - \frac{ei}{(cols)(Ni)}$$

$$R_2 \text{ (unweighted)} = 1 - \frac{ei}{(cols)(Ni)} \quad - 8$$

Where:

i = particular tract i = 1, 2 ... 8
ei = amount of error for tract i
cols = total number of applicable card/columns
Ni = number of respondent questionnaires in tract i included in reliability check
= summation of

Reliability Samples

Table 3

City I.D.	Atlanta				Washington, D. C.				Row Totals
Tract Number	No. 22	No. 60	No. 79	No. 82.02	No. 95.3	No. 46	No. 68.1	No. 76.3	
Total N	88	86	78	94	55	78	63	82	624
1/3 of N	29	28	26	31	18	26	21	27	206

High School Questionnaires

Table 4

Tract Number	Error Number (ei)	Applicable Card Columns (cols)	Reliability Sample (N)	Reliability Equator $\frac{ei}{(cols)(Ni)}$ $\frac{ei}{(cols)(Ni)}$
46	14	645	26	$\frac{14}{645(26)} = \frac{14}{16,770} = 0.00083$
60	26	645	28	$\frac{26}{645(28)} = \frac{26}{18,060} = 0.0014$
68.1	4	645	21	$\frac{4}{645(21)} = \frac{4}{13,545} = 0.00029$
76.3	6	645	27	$\frac{6}{645(27)} = \frac{6}{17,415} = 0.00034$
95.3	9	645	18	$\frac{9}{645(18)} = \frac{9}{11,610} = 0.00077$
79	9	645	26	$\frac{9}{645(26)} = \frac{9}{16,770} = 0.00054$
82.02	1	645	31	$\frac{1}{645(31)} = \frac{1}{19,995} = 0.000050$
22	17	645	$\frac{29}{206}$	$\frac{17}{645(29)} = \frac{17}{18,705} = \frac{0.00090}{0.01798}$

Total High School Reliability Coefficient

Table 5

$$1 - \frac{ei}{(cols)(Ni)}]$$

$$R_1 \text{ (weighted)} = 1 - \frac{14}{16,770} + \frac{26}{18,060} + \frac{4}{13,545} + \frac{6}{17,415} + \frac{9}{11,610} + \frac{9}{16,770} + \frac{1}{19,995} + \frac{17}{18,705}$$

$$R_1 = 1 - \frac{86}{132,870}$$

$$R_1 = 1 - [0.00065]$$

$$R_1 = .99935 = .99+$$

$$R_2 = 1 - \frac{ei}{(cols)(Ni)} - 8$$

$$R_2 \text{ (unweighted)} = 1 - (0.00083 + 0.0014 + 0.00029 + 0.00034 + 0.00077 + 0.00054 + 0.000050 + 0.00090) - 8]$$

$$R_2 = 1 - (0.011798 - 8)]$$

$$R_2 = 1 - 0.0014725]$$

$$R_2 = .99775 = .99+$$

Adult Questionnaires

Table 6

Adult Questionnaires Tract Number	Error Number (ei)	Applicable Card Columns (cols)	Reliability Sample (N)	Reliability Equation: $\frac{ei}{(cols)(Ni)}$	$\frac{ei}{(cols)(Ni)}$
46	30	549	26	$\frac{30}{549(26)}$	$= \frac{30}{14,274} = 0.0021$
60	24	549	28	$\frac{24}{549(28)}$	$= \frac{24}{15,372} = 0.0016$
68.1	6	549	21	$\frac{6}{549(21)}$	$= \frac{6}{11,529} = 0.0005$
76.3	19	549	27	$\frac{19}{549(27)}$	$= \frac{19}{14,823} = 0.0013$
95.3	16	549	18	$\frac{16}{549(18)}$	$= \frac{16}{9,882} = 0.0016$
79	19	549	26	$\frac{19}{549(26)}$	$= \frac{19}{14,274} = 0.0013$
82.02	25	549	31	$\frac{25}{549(31)}$	$= \frac{25}{17,019} = 0.0015$
22	24	549	29	$\frac{24}{549(29)}$	$= \frac{24}{15,921} = 0.0015$
			206		0.0114

Total Adult Sample Reliability Coefficient

$$R_1 \text{ (weighted)} = 1 - \left[\frac{ei}{(cols)(Ni)}\right]$$

$$R_1 = 1 - \left[\frac{30}{14,274} + \frac{24}{15,372} + \frac{6}{11,529} + \frac{19}{14,823} + \frac{16}{9,882} + \frac{19}{14,274} + \frac{25}{17,019} + \frac{24}{15,921}\right]$$

$$R_1 = 1 - \left[\frac{163}{113,094}\right]$$

$$R_1 = 1 - [0.00144]$$

$$R_1 = .99855 = .99+$$

$$R_2 \text{ (unweighted)} = 1 - \frac{ei}{(cols)(Ni)} - 8$$

$$= 1 - [(0.0021 + 0.0016 + 0.0005 + 0.0013 + 0.0016 + 0.0013 + 0.0015 + 0.0015) - 8]$$

$$R_2 = 1 - [0.0114) - 8]$$

$$R_2 = 1 - [0.001425]$$

$$R_2 = 0.99857 = .99+$$

APPENDIX G

QUESTIONNAIRE
FOR
COMMUNITY LEADERS

1. How would you rate crime as a problem within your community?

Not a problem	1
Somewhat a problem	2
Big problem	3

Why is that?_____

_____

_____

2. a. Have you or anyone else in your neighborhood tried to organize any community crime prevention efforts? (e.g., block watches)

Yes	1
No	2

If yes, what kind?_____

_____

If no, why not?_____

_____

b. If yes, how responsive have neighborhood residents been to these meetings, and in enacting the necessary precautions against crime?_____

_____

_____

3. In your estimation, which of the following agencies should receive the most money in order to "fight crime"?

the police	1
the courts	2
corrections (jails, youth detention facilities)	3
Local Community Agencies	4
Probation/Parole	5
Other (Specify:_____)	6

Why is that?_____

_____

4. What kind of crime is most prevalent in your community?

violent crimes..... 1
property crimes..... 2
vandalism..... 3
car theft..... 4

other (Please specify:_____

_____)..5

Don't Know..... 9

5. What do you see as the most effective means of reducing crime in your community?_____

_____

6. In your neighborhood, who commits the majority of crimes?

youth from your neighborhood..... 1
youth from outside your nieghborhood..... 2
adults (over 18 years of age) from your neighborhood..... 3
adults (Over 18 uears of age) outside your neighborhood..... 4

7. How would you describe the kind of cooperation you have received from city administrators in your crime prevention/ reduction efforts?

excellent..... 1
good, they seem responsive..... 2
fair, they listen but seem unable to help..... 3
not too good, can't even get in to see them or talk with them..... 4
very poor..... 5
have never tried to approach the problem with them..... 6

8. For those neighborhoods in this city in which there are no organized crime prevention efforts, how responsive do you feel residents would be to such efforts?

Uncooperative..... 1
Indifferent..... 2
Somewhat Responsive..... 3
Quite Responsive..... 4
Don't Know..... 5

9. What do you think citizens, by themselves, in your community could realistically do to reduce crime or the fear of crime?

_____

_____

_____

10. (a) As far as you know, are there any recreational facilities provided in your community? What would be your best guess as to how many there are?

None..... 1
Very few..... 2
A few..... 3
Quite a number..... 4
A whole lot..... 5
Don't Know..... 6

(b) As far as you know, do the people in your community use these facilities"

No..... 1
Yes, once in a while..... 2
Yes, quite often..... 3
Don't Know..... 4

11. (a) Do you think more recreational facilities should be provided?

Yes..... 1
No..... 2

(b) Why is that?_____

_____

12. What is your opinion of the service your community gets from the police?

Police services very poor..... 1
Police services poor..... 2
Police services about average..... 3
Police services good..... 4
Police services very good..... 5
Don't Know..... 9

13. What are the ways in which you think police services could be improved in your community?

Describe fully, giving specific suggestions:

_____

_____

_____

14. What is your opinion of the service your community gets from the sanitation department?

Service very poor..... 1
Service poor..... 2
Service about average..... 3
Service good..... 4
Service very good..... 5
Don't Know..... 9

15. What are the ways in which you think sanitation services could be improved in your community? Describe fully, giving specific suggestions.

_____

_____

_____

16. (a) As far as you know, are there any public health facilities (including mental and dental) provided in your community?

Yes..... 1
No..... 2
Don't Know..... 9

(b) As far as you know, do the people in your community use these facilities?

Yes..... 1
Yes, once in a while..... 2
Yes, quite often..... 3
Don't Know..... 9

17. A lot has been said about the relationship between the changing nature of schools and increase in crime. Do you think there is any connection between the schools in your community and its rate of crime?

Yes..... 1
No..... 2
Don't Know..... 9

Why is that?_____

_____

_____

18. A lot has been said about the relationship between the changing institutional nature of the Black church and increase in crime. Do you think there is any connection between the churches in your community and its rate of crime?

Yes..... 1
No..... 2
Don't Know..... 3

Why is that?_____

_____

_____

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Pt 3

VOLUME II

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE VILLAGE-NORTHTON

PREFACE

Volume II is a study of two distinct ethnographic areas. The first study is designed to show what kinds of problems exist when two communities are side by side but racially are entirely different in attitudes, perceptions, socio-economic background, and feelings about criminal behavior. One community is predominantly black, the other community is integrated but becoming increasingly white and middle-income.

The second study involves one family in the ghetto, located in the same area where Elliot Liebow wrote Talley's Corner. The original design for that area called for observations of a random sample of families, but the observer, despite many warnings focused upon the one family. While this family may not be representative of ghetto communities, it does provide some insight into the problems of day-to-day living within the ghetto.

The intent is to show that in all phases of community life black crime is a pervasive interest and day-to-day social life cannot function until solutions are found to reduce the amount of violent crime.

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VOLUME II

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE VILLAGE-NORTHTON

Introduction

Few social acts are more meaningful for urban community organization than those that involve the loss or threatened loss of life or property through violence on the streets. In black communities especially, such acts constitute an urgent problem (Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967; Miller 1958; Drake and Cayton 1970; Liebow 1967; Anderson 1978). Numerous commentators, academic as well as popular, have noted the recent rise of violent crime in urban black communities (Block 1977; Silberman 1978). Around the nation, people are afraid of the streets, parks, and other public places, particularly after dark or when too many "strangers" are present. Street criminals have boldly taken over these communities by intimidating the law-abiding residents.

Community members know that the street criminal recognizes no bounds. It is money, and sometimes thrills, that he is after. They know him as a figure lurking in the shadows of dark streets, hiding in a doorway or behind a clump of bushes, ready to pounce on a victim. Such images are in their minds and on their tongues as they attend neighborhood events, wondering if they or their loved ones will return home safely. When there is a robbery or killing nearby, the news reverberates throughout the community and generates unease. Each resident wonders if he will be next. Many middle-income black and

white people simply flee, bewailing inadequate police protection and high crime rates.

With their greater financial resources, higher degree of education, and greater neighborhood participation, middle-income blacks exert a certain moral authority over their communities, contributing an important measure of social control and integration to the neighborhoods they increasingly leave behind (Silberman 1978).

The Village-Northton, a community area of Eastern City, is important as an ethnographic research site because it is a prototype of the urban problem area. Northton is predominantly black. The Village is at present "integrated," while becoming increasingly white and middle-income. Race appears highly significant in community life. Interaction on the streets is often influenced by skin color and by sex. Young black males, for instance, are usually presumed to be involved in criminal activity until they prove otherwise. Such working conceptions of the community generate subtle but enduring racial divisions. The communal acknowledgment of these divisions expresses itself in sociability patterns, as blacks and whites tend to reside and socialize primarily within their own subcommunities. At the same time, this is a community where many kinds of people live in relative harmony.

To some extent the thesis advanced by Charles Silberman in Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice (1978) appears to be supported in the black community of Northton: the relatively well-to-do or middle-income blacks are fleeing, leaving the area to the poorest residents,

who are at the mercy of the criminal element. People tend to have very limited confidence in the criminal justice system. In the streets, the law of the jungle prevails.

The Village comprises mainly one-family houses with large porches, surrounded by nicely planted yards, with old-fashioned wrought iron fences. During the day and after the evening rush-hour traffic, the streets are generally quiet, and downtown Eastern City seems far away. Throughout the area, young male street groups predominate. Throughout the area, young male street groups predominate. Their members tend to be unemployed and to be involved in the "underground economy." The law-abiding members of the community hold such youths responsible for street crimes in the vicinity. Particularly after dark, these young men and those who resemble them are held suspect by most community members, black as well as white. Some of the unemployed black youths, particularly the most desperate, tend to man the streets and set themselves up as community protectors and gatekeepers, offering to ensure safe passage for money. Residents thus are inclined to remain indoors after dark, to travel in small groups, or even to a themselves in order to navigate the streets with security.

As many economists and sociologists note, there exists a whole generation of young blacks who might live out their lives without any meaningful involvement with the American occupational structure (Anderson and Sawhill 1980). Many of them will take dead-end jobs, only to be repeatedly laid off, failing ever to form a productive

relationship with the world of work. They are likely to be scarred by such experiences with the labor market and to develop alternative ways of coping, often unconventional or illegal (Doeringer and Piore 1971; Anderson 1978).

In the Village-Northton area, the results of such major social problems are already observable, and the situation is complicated by changes in racial composition. As unemployed black youths increase, middle-income newcomers, mainly middle-aged and young whites, and some blacks, are moving into the area, displacing poorer blacks and others. This residential and racial change is a source of conflict, resulting in increased street crime and burglaries. Not only do the perpetrators of such crimes often view such new people as invaders of the community, they also see them as inexperienced in the ways of "the streets." Such people, because of their actual and supposed inexperience, and to some degree because of their skin color, are viewed as easy marks, and they easily become victims. Furthermore, as they seek to buy or rent homes, the increased demand pushes up rents and prices. What was once a marginal urban area is likely to be transformed into a "trendy" or at least more expensive place to live. As the middle-income blacks left the community to poorer blacks, in time the poorer blacks are forced to leave. In time, the area is likely to become middle-income and increasingly white.

Of particular ethnographic interest are the social processes involved in this neighborhood transition. What is the relation between race and crime within the general community? What are the relation

among age, race, class, education, and employment? I am particularly concerned to understand how various kinds of people interact in public places, particularly the streets, what communication devices they use, how public order is articulated, and how all this contributes to emergent social organization and definition of the community.

Chapter 1

The Historical Setting

The story of the Village is interrelated with the growth and expansion of Eastern City.[1] In the 1600s one could stand in the center of the city and look west across the Tyler River toward the rolling hills of what is now the Village.[2] In those days a ferry took passengers across the river to the western shore. Others expanded the ferry service, and eventually a privately owned bridge was built. The city eventually took over the bridge, improved it, and in time built a sturdier one, thus spurring the migration and settlement westward across the river.

The first people to settle in the area now known as the Village were the well-to-do, those who could afford to commute to the central city or to maintain summer homes on the hills along the Tyler's western bank. The first landowners built large houses on their estates, but in time these holdings were cut up, and additional homes were built on the properties. Family estates were thus subdivided and parcels of land dispensed among the heirs of the wealthy. Neighborhoods developed, with general stores, churches, and schools. During the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s many fancy Victorian houses were built. Some inhabitants branched out farther west into an area that is to this day wealthy and suburban.

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, the area to the north and west of the Village was overtaken by the Industrial Revolution. Not only were houses built at a rapid pace, but small factories sprang up. Accompanying the new industries were working-class neighborhoods, and one of the most prominent was Northton, just north of what was to become known as the Village.

In many respects, Northton was like a company town, with its small buildings, soot, and close-packed dwellings. The social history of the area is evident in its architecture, the scale of the houses, the size of the lots, and the craftmanship of the facades: much of Northton was built for a class who worked for, not alongside, the inhabitants of the Village. Northton became an area of settlement for newly arrived Irish and German immigrants who worked in the light industry of Northton and also as servants for the rich families in the large homes across Bell Weather Street, which became a kind of social boundary separating the working class from the well-to-do.

During the early twentieth century this boundary was often violated by the middle-class Irish and German proprietors of the shops and manufacturing concerns lining Warrington Avenue, who were eager to obtain Village property. The well-to-do looked on the "up and coming" Nortonians as invaders, and with each inroad the social definition of the Village as a neighborhood for the wealthy was altered.

Enter the steam engine. The rails were laid along the bank of the Tyler River, not far from the Village. The trains left great billows of smoke and soot, and residents had difficulty keeping

clothes and houses clean. This invasion of technology, along with the invading lower classes, encouraged the rich to leave for other areas, many of which are still suburban. The original inhabitants of the once-pastoral setting sought out "better" places to live, leaving the somewhat sooty Village to the middle-class Irish and Germans and the remnants of their own group who would not move elsewhere.

The Village has since undergone great changes in density and appearance. Financial depressions have taken their toll, houses have been sold, often to be cut up and rented out. The village has gone from an upper-income neighborhood to one inhabited primarily by working-class and middle-class people. But, though the stone mansions and townhouses have gradually been turned into multiple-family dwellings, lot sizes have tended to remain the same. The towering sycamore trees still provide a lush canopy over the cobblestone walks. What once was grand has now become quaint, but the neighborhood is still distinguishable as one whose residents' collective identity places them socially higher than their neighbors in Northton, where few trees were ever planted and private outdoor spaces were never large.

Through successive invasions and settlements, some of the Village's past splendor has lingered and rubbed off on the working-class and middle-class residents, who can never resist making invidious distinctions between the Village and Northton. The status difference between the neighborhoods persists, even though the social realities have changed drastically since the first Irish and Germans

made their move into the Village.

Today Northton is almost totally black and has a vast array of urban problems, including high rates of crime, poverty, and illiteracy. The Village is racially integrated and becoming increasingly middle- to upper-middle class. Dingy and dilapidated row houses, sometimes facing abandoned factory sites, line the narrow, treeless streets of Northton, while elegant Victorian homes are being beautifully restored on the sycamore-lined streets of the Village.

Blacks from the South were attracted to Northton during and after the Second World War, when, in search of a "better life," many migrated North and settled in white working-class communities like Northton, often in spite of physical resistance. The blacks eventually succeeded the Irish and the Germans and "claimed" Northton, and in time they threatened the border areas of the Village, where slumlords found they could make good money by renting them their butchered mansions. But the whites of the Village offered great resistance, and only slowly gave way to pockets of black settlement within the Village. What survived were white working-class and middle-class areas coexisting with enclaves of blacks who had recently migrated from the ghetto of Northton.

Moreover, Bell Weather Street increasingly became a boundary separating races as well as classes. What had separated the lace-curtain Irish from the Irish working class now separated blacks from whites. In effect, the blacks displaced the Irish and German working-class people in Northton, and these in turn invaded the Village and in

some cases took on the status of the upper-class group. But blacks followed them, often settling on the least desirable blocks within the Village. In the social effort to coexist, skin color has become increasingly important for determining one's place in the specific status configurations that relate Northton residents to one another.

During the 1950s, when the Korean War was raging and the civil rights movement was a major political issue, a group of liberal-minded Quakers established a cooperative in one of the grand old houses of the Village. They called themselves the Village Friends, and they passionately supported pacificism, racial integration, and economic egalitarianism. The Village Friends invited blacks and others to live in their communal dwellings. They condoned interracial marriages among their members. The group even began buying dilapidated buildings in the Village, refurbishing them, and renting them out to the "right kind of people," including university students of color and others who had difficulty finding decent housing in the Village. It was the time of the "beat generation," and the Village Friends developed their own version of such Bohemian values, watered down to fit with their own commitments to liberalism on racial equality and other issues. In this regard they actively supported the civil rights movement, including "open housing," "school integration," and other issues they assumed to be consistent with their egalitarian ideals. Being especially concerned with "brotherhood and equality between the races," their most immediate mission was in the Village.

Their neighbors, the conservative middle-class Irish and German

Villages, looked on the Friends with suspicion, if not outrage, calling them "communists" and "nigger lovers." But in spite of such criticism, the Friends adhered to their stated goals: "to keep the Village from becoming a land speculator's paradise" and "to make the Village the kind of place where all different kinds of people can live."[2]

Meanwhile, the Bell Weather Street boundary was showing increasing signs of weakness. Numbers of poor blacks were concentrating on the periphery of the Village. The slumlords continued to buy run-down buildings, making the minimum of cosmetic repairs and renting them to "the poorest class of blacks" from Northton. The middle-class Irish and Germans as well as the Village Friends could rally together against this trend, for neither wanted the "wrong kind of blacks" for neighbors. As the Friends negotiated with the other whites for control over Village resources, the hidden restrictions in their own notions of who and what kind of blacks were to be tolerated became evident. They were hospitable to "educated" or "decent" blacks who would contribute to neighborhood stability and an ambience of racial and ethnic integration and harmony.

An association of concerned Villagers, the Village Development Association, sprang up. Individuals and families contributed to the association's fund for buying up properties, renovating them, and selling or renting to desirable tenants, black or white. The association held integrated picnics, parties, and parades in the neighborhood, celebrating their progressive social attitudes and attempting to

attract support from liberal whites and "decent" blacks from around the city. A neighborhood social movement of sorts developed as the Village Development Association's members attempted to "save" the Village from the hands of the speculators and the "racists." One informant explained that some of the Irish "saw what kind of people we were bringing in, and they were tolerant, if not accepting." In time some of the conservatives moved, of course, and others died. With those who remained into the early sixties there was some friction, but this eventually faded as new issues gained prominence in the neighborhood.

In time the Village Friends and their predecessors formed coalitions based on their common interests. Through their transactions, often carried out quietly, the Village Development Association accumulated numerous properties in the area and constituted an ecological invasion force, helping to change the character of the neighborhood to what it is today, socially and culturally diverse and well-integrated. As one forty-year-old black artist who lived through the fifties and sixties in the Village said proudly, "You know how it was everywhere else during the sixties? Well, it was like that in the Village in the fifties." Such is the pride with which some "old time Villagers" describe "the good old days."

With the advent of the Vietnam conflict and the protest against it, the Village became a magnet for dropouts from college, the armed services, and society in general. The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, with headquarters in the Village, attracted young men

in need of draft counseling--and their friends. The Village "slums" (huge abandoned apartment buildings dating back to the turn of the century) were inhabited by drug dealers, deserters from the armed services, runaway teenagers, and students. "Crash pads" accomodated groups of apparently penniless "hippies." Draft counseling was provided, and the workers from an underground print shop that specialized in phony identification for deserters seeking admission to Canada lived and housed clients in the roomy homes and apartments of the Village. An ethos of political radicalism developed, and the FBI was reputed to be infiltrating the neighborhood. Concerned and sympathetic residents were on the lookout then as now, but for a different kind of "enemy."

A run-down area that became known as the East Village was "squatted" on by the disaffected young of this era. Residents of the East Village saw their mission as bringing to fruition a "true" countercultural lifestyle. Food co-ops were started. One still thrives in an old apothecary shop on the fringe of the Village and draws members from all over the Village, Collegetown, and, to a lesser extent, Northton. The building itself is old. The copper scrollwork around the doors and windows is corroded green but intact. The symbolic staff and coiled snake adorn the archways as one passes into the bustling food store. The smells of nuts, grains, and fruits takes one back to the days of general stores, before supermarkets packaged, bottled, and froze their goods. The Co-op sells no foods that contain chemical preservatives. Moreover, they sell only products (such as

yogurt) whose containers are biodegradable. Even the bulk dog food is "all natural." The spirit of the Co-op is hard work, good nutrition, sharing, and equality. Its image in the neighborhood is of blue-jean clad men and women, beards, long hair, old pickup trucks, and mixed-breed dogs tied to poles out front. With its several thousand working and nonworking members, it is doubtful that the Co-op image reflects a true picture of the people who use it; its full-time work crew make up for what other members might lack in urban hip.

People with little money who wanted to find others like themselves sought out such establishments as the Co-op, gravitating to the vacant apartment buildings in East Village. Some of the sons and daughters of the original Village Friends chose to "drop out" and join what became known as the "hippies" and "squatters" of East Village. In this context the Village Friends' generation appeared patently conservative. A battle for "squatting rights" in empty buildings of East Village showed up the differences between generations, differences of economic interests that did not separate the older Irish and German inhabitants from their former rivals, the Village Friends. Both factions of the "old guard," after all, were primarily homeowners, an important distinction.

"Squatting" was how many Villagers described the living arrangements popular in the East Village during the turbulent sixties. The owners of some of the largest, most dilapidated apartment buildings were unable or unwilling to keep the premises empty, and the nonpaying tenants became known as "squatters." Though plumbing, wiring, and

other amenities were ancient, the apartments were large and charming with their bay windows, fireplaces, oak floors, and sixteen-foot ceilings. Such old urban dwellings, and the life experiences that then corresponded with them, were in marked contrast to the white middle-class suburban homes where many of the "squatters" had been raised. Group life revolved around "getting high" on "dope" or alcohol, "good music," the politics of "revolution," and sex. Asked about the period she spent as a "dropout" teenager in the Village, one thirty-year-old white woman replied, "Oh, yeah, that was back when I was fuckin' sailors." (The naval base at the south end of town attracted draft-age resisters in search of "undesirable discharge" status from the psychiatric examiners at the base. The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors provided support for many of these young men.)

Perhaps because so many saw it as a haven for political refugees, the Village claimed strong loyalties from its inhabitants. What some current Villagers refer to as the "good old days in the Village" still come to life as one walks the streets and learns "This was the old 3615 Co-op," or "That's the old headquarters for the CCCO." Many praise the Village as the most liberal-radical part of the city and would never consider living in any other area. Many have moved numerous times to different buildings or houses within the Village. As one informant said,

> There's something about the Village and the Village person. This is the greatest place to live. I wouldn't

> live anywhere else; you couldn't pay me to live out there among the squares and burbs.

Many of the old "antiwar people" continue to live in the Village, but it seems that the more affluent or family-oriented have dispersed to other areas of the city where public schools are viewed as better, or where crime is not seen as a major part of daily life. But the people who remain often hark back, particularly at parties and other social gatherings where there are such "antiwar people," to "the way it was" to the Village's political past, invoking legends and myths about "how good things used to be."

Today the Village is again being invaded, this time by young, primarily white professionals in search of elegant homes near the city and of "hot" or promising real estate investments. Their presence and anticipated presence in the area has an important effect on real estate values and thus on the present and future social organization of the Village. At social gatherings the incoming professional people, many of whom are similar in age to the former hippies, and the suburbanites tend to defer to the "old time Villagers," showing like-mindedness and a desire to uphold such "liberal-radical" values. But the professional people suffer a certain ambivalence about squatters and their friends. Similarly, the former hippies regard the newcomers with mixed feelings, for they "don't want to see the Village become an expensive suburban neighborhood in the city," affordable only to those willing to work conventional eight-hour days all year round.

The ex-hippie faction generally clings to the liberal-radical

ideology that emerged out of the fifties in the Village and attempts to hold the newcomers accountable for certain political ideals in face-to-face interaction. But such proudly unconventional veterans of the late fifties and sixties are now primarily apartment dwellers and even homeowners, and their presence is an important element in the social organization of the community. Indeed, this faction of ten- and fifteen-year veterans of the Village works to gain moral superiority not only over the incoming professionals, but also over the blacks of both the Village and the Northton ghetto.

This consideration points up the general significance of Bell Weather Street not only as a kind of traditional urban class-territorial border, but also as a color line, north of which very few white people live. Subtle and important differences do exist between former hippies and the blacks of Northton--differences that are emphasized by the ex-hippies, who, in social competition with blacks and incoming professionals, often feel constrained to assume middle-class respectability.

Northtonians in general have less private outdoor space per dwelling than do Villagers. The elegant facades and large, tree-scaped lots of the Village serve as props that any Villager, including blacks, can invoke to distinguish himself from his "slum-living" neighbors to the north.

But behind the facades Villagers do not present a uniform picture of affluence. Roaches roam many of the converted six-unit apartment buildings that Village landlords rent to students and former

squatters and often sell to the young professionals moving in. Roofs leak, floors need sanding and repair. Though the furnishings may give an impression of genteel poverty, they are objectively no better than the plastic-covered chartreuse sofas one might be invited to sit on in Northton.

Trish and Mike, ages thirty and thirty-three, are white former squatters. In conversations about the Vietnam years, Mike likes to present himself as on the front lines of the protest movement. He considers himself an urban radical. Mike was born and raised in the Kensington area of Eastern City, but left after high school for college in the West. After his studies at Western State College of Colorado, he returned to Eastern City, gravitated to the Village, and became involved in antiwar activities. Once in the Village, he joined a squatter commune, where he met his first wife, with whom he had a son. They are now separated. It was also in the commune that he met Trish, who gravitated from Allentown to Eastern City and then to the Village and now are proud expectant parents. Mike is a bus driver and Trish is a secretary for a downtown firm.

At one time Mike lived upstairs in the six-unit apartment building on the main street of the Village where my wife and I lived, and Trish was his regular visitor. Though we seldom socialized back then and have since gone separate ways, having once lived in the same building serves as a social bond for us, as it does for so many other Villagers; people who share such buildings often become friends. Since then, three years ago, Mike and Trish have become homeowners, a

major distinction among those of the squatter group, on a small back street near the periphery of the Village, an area where poor blacks from Northton have moved here and there.

For Mike and Trish, former squatters, the move into the two-story row house was a big one, opening them to possible criticism from their former fellow-squatters who now live in apartments in the area and keep alive a propertyless, free-spirit ethos. The house is small and run-down enough, though, and Mike and Trish are secure enough about themselves, that such criticism didn't deter what they saw an an economically advantageous move. The following field note conveys a glimpse of their situation:

> Mike answered the door at three in the afternoon. We exchanged greetings. The house is dark and cool, with only two front windows for light. The glass in the front door is cracked. An exposed brick wall runs the length of the living-dining area. Five or six mismatched, ripped, stained, and destuffed armchairs are arranged in a semicircle around a color television, which is turned up loud, tuned to a baseball game. We sit down and begin drinking beer from cans and eating turn sandwiches off paper plates. Mike and Trish moved in just three weeks before, and my visit is easy, with no explanation needed but the understood "I've come to see your new place" convention.

I learn from Mike that the clean-up before they took possession was long and laborious. All the walls had been coated with mildew, so Mike had to apply a special antimildew paint under the Chinese red latex they finally chose for the living room area. "The former tenants," Trish explained, "just up and left, apparently, without telling the landlord or clearing their food out of the refrigerator, or anything. You know Debbie from work?" She pauses. I shake my head. "Well, Debbie's pretty tough. I mean, she can stand a lot, but she came over to help last Saturday before we got rid of all the rotten stuff out back, and she almost had to leave. I mean, it was too much for Deb." Trish laughs and looks to Mike for confirmation.

"The chick's tough," Mike says, looking over from the baseball game. "So you know this place was in bad shape," Trish concludes. "I mean we found all kinds of works in the bathroom. Needles and disposable syringes and stuff. Stuffed under radiators and everywhere. Wanna see the place?"

I get up from my overstuffed chair and follow Trish up the narrow, crooked steps to the three bedrooms and bath on the second floor. I try not to show I'm noticing that the steps are coated with dirt and hair.

The wall is freshly painted in red, which Trish explains was chosen to tie in with the brick wall. Upstairs, clothes are lying everywhere. "What are your neighbors like?" I ask.

Trish slugs her beer, raising her arm and revealing the long hair in her armpits. They're neat," she answers. "Next door there's a sort of middle-class Quaker family with kids, which is great for Bobby" (Mike's eight-year-old son from his previous marriage). The marriage broke up after a "switch" among partners in the collective household where Mike, his former wife, and Trish and her former husband, Len, lived. Len and Mike's wife paired off and finally Trish and Mike moved to their own apartment. Neither couple has bothered to get a formal divorce, though this is five years later, and Bobby spends equal time at each parent's house. Trish feels very maternal toward Bobby, perhaps because she baby-sat for him so much when he was an infant and the two couples were living together.

"Next door we have the Rasta clubhouse," Trish says with a laugh. I laugh. The Rastas are a primarily black, Village-based "radical," "back-to-nature" group whose members wear their hair in dreadlocks, eat raw meat and don't believe in killing rats or roaches. All Villagers

know about the Rastas, and even most radicals and "old time Villagers" look on them with some distrust, if not contempt, though most residents recognize their right to live in the Village.

"Next door to them there's a couple of white guys who have something to do with the city, then a young black couple. On the other side is a family with kids, but kind of older, then three black families."

I notice the way Trish lumps the three black families together as though she described them sufficiently. "Have they been here a long time?" I ask.

"Yeah, I think so. They've got kids, and I think they might be a little hostile about white people moving in and their getting reassessed and stuff."

We turn our attention to the mess around us. Clothes are draped everywhere in the front bedroom. Boxes stand here and there, dripping with coat hangers and note-books, old ice skates, various miscellany.

Downstairs, Trish shows me the kitchen, which like most Village kitchens, is at the back of the house. "The washing machine tumbled down a flight of stairs during the move," Trish explains. "It hasn't been working right since." She laughs and bangs the Sears machine on

> the lid. Perhaps she is slightly embarrassed about owning one and takes some pleasure in laughing off the recent damage. I look around but cannot see much of the kitchen for dirty glasses, dishes, crumbs, overflowing trash bags, beer cans, and laundry. The ceiling has been lowered by the previous owner, possibly to cover cracked plaster. Cheap-looking gray ceiling tiles are interspersed with inset fluorescent lights. Trish takes me out the back door to the postage-stamp backyard where Mike has been setting a brick patio, using no concrete. A recent rain has washed away some of the mud, and the patio threatens to slide away. It seems like a humorously unsuccessful, halfhearted attempt to have what many other new homeowners in the Village have.

Since the mid-seventies squatters like Trish and Mike have been dispersing, leaving East Village for other neighborhoods or parts of the Village, or sometimes settling on the same block or in an apartment building owned by a member of the group they view as "straight."

Among such former squatters who now rent, there seems to be a mad rush to find ever-cheaper dwelling space as fewer and fewer rental units become available. With each move the former squatters seem less committed to their old attitudes toward property and "respectability." Former squatters tend to become politically and socially more conservative, and even "straight," as they age and take on family responsibilities. Trish and Mike continue to cling, though with some

difficulty, to unconventional social and political values and loyalties in the face of heightened street crime and economic conditions that make homeownership an attractive alternative to escalating rents.

During the late seventies many of the former squatters and hippies formed an "incredible coalition" with more conservative people of the Village and the city in general by supporting, not opposing, the city's harsh treatment of the Rasta group alluded to in the foregoing field note. As new "deviants" in the neighborhood, the Rastas seemed to take the squatters' and the hippies' place as outcasts. The Rastas are a self-styled "radical, back-to-nature" group, interracial but primarily black. They are disaffected people who live communally, openly rejecting public sanitation, education for their many children, taxation, and the local government's demands that they submit to city health inspection and relinquish semiautomatic weapons, which they were said to brandish on the front porch of their communal dwelling.

In the effort to reestablish civility in the community and to cast out the new undesirables, many former squatters included themselves on the side of the majority of residents of the Village. The battle against the Rastas was waged in the name of law and respectability, a battle reminiscent of that waged against the squatters by the Village Development members who sought to demonstrate to their conservative Irish and German "hosts" that they too were decent, law-abiding people.

Hence, as issues arise and economic conditions change, various interest groups within the Village have become moral communities for a

time, defining what they have seen as the proper norms and values of the neighborhood. The Village Friends were succeeded by the squatters, who were in turn succeeded by the even more outrageous Rastas, and factions became aligned under the Village's endlessly mutable credo, "live and let live." Over the years, the Village's black residents have slowly come to take part in this collective definition of the situation, though they are the ones who probably know best that the "openness" has its restrictions, the "tolerance" its limitations, and the espoused egalitarianism its shortcomings.

The Contemporary Setting

Today, feeling safe on the streets is the central concern even for most devoted supporters of egalitarianism and social tolerance. This concern is greatly complicated by issues of race and class in the community. New arrivals from the suburbs, recent immigrants, and even long-time Village dwellers daily confront the fact that public space in the community must somehow be shared by all kinds of people, rich and poor, black and white, including the sometimes desperate. What users of the Village streets usually want is safe passage--to and from work, school, and recreational areas where others of their own kind gather--but to effect this they must learn who to trust, who to avoid, and what preventive measures can help them avoid trouble. They thus exchange information about local neighborhoods, read the daily papers, listen attentively to television and radio reports, and try to plan their itineraries to maintain personal safety.

By living in the neighborhood and partaking of its lore, people develop sterotypic attitudes and expectations about what certain kinds of people are likely to do on the streets. For instance, white strangers are usually believed to be more trustworthy than black strangers. A black teenager wearing sneakers and bounding a basketball might dictate one course of action to a watchful resident; the same teenager without the basketball, loitering in front of a vacant house, might dictate quite another. In some areas of the Village the police might be called, basketball or no, just to "check things out." The time of day, the season of the year, even the past twenty years of the neighborhood's social history and involvement with the adjacent neighborhoods affect the meaning this black teenager has for the residents who watch and informally guard the streets and other public spaces. While the Village's neighborhoods are affected by citywide and even nationally held stereotypes, the area somehow imbues its residents with a peculiar and very local code of street etiquette, its own specific system of behavioral prescriptions and proscriptions for handling others on the streets with a minimum of trouble.

Such specific local street codes might well be viewed as collective responses to the related problems a given group of people faces each day. How much eye contact to allow on what streets at what time of day, who to talk to and what to say, where not to walk the dog, or how to behave in a stickup have their place in the code of the Village. By exchanging information and opinions about why things happen the way they do, the residents forge a "perspective"[4] on how to

handle the streets they must use. Though their backgrounds, attitudes, and values may differ greatly, a shared problem--social and personal safety--leads members of this urban neighborhood to behave similarly when faced with similar circumstances. In effect, they develop a street culture and, more specifically, street etiquette. With regard to street etiquette, one's neighbors form a reference group[5] by providing the perspective necessary for acting wisely in ambiguous or even overtly dangerous situations.

Unlike many of the city's neighborhoods, the Village of today eludes easy ethnic classification. It is not a black neighborhood, nor could it be described by any particular ethnic designation as it could have been at times during its history. Villages tend toward a certain cosmopolitan outlook that links them to individuals in other parts of the city and to a more general set of values. Whereas it might be argued that "ethnic" communities exist to provide their inhabitants a certain moral affirmation and ethnic and social identity, the Village seems to exist so that diverse groups of people can live practically from day to day with the others who share their public spaces.

Urban residents rarely can choose the total makeup of their neighborhood; they must make do with what they buy or rent into. In transitional neighborhoods like the Village, a seventy-year-old working-class Irish woman might wake up one morning and find she has a young black doctor for a neighbor. Though it is likely she would not normally socialize with blacks, or make neighborly social exchanges with them by choice, the first time she locks herself out or needs

someone to scrape ice off her step she might find herself "accepting" whomever happens to live next door. This does not necessarily mean she will refrain from whispering to white neighbors about "dirty coloreds" when her own son is mugged by a black man "up on 36th," for neighborly relations do not necessarily foster "community" relations.[6]

In the Village there seems to be no single moral community uniting the various residents on issues of politics, race, class, or even sexual preference and life-style. Respecting such issues and preferences, various friendship circles emerge, compete, and cooperate, and by so doing they unite and define the community. One may venture into the unknown when trying to collude with a neighbor about certain "moral" issues. For instance, a middle-class black woman and a middle-class white woman were talking on the black woman's front porch. The subject was a male neighbor who had just swished by in short shorts and white loafers (a gay fellow-homeowner). The black woman referred to him as "that weirdo," explaining to her neighbor that she didn't mind homosexuals "as long as they don't go around trying to attract attention to themselves." Not knowing how her neighbor felt about homosexuality, she was indeed taking a chance. When the white woman failed to concur, disagree, or even discuss the "proper" attire for gay males, the black woman, perhaps smarting a bit from the subtle rebuff, changed the subject. Several days later the black woman was at it again, but this time she was trying to collude with the gay neighbor about another neighbor, a "terrible old man on the block who lets his house go to hell," this time invoking a concern that all homeowners

share--property values. On this occasion sexual preference did not matter. The immediate problem of the "no good slum lord" took precedence over differences in what might be called moral persuasion.

Neighbors will enlist one another in such casting-out campaigns when a situation demands it, but they do so at some risk, for neighbors, unlike friends, do not necessarily share life-styles or ideals. To understand street etiquette in the Village, one must be familiar with the various local community circles that neighbors see themselves as belonging to.

Indeed, certain vague strains of unconventionality seem to be highly valued among the "true" veterans, those who consider themselves "old time Villagers." But one must keep in mind the crucial analytical distinction between moral communities and geographical neighborhoods, for it is from the neighborhood and the historically determined givens of Village life that all Villagers derive a common perspective on how to handle trouble on their streets. The collectively defined problems of residents within a given location help determine street demeanor. More specifically, this collective definition is consummated through communication and face-to-face interaction among neighbors who find themselves banding together against the constant threat of robbery, burglary, murder, rape, and harassment. To be sure, when neighbors tell each other tales of horror from the next block over, or something that someone heard happened to someone else five blocks away, the shape of the tale and definition of the actors will often depend on the values of the teller and the values he supposes his audience to share.

It is in this sense that a very general moral community is being forged each time neighbors get together and talk about the perpetrators of crime. In the telling of tales, a "we/they" dichotomy often becomes explicit as a community and perspective of "decent" people is hammered out.

> While casually sitting in their backyard, Adam and Lisa, a newly arrived white "professional" couple (he is an architect, she is a schoolteacher), and I were discussing their coming vacation to California. They were concerned about their house and wanted me to keep an eye on things. They lamented having to be so worried about break-ins but conceded that the Village was "not the suburbs." "If they do break in, they won't know just what to steal; they probably wouldn't know the value of half the things we have. They couldn't read a book. I just worry about my color TV," Adam said with a laugh. From Adam's tone of voice, his glance and nod toward Northton, it was clear that he presumed the would-be intruders were poor, ignorant and black.

Neighborly talk about crime becomes problematic when the age, race, ethnicity, or other defining attributes of the assailant and the victim are brought into the story. For when this occurs, neighbors, who seem bound to dominant, peculiarly Village, ideology of racial harmony and tolerance, if not full acceptance, of individual

differences, run the risk of offending some members of their audience. Hence neighbors tread lightly on these subjects, except when they forget themselves or presume they are in "safe" company and thus able to speak freely. Patterns of information exchange develop wherein certain sets of neighbors talk to each other with different degrees of frankness about the alleged or actual attributes of assailants and victims. For instance, a white person might tell his black neighbor a story in which the assailant was believed to be black, but he might politely omit race from the story if he judges the black neighbor likely to be offended by such racial references.

As neighbors come to know one another as individuals, fewer offenses are likely to occur, for various neighbors' identifications with certain social circles become known, and information exchange can proceed by certain neighborhood-specific code words such as the phrase "a couple of kids." Here race need not be overtly stated, and yet the fact of race is communicated. Coded or not, though, the collective definitions of "safe," "harmless," "trustworthy," "bad," "dangerous," and "hostile" become part of the perspective the Village provides its residents so that safe passage and at least the illusion of trust remain possible on the streets.

It is through neighborly talk and information exchange that inhabitants of the Village provide new arrivals as well as established residents with rules concerning the use of sidewalks at different times of day. With the give and take of reports of personal experiences, including "close calls" and horror stories," and their explanations,

neighborhood communion can be initiated and affirmed. It is in this way that the neighborhood "perspective" is subtly but surely given.

A young couple moving in from the suburbs learns from an upstairs neighbor that the reason Mrs. Legget walks with a cane is not just that she is eighty-five years old. Until several years ago, Mrs. Legget took her regular afternoon walk unaided by the thick wooden stick she now relies on to get up and down the stairs to her second-floor apartment. Then one afternoon she was knocked to the pavement by "a couple of kids" outside Mel's, the neighborhood market where black high school students from the Village and the adjacent neighborhood of Northton stop for candy and soda, and sometimes congregate, on their way home from school. In the scuffle, Mrs. Legget's purse was snatched. The police took her to the hospital, where it was discovered she had a broken hip.

Since her injury, Mrs. Legget's gait is less steady. She still takes her walks, but she now goes out earlier and avoids Mel's at the time school lets out. When the new couple ask about the circumstances of her mugging, she is unwilling to describe the "kids" who knocked her down. She only smiles and gestures toward the small, low-slung cloth bag in which she now carries her valuables. "This one is mug-proof, they tell me," she says, a playful glimmer in her eye. It is a poignant lesson for the young couple: purse straps should be worn around the neck and across the chest, bandolier style, not carelessly hooked over the arm. And perhaps Mel's is worth avoiding at three in the afternoon.

As time goes by the young couple will come to understand the special meaning of the phrase "kids," which Villagers, particularly whites, often use to avoid direct reference to a young assailant's blackness. The special social history of the Village helps make certain euphemisms or code words preferable to more open racial descriptions. So "kids" used in a story about street mugging generally means "black kids," and Villagers know it.

In racially or ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods, residents may openly, even publicly, stereotype outsiders as the perpetrators of trouble. And, when exchanging information about crime, they need not worry much about offending one another with such phrases as "colored kids" or "niggers" or "blacks." But Villagers are especially sensitive about such words, for one's neighbors are as likely to be black as white, and either way they are likely to consider blatant racial stereotyping distasteful, or even a show of ignorance. In social defense, a Villager's conversation is likely to be spiced with the code words and euphemisms peculiar to the Village.

It is true in the Village, as in all neighborhoods in the city, that young black males are watched for false moves and often blamed for crimes when no contrary evidence is available. Because the Village is integrated, however, the all-too-easy racial dichotomization of people into criminal and victim categories becomes complicated by the friendly, even intimate, relations between blacks and whites. Such a situation blurs the strictly color-coded street orientation that residents of racially homogeneous neighborhoods tend to adopt for deciding whom to

trust on the streets.

But it is important to understand that in the Village one's skin color continues to be of significance in public places. It is perhaps so significant that it constitutes a principle of community social organization. White people tend to group themselves with other whites, and blacks with other blacks. On the streets, whites are more trusting of white strangers than of black strangers, particularly at night. Strikingly, blacks seem also to be more trusting, or at least not as suspicious, of white strangers. This is perhaps largely due to the general community view that blacks, particularly young males, are responsible for most of the street crime in the area and are thus to be held suspect until they prove themselves trustworthy. In general, however, perhaps because of the social distance felt between the races and the fear of crime among whites, blacks seem to feel much more at ease on the public streets than do whites.

> On successive summer nights I walked and drove around the Village streets. At night the parking spaces are mostly full, in contrast to the daytime Village. Weather permitting, people sit on their porches in lawn chairs and swings, sometimes completely hidden from passerby. The streets are quiet except for the faint chirps of crickets or the put-put of a car. Occasionally the silence is broken by the blare of the radio carried by a passing youth, but soon things are "quiet" again. One night I saw a black woman walking. When we met she said

"Hello." I returned her greeting and continued. Then I saw an elderly black man on the other side of the street. He didn't acknowledge me. Next I saw a young black woman pushing a stroller with her three- or four-year-old child about ten feet behind her. She said "Hi," and I said "Hey," returning the greeting. Farther down the street I encountered four black youths. As we approached each other I tensed up and said, "How ya'll feelin'," a greeting common among blacks of the city. One youth returned, "Al 'right." They continued, and I went on my way. Between nine o'clock and midnight I encountered about fifty people, all but eight of them black. It seems that blacks are more inclined to use the Village streets at night than are whites. During the day, whites can be seen walking, working in their yards, painting their houses, or conversing with friends on street corners.

This is not to say that blacks are unafraid or unconcerned about the streets. Clearly, as my experiences have shown, blacks can be just as concerned as the whites. It might be argued that, compared with whites, particularly those whites now moving into areas such as the Village, blacks seem to have much more experience on the streets and know better how to manage street relations.

At three o'clock Sunday morning I parked my car one

street over from my house. To get home, I now had to walk to the corner, turn up the street to another corner, turn again and walk about fifty yards. It was a misty morning, and the streets were exceptionally quiet. Before I got out of my car, I found my door key and held it in hand. Then, sitting in the parked car with the lights out, I looked up and down the street. I looked at the high bushes, at the shadows. After satisfying myself that it was safe, I got out of my car, with door key in hand, and proceeded to the first corner. As I moved down the street I heard the heavy footsteps of another person, a man. I looked up. A dark figure in a trench coat. I slowed down. He continued. As he passed me I said nothing, but allowed him to get in front of me. Now I was left with the choice of walking about five feet behind the stranger or of crossing the street, out of my way, and walking parallel with him on the other side. I chose to cross the street. At this time of night it is important to defer to strangers by giving them room. This is the etiquette. It was important for a number of reasons. First, the stranger could be a potential mugger looking for a victim, in which case it was important to put distance between him and me. Second, if he was just a pedestrian on his way home, the norm is to allow him the feeling that he has clear and safe passage, a norm

> that would have been violated had I continued close behind him. The violation of such a norm might have made such a person tense up and even take precautionary measures, from running to a confrontation, presuming that I was a potential mugger. To present our relationship in the most realistic light, I chose distance, giving the stranger, as well as myself, much room for operation.
>
> When I reached the corner, after walking parallel with the person for a block, I waited until he had crossed the next street, moving ahead, then I crossed to his side behind him, but walking away from him at a forty-five degree angle. He looked back, keeping his eye on me. I looked at him, doing the same. We moved farther and farther apart. I continued to look back over my shoulder until I reached my front porch, at which point, with key ready, I unlocked the door and entered.

In this situation skin color was important. I believe the man on the street distrusted me in part because I was black, and I distrusted him in part because he was black. It appears that the "master status-determining characteristic" of skin color[6] is at work in public places of the Village, that before strangers are considered trustworthy, skin color is taken seriously into account, often if not always negating the person's claims to full membership in the community. Blacks, law-abiding and otherwise, know this only too well, and they work to deal

with it as a public problem of race relations, an effort that creates friction with many of the white members of the community, as well as with other blacks.

That skin color is so important to those making up the public community is forcefully demonstrated by the great care given to seemingly casual public encounters and social interactions. Responses and tentative resolutions to this problem however, are indeed far from casual in their implications for community social organization.

A set of informal rules for navigating the streets has emerged among residents and other users of the public spaces of the Village. These rules allow members of diverse groups orderly passage with the promise of security, or at least the minimum of trouble and conflict. These rules are enacted in specific circumstances, particularly those in which people feel threatened. A public etiquette emerges and is initiated at just that juncture where the jurisdiction of formal agents of social control ends and personal responsibility is sensed to begin. The result amounts to at least a deceptive appearance of an effortlessly ordered and racially integrated community.

In fact, color prejudice is much at work in the social ordering of the community. But this prejudice should be distinguished from a traditional racial prejudice that was perhaps more total in its emotional content and its effects on relations between the races. Those of the Village who engage in the present type of color prejudice do so not from racial hatred, but from the need for personal defense. In an unexpectedly practical manner, the residents' cognitive maps of

the area are color-coded, contributing a situational and selective aspect to such prejudice. To be sure, this prejudice has as a basis an inordinate fear of blacks, and an association of black males and street crime. In an effort to avoid danger on the streets, residents of the Village undertake various defensive strategies. And black middle-income people appear just as eager as whites to prejudge and defer to black males, particularly the young, in the interest of safe passage on the streets. While all groups are inclined to engage in defensive behavior against the stereotypic black male, many blacks and "street-wise" whites attempt to be selective, carefully choosing those blacks they will distrust. But many whites, and an increasing number of blacks, tend to cast a broad net of defensive prejudice around them, thus holding suspect most black strangers they encounter.

Class seems to be significant in determining how residents approach strangers and their styles of personal adjustment to the problematic Village streets. Middle-class people, regardless of color, seem much more cautious on the streets than those of the working class or those of the urban counterculture of the sixties. The middle-class people tend to be very careful with their children, even in broad daylight; they walk with their children on a remarkably short invisible tether. Working-class blacks appear much more at ease on the streets, and their children are allowed to roam more freely. It may be that this difference has less to do with relative differences in fear of crime than with differences in the sense of life chances in society. To be middle class in the Village, regardless of race, is to have some

sense of program or agenda. It is this sense, and the future it promises, that keeps the middle-class person alive to the physical, and social, precariousness of the public environment of the Village, highlighting his sense of self-worth. He becomes acutely aware of things that might destroy his chances at the "good" life.

As the working-class black person navigates the streets in a seemingly relaxed and carefree manner, it is not that he cares less for himself and his children than the middle-class person. Rather, he may not have the same heightened sense of expectations and returns on his investment of living. And to many working-class blacks the streets are somehow less suspect and more tolerable, though never completely trustworthy. This difference in class and racial outlook makes for important differences in views of the precariousness of the Village environment.

Another reason for this difference in orientation to the street culture is the sense of home turf that many blacks feel on the streets. In the Village, the numerous white homes notwithstanding, residents have the sense that black people dominate the public spaces. And blacks appear to enjoy public hegemony over the area, an appearance that is repeated through racial deference patterns and demeanor on the streets. This is illustrated in the following field notes:

> It was a warm evening in May. A middle-aged white Villager was gardening in his front yard, which opens on relatively quiet Linden Avenue. The street was calm, for the real traffic had not yet begun. He went to his work,

> busily digging with his hand trowel. Suddenly, out of nowhere, three black youths appeared. One carried a large radio, turned off, one carried a basketball, and the third simply walked. They were dressed in jeans, light jackets, and sneakers. One wore a dark blue cap. They talked among themselves and appeared to enjoy one another's company. As the youths approached, the white man acted very much involved in his work, though he could see them from the corner of his eye. They noticed him but continued on their way. As soon as their backs were to the man, he stopped his gardening and took a long scrutinizing look, watching them until they were out of sight. Then he returned to his work.

And on another occasion:

> Near the local high school, not far from the trolley tracks, stood five teenage girls. The girls were lighting up and passing around a pack of cigarettes. Each girl took one and passed the pack on. On the other side of the street walked two white girls on their way to the Village. One of the white girls looked intently at the group of black grils. Then came this from one of the black girls: "What you looking at!!" "Yeah, bitch. What you lookin' at!" said another. "Yeah!" said another. Laughter mixed with mean looks and scowls came

from the group of black girls. Something had been started. The white girl immediately looked away, perhaps wishing she had never looked over there. Visibly shaken, she and her friends hurriedly walked toward the Village.

And again:

On a warm summer day, my two-and-a-half-year-old daughter and I approached the local community minipark in the center of the Village. The park, which is understood to be open to all residents of the community, has swings, old tires for climbing, and other play equipment for children. Sitting in the swings were a middle-aged white father and his three-year-old son, a white woman of about twenty-five with her four-year-old daughter, and a black woman of about thirty with her four-year-old son. My daughter and I acknowledged the others, and she began to play. Soon she was involved with the equipment and the little girl. This went on for about half an hour. Then two black boys of seven or eight wandered up. In a while a twenty-five-year-old black man and his four- and six-year-old daughters appeared. The group lasted for about five minutes after his arrival, which apparently tipped the acceptable balance between the races. At this point the whites began trickling away, and soon the park was

> totally occupied by blacks. My daughter and I stayed about thirty minutes longer and witnessed the arrival of two other black children, but no whites. As I spoke with residents about the park and observed it over time, the racial use of the park that my daughter and I witnessed seemed to be a patterned occurrence.

While use of the park is not supposed to be restricted to any one race, there are differences that seem racially determined. Often the people using the park are either all black or all white. It seems that when blacks are there whites know they are to stay away. But when whites are using the equipment and occupying the park, it is not a signal for the blacks to stay away. Usually the blacks approach the park regardless of who is there, do what they want for as long as they want, and leave when they are ready. If blacks precede whites, blacks tend not to leave, and whites tend not to come. But if whites precede blacks, whites tend to leave as blacks come at will. Consequently, blacks are put in the role of "invader" and "successor." The dominant community impression may be that blacks have a free hand with the "public" space, using it whenever they please while whites are more limited in their use of the park, and that whites readily defer to blacks in public space.

The relative use of public spaces and the resulting social distancing behavior of whites toward blacks must be viewed in the context of community residents' fear of crime and their acute sense that crime is increasing in the Village area. At the same time, it is important

to remember that there is a popular, if unsupported, belief among many white Village residents that young blacks are primarily responsible for street crime in the area, and that blacks are not as likely to assault other blacks on the streets when whites are available.

In reality, though, middle-income blacks in the Village, who often share a victim mentality with newly arrived middle-income whites, are just as distrustful of black strangers as are their white neighbors, if not more so, distrust expressing itself in social distancing toward black strangers whom they "know" only too well. At times such blacks, who may possess a certain wisdom of the streets, become protective of their white neighbors and coresidents. They find themselves instructing the inexperienced whites in the ways of the streets, and they sometimes take on a certain sense of outrage mixed with moral guilt for street crimes of young blacks.

A felt deterrent to black-on-black crime is the possibility that the victim will recognize the assailant later on. While this may seem farfetched considering how large the general area is, it is plausible in relative terms, black-on-white crime rather that black-on-black. It may be that the possibility of recognition causes the potential mugger, if only for a crucial moment, to think twice about robbing a black person. Not only may the victim "bump into" his assailant again, but there may be a good chance that the victim will recognize him and, equally important, "take care of him." Many a mugger would not like to carry such a burden, especially when there are so many whites around who are assumed, if erroneously, to be easier to rob, unlikely to "bump

into" and recognize them, and certainly not as likely to do anything about it if they do.

Further, there is a sense in which "membership" in the black community is presumed to transcend other considerations in potential stickup situations, a sense that may be felt by both black assailant and potential black victim. It may be that such feelings of racial group belongingness allow blacks who walk the streets the pretense that they are less likely to be victims than their white counterparts. But such a racial interpretation of cultural responses to crime is much too simple. One may argue that the average mugger is much more concerned with the prospective trouble or ease of taking his victim's property, and then with the possible personal consequences of his actions. Given the important actual and presumed difference in the existential situations of blacks and whites in the Village, as well as the potential mugger's interpretation of such, it may seem that whites would be viewed and treated as easier targets, race in itself notwithstanding.

But many residents, black and white, succumb to the convenient view of street crime as primarily a racial problem though many whites who feel this way are inclined to keep such riskily "racist" views to themselves unless they are convinced they are in sympathetic company. The talk that associates young blacks with street crime seems in "mixed company" to be a liberty reserved to blacks only, for the black person who voices such attitudes is supposedly not capable of the prejudice so often attributed to whites. Such widely held opinions contribute to the public conception and social definition of the black male,

particularly the youth, a source of trouble and as the primary perpetrator of street crime, especially against whites.

But, with a sense of subcultural immunity from the charge of being racist, Village blacks make some of the same, if not more incisive, public observations, associations, and distinctions concerning blacks and "crime in the streets." At times, in the mixed company of blacks and whites, they take the sociological liberty of "calling a spade a spade" with a sense of impunity.

That whites and blacks commonly care at all about such issues is significant, suggesting a certain social commonality and presence in the same moral community. Such a view allows them the sense, albeit limited, that, as residents of the same community, they have the same problems of street navigation. But this view and the corresponding sense ultimately breaks down, affecting neighborhood trust and the social integrity of the community. For, in sociological fact, the experiences and problems a person with dark skin faces on the streets are often, though not always, very different from those faced by a person with white skin. The idea of community gives individuals an interest in interpreting all such experiences similarly. Residents, black and white, entertain the fiction that "we're all in this together." But this fiction is strained if not exposed, when they are required to match street etiquette roles to appropriate situations. In these cases different kinds of people must enact the roles differently, depending on what they mean or think they mean to those others who "bear watching" and thus deserve special treatment.

Thus, not only do a person's length of residence and social experience in the community help determine whether he will be involved in a trying street situation, but color, sex, age, dress, demeanor, and comportment are also critical. Incidents become situation-specific and person-specific. More salient than race for the interpretation of this street culture is the widely shared community sense of group position as decent and law-abiding citizens in contrast to criminals, color and class distinctions notwithstanding.

Footnotes to Chapter 1

1. The information presented as "history" is a composite of accounts collected through extensive interviews with longtime residents of both the Village and Northton. Though the "facts" of the various accounts sometime differ, it is coherence with regard to ideals and impressions that the fieldworker in a study like this is after. By presenting a single story of what the Village and Northton have been through in the past twenty years the sociologist need not pretend that "this was the way it was," for what is important to current inhabitants' group perspective is what they have learned from veteran Villagers. In a sense the history presented here is a kind of lore that is remembered to be true, what has come down through the years as a guiding ethos and neighborhood identity.

2. The Village is a fictionalized name deemed convenient for description, since the community in question has qualities of smallness, quaintness, and remoteness often associated with villages. There is no intent to be speaking about Greenwich Village in New York, though Greenwich Village may share some of the same problems and collective solutions worked out by the residents of the "Village" of this study.

3. The Village comprises approximately 1,600 residents; 60 percent are black, 40 percent are white.

4. For a discussion of the concept of "group perspectives" see

Becker et al. (1961), pp. 36-37, notably, "Group perspectives are modes of thought and action developed by a group which faces the same problematic situation. They are customary ways members of the group think about such situations and act in them. . . . They contain definitions of the situation" and also the discussion of the difference between attitudes and values and perspectives, wherein perspectives are defined as situationally specific and including modes of action as well as collectively arrived at out of a group's felt need.

5. See Shibutani (1955), p. 564: "A perspective is an ordered view of one's world--what is taken for granted about the attributes of various objects, events, and human natures. It is an order of things remembered and expected as well as things actually perceived, an organized conception of what is plausible and what is possible; it constitutes the matrix through which one perceives his environment."

6. See Everett C. Hughes (1945), pp. 353-359.

Chapter 2

The Village and Northton: A Natural Area

The early social scientists of the city, notably Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, and Louis Wirth, were as much concerned with dividing their vast, sprawling subject matter into manageable units as are the inhabitants of cities themselves. Though as social scientists their reasons perhaps developed more out of a need for a plan of study than out of any practical need to navigate the streets safely, they and their successors nevertheless have been as involved as city-dwellers in the task of creating boundaries that distinguish one neighborhood or community from another. To quote Gerald Suttles's The Social Construction of Communities: Both folk models and social science images of the local community have an importance which goes beyond their representational accuracy. These simplified images serve us well by reducing the complexity of the urban landscape to a range of discrete and contrastively defined ecological units despite the general continuity, gray areas, and constant changes in any section of the city. They help us to decide where to walk at night, and when to start worrying about our children's absence; they help us make a welter of day-to-day decisions in which what we do depends heavily on where we think we are. Above all, these cognitive maps show our preoccupation with personal safety and the need to get a quick fix on the

relative trustworthyness of fellow pedestrians, residents, and "trespassers." In the absence of a very discrete and simple ecological pattern to urban life, the images developed by social scientists or other observers become especially essential to decision making of this type. Where these cognitive models may not be correct, they are at least determinate. Sometimes the actual ecological pattern of a city is so inchoate or gradually changing that a direct, or literal, description, if that were possible, could only confuse and lead to indecision. A cognitive map of our urban environs is useful for precisely the reason that it simplifies to the point of exaggerating the sharpness of the boundaries, population composition, and neighborhood identity (Suttles 1972, p. 4). Suttles proceeds with his analysis of what he calls "cognitive models" by defining a particular model that he found was used by various residential groups on Chicago's West Side to mark off "defended neighborhoods" (Suggles 1972, pp. 20-43). "Such cognitive maps provide a set of social categories for differentiating between those people with whom one can or cannot safely associate and for defining concrete groupings within which certain levels of social contact and social cohesion obtain" (p. 22). As a social scientist, Suttles discovered this collectively defined and collectively enforced set of boundaries that residents of the West side use to regulate their behavior in public, yet he himself is most eager to point out that any given set of boundaries is a creation of mind, either an observer's detached mind or a resident or participant's own practically oriented mental mapping-out. Boundaries of defense are just one set of many

possible sets of boundaries social scientists can "discover" about that continuous physical structure we call the city.

In this study, the residents of Northton and the Village do indeed impose on "their city" a more or less identical set of boundaries so they can navigate and think about their neighborhood. Suttles's concept of the "defended neighborhood" can be used to explain much of etiquette and street behavior, particularly expressive behaviors taking place along the boundaries between defended zones. However, there exists a second set of cross-cutting boundaries that operate in the lives of many Villagers and Nortonians, on perhaps a less conscious level than boundaries of defense, but that are just as meaningful in determining what kinds of people deserve trust. This second set of boundaries is suggested by Suttles's use of the term "ecological units" and has a theoretical history in the work of the early human ecologists such as Park, Burgess, and Wirth.

In his essay "Human Ecology"[1] Robert Park used the concept of the "natural area" to divide "his" city into units for study. Reacting against the use of arbitrarily imposed administrative units such as census tracts for sociological study, and borrowing from the work of Darwin and Thompson, Park suggested the "natural area" as a sociologically sensible way of imposing boundaries in studies that had an areal dimension. Since in strict biological ecology "natural area" denoted a territory within which relations of competitive cooperation could be said to exist, Park's metaphorical use of that same term brought forth for consideration the economic as well as the social and

cultural organization of a given ecologically defined area. Principles such as dominance, invasion, and succession crept into the sociological studies done by Park and his students, principles Park illustrated by using Darwin's famous example of cats and clover (Park 1967, pp. 69-70). In this example the competition among varieties of clover for ground space within a physically defined territory can be said to depend on the population of cats that kill the mice that destroy the nests of the only variety of bee that can reach the nectar of the heartsease clover as it does on factors of climate and rainfall that directly affect the growth of the clover. While much of sociology's subsequent use of biological principles has been criticized (Park 1967, p. 70) and rightly so, nonetheless it was Darwin who borrowed a sociological principle to explain biological processes, not the other way around. As Thompson said of Darwin: "He projected on organic life a sociological principle, and thus vindicated the relevancy and utility of a sociological idea within the biological realm" (Suggles 1972, p. 28). Mistaken ideological offshoots such as "social Darwinism" notwithstanding, sociology, especially "community studies," which necessitate some areal organization of the subject matter, has proceeded directly with at least an implicit human perspective to guide it. Park's adoption of the specific term "natural area" was perhaps unfortunate, since it has led social scientists of the city to fault the entire perspective on the grounds that "natural" boundaries, boundaries commonly conceived of as rivers, mountains, oceans, or even more loosely as train tracks, empty lots, or blocks of industry, cannot

be empirically shown to divide residential groups in the city in all cases. Indeed, defended neighborhoods, in Suttles's view, often cross over man-made or "natural" boundaries or, on the other hand, exist side by side within areas wholly uninterrupted by any physical barriers (Suttles 1972, p. 28). Through the appearance of continuity of physical structure in the city has tended to blur the presence of natural areas in Park's ecological sense, such competitive and cooperative relations as are depicted in the example of the cats and the clover are discoverable within more or less physically distinct areas of the city, and subdivision according to sociological criteria as well as what Suttles would call folk models is possible. Moreover, the physical givens of such natural areas can themselves be examined in the way a biologist might examine the physical givens of a landscape, and these givens are partial determinants of the nature of the ongoing human competition therein.

Perhaps the image of a map and a set of transparent overlays will help explain this. Take the most factual rendering of the area north of the university in Greater Eastern City, that is, a map of street names and parks only. If one were to lay on top of this a transparency with a black boundary line falling along the train tracks on the east, along Main Street of Greater Eastern City on the west, along campus boundaries on the south, and not along Bell Weather Street, but rather farther north along Northton Avenue until it intersects the tracks, this area, encompassing both Northton and the Village, might be called a "natural area" in Park's sense. The residents living to the north

and south of Bell Weather Street at times behave in ways that negate this "lumping together," but, precisely because so much of their status-oriented behavior involves splitting the area into two neighborhoods--Northton and the Village--the whole can be viewed as a single system within which residents compete for resources and status. For example, "Blacks on the other side of Bell Weather don't know how to act" is a statement made by a black person from the Village to show that by comparison he does know how to act. Whereas Suttles uses the contrastive nature of neighborhood identities to explain their separateness, one can also use this contrastive quality to explain their relatedness, even their ecological convergence.

What, then, might reasonably be considered "the physical givens" of the Northton-Village area, and how do these givens operate to encourage cooperation and competition within the area? For one thing, the size of the buildings and their suitability for conversion into either one- and two-bedroom apartments or large one-family homes in part determines residential density and the character of the population. Although it is true that the greatest concentration of grand old townhouses and mansions is to be found in the nine-block heart of the Village, this is only a general statement of the relative size of the dwellings in the two neighborhoods. As Suttles points out, "Affluent and respectable areas often achieve their singularity by being only slightly different from less affluent and respectable areas. . . . Residential identies are embedded in a contrastive structure in which each neighborhood is known primarily as a counterpart to some of the

others, and relative differences are probably more important than any single and widely shared social characteristic (Suggles 1972, p. 28). The same may be said of an area's physically distinct characteristics. While Northton is generally thought of as more "run-down" and "crime-ridden," much of this definition derives from the fact that it is more uniformly inhabited by blacks. On blocks well north of Bell Weather Street, grand old mansions resembling those in the Village pop up here and there. The careful observer soon catches on that what was once a sparsely settled conglomeration of huge old homes has here and there been interrupted by, and in some areas has given way to, the two-story brick row houses that one generally associates with Northton. Because Northton has gained the stigma of being "a black area," its mansions have more frequently been left to rot, overlooked thus far by the ambitious Village landlords who can more easily see a four-story twin on the main street in the Village as ripe for quick conversion into a six-unit "income property," rentable to students or white professionals. In fact, the same gingerbread facades and the same arrangements of rooms exist in vacant, decaying townhouses just six blocks north in Northton. There are signs that these places will be bought up and "developed" in the coming decade as land values rise in the "outer city."

Until ten or fifteen years ago even the Village was considered by many to be too "slummy" for investment. Many of its large homes thus are still not converted into apartments. These places have tended to draw some white middle-class families, many of which include an

architect, some black middle-class families who could then afford such huge places, and, importantly, landlords and developers who might otherwise have taken their profits and paid to live elsewhere--in higher style. Instead they have remained anchored to the area. Among such people it is a status symbol to own and inhabit one of the big old townhouses alone. Even landlords with no families hang onto their "prize" property as their own residence, thus keeping the Village from becoming a neighborhood of irresponsible absentee landlords. One such Village landlord, a woman I shall call Eudora, exemplifies the responsible-owner ethos that characterizes landholding on the main blocks in the Village.

Eudora, a white, fifty-year-old amateur architect and professional landlord in the Village, owns five or six multiple-unit dwellings in the residential "heart" of the Village. She parks her blue Peugeot sedan in front of her own home in the Village and lends it out to the various "kids" she hires to fix this or that broken fence, sand a floor in some building she is currently renovating, or clean the yard surrounding one of her biggest properties, a twelve-unit twin townhouse on the main street, just across from Mel's. The "kids" she hires are usually young black men she "knows" from previous jobs or who come to her by recommendation from other workers. Occasionally she hires a bonafide carpenter or tradesmen, but usually the renovations she makes are simply cosmetic, involving a couple of coats of paint or a new sheet of linoleum. The workers are sometimes given projects in Eudora's own yard. For example, one sunny day they were visible and

very audible, using hand sanders to refinish lengths of old bowling alleys that Eudora had bought to make the "modern" kitchen countertops and bars she likes to use to divide what she calls living and eating areas. Usually her renovations involve knocking out walls built by former landlords to provide "separate kitchens" for apartment dwellers who wanted more than just one long room. Now the trend is toward larger, more open spaces, so the "fake" walls come down and bar-height counters are installed. An "illusion" of space is thus created, and chrome-armed, frosted-glass globes spread light through the white-walled, "spacious" one-bedroom apartments. Also, the price goes up.

Eudora's own home and yard are impeccably restored to their old Victorian proportions. Her three-story red brick house received a local "renovation award," the proof of which it wears as a sticker pasted to the heavy oak front door. The yard is one of the Village's largest, filling a space where another house might easily fit. Most of it is hidden from the street by a redwood fence, but from a second-floor window of the house directly behind one can glimpse the suburb-like lawn and patio the fence encloses. Especially in the summer, when Eudora brings her giant houseplants outdoors and arranges them around the patio furniture and the barbecue, one can admire private outdoor space at a high level. A redwood picnic table on the brick patio is sometimes used for repotting and at other times is a lounging platform for Eudora's well-fed cats. The expanse of lawn is deep green all summer long. The flowerbeds are meticulously weeded and are watered with built-in sprinkler heads. The wood trim at the back of the house

is neatly painted in a rich teal blue, a Federalist color that is gaining popularity among the renovators of the Village. The wrought iron scrollwork around the windows and grates is uniformly black and shiny. Storm windows go up in the winter, screens in the summer. Walks are swept. In the spring, bulb plantings abound in the sloping front yard. Eudora's is a small patch of the suburban dream-come-true in the midst of Greater Eastern City.

Surrounded as they are by sycamore trees, hundred-year-old shrubs, and twenty- and thirty-foot grass borders, Village apartment buildings and homes require more than the average janitorial staff. Black corner men and young boys from the Village and Northton are drawn into the Village economy as they take on odd jobs for various landlords from time to time. Usually black and unskilled, these males constitute a work force and also a residential group, for they often rent from the same landlord they work for and are known to them from face-to-face interaction on the streets and in the public places of the Village. Occasionally Eudora even comes to trust one or two of these black men enough to let them drive her Peugeot, a much-valued show of prestige among the workers. One such trusted employee, a black man of about thirty, has since become a union carpenter and now shuns "odd jobs for low pay" like the ones Eudora provides. He now talks about her with resentment.

> "You know, that woman used to live in a one-bedroom apartment over on _____ Street, but she just saved and saved her money, man, and lived like a recluse for all

> those years and started buyin' up places, and she owns like half the Village now, man. Her and Seltzer" (another Village landlord).

When questioned about where Eudora finds men to work for her, Jim replied,

> "She hears about 'em through word of mouth, you know. She gets a lot of 'em through Seltzer, but she don't hire no one she don't know personally, man. You gotta know someone who worked for her before, and that way she just keeps funnelin' 'em through, you know?"

Indeed, Eudora (whom her men refer to as "Miz Eudora" in a show of deference), keeps a tight rein on her workers as much as possible. She can be seen and heard in the yards of her properties bossing the crew around, trying to shape them into a professional-looking team of workers, which they are not.

> "Cut this! Now that!" she shouts in the manner of a drill sergeant. The men comply in the way any team would--football, army platoon, or whatever. In her presence they work very hard, mowing and cutting and picking up trash in the yard. But the moment she leaves, sometimes in her Peugeot, sometimes on foot around the corner to see about another property, the men sit back down and resume their conversations, shooting the breeze

under the cool green canopy of sycamores. It is during these times that they must often explain their presence to residents of the building and passersby.

Usually these men, especially, the least known and the least skilled of them have little commitment to the owner of the building they are working in. Their wages are just enough to convey a semblance of caring and of taking them seriously. But this stake is often too small, for some of the men have no qualms about "ripping off" the buildings or telling their buddies about the building for future "rip off." Even the men who do not live in the buildings think about them with this in mind. Thus, when they come into a yard or a house and are confronted by tenants, especially white tenants, who make few distinctions between the local blacks, they feel the need to explain themselves, even though many times they have already been "explained" by their sweeping up or painting activities, and by the loud orders given them by "Miz Eudora."

As the seasons change and tenants come and go, the amount and nature of the unskilled labor required to maintain the buildings varies. Rather than keep a full-time maintenance crew, the Village landlords hire and fire more or less at will, perhaps keeping one full-time man on the payroll year-round to be responsible for trash removal, pest exterminating, and odd jobs. Such marginal and precarious employment is a situation certain blacks in the area have had to deal with. This is indicated in the following note concerning a research visit to the apartment of a laid-off carpenter the day he had received

word from his landlord, this time Seltzer, that a fence-building job they had negotiated the day before was off.

> "Listen to this, man." He walked over to his answering machine and switched on the tape. A male voice came on, sheepishly, "Uh, Ralph, this is _____. I was just callin' to let you know that the fence we were talking about the other day, uh, well, it looks like I won't be needing you, since the other guy that usually does work for me says he can get time to do it after all. So guess I won't be seein' you. Uh, thanks anyway. Keep in touch."
>
> Ralph, the carpenter, switched off the machine and took a swig of his gin and tonic. "That guy's a pain in the ass anyway," he said. "He's, like, super rich. You should see his house, man. The entrance is all stained glass, the original stuff, and all these fancy glass lamps and inlaid wood-carved chests from the Ming dynasty and stuff. But he's a real creep. He's got this wife from Israel or Turkey or something, and she wanted closets in a room on their third floor. So I built 'em closets. I said, 'A hundred and sixty dollars apiece,' which is my rate, you know. So anyway, I get all done with these closets and she comes up and looks at 'em and just starts screamin', like I thought she was gonna go

> nuts or something', you know? I asked her what was wrong and she just starts screamin' that they're too small. I told her, 'Look, lady, this is an eight-foot closet, just like you wanted.' She wanted me to tear the whole thing apart and do it again, so I said, 'Sure, if you want to pay me again, I'll build it again. I think she's got somethin' against me or somethin'." Ralph takes another swig from his gin and tonic and resumes work on the chair he is building in his living room, a natural wood arm-chair modeled after something he saw in a woodcraft store downtown. For the time being he seems satisfied to putter around his apartment, but he comments later, "I just wanna work, work, work, once I get goin'. I wanna buy cushions for this stuff [the chair and sofa he's building], and I also wanna have a birthday party for myself, but I ain't doin' either unless I get a job."

Ralph is one of many young black men who have gravitated to the Village and Northton because work on the buildings and grounds is available there. He is fortunate that he has now gained access to the carpenters' union and so has an agent who calls him to notify him of what companies are hiring. Though he complains that his business agent, a white man, is prejudiced against him and the handful of other black carpenters in the union, Ralph at least has some connection to the citywide network of job opportunities. Other less skilled young black men suffer more from the sporadic hiring and firing done by

Village landlords. One such man is Stanley, a young black friend of Ralph's who lives several blocks away on the main street in the Village.

> On a balmy spring day Ralph and I walked the dog over to Stanley's at about eleven in the morning. Since Stanley had just been fired from his job (by his father), we knew we would find him home, either alone or with his two-year-old son Stanley Jr. and his "lady," whom he calls Sugar. Ralph began telling me on the way over that he saw Stanley at the unemployment line on Friday trying to peddle a rabbit-skin coat to the fellows on line. Ralph, who is also temporarily out of a job, laughs as he explains Stanley's mistake to me. "He wanted too much for it," he says. "I mean, if you want to get rid of something hot like that you can't be askin' a hundred dollars."
>
> "You think he stole it off a truck or out of a store or something?"
>
> "Either that or he just went into a place and picked it out and had it wrapped up and then ran with it."
>
> We approach Stanley's apartment building, one of the big three-story fieldstone buildings that are primarily rented out as one- and two-bedroom apartments to students

and others from the Village. Stanley's father manages a whole row of such buildings for a local landlord, and when he and Stanley are getting along Stanley works for him doing janitorial work. "This is his," Ralph says, pointing to two floor-to-ceiling windows on the first floor in front. Parched yellow shades are drawn tight over the windows, all the way to the floor. Ralph rings the bell. Stanley appears barechested and barefoot, his toes curled on the tattered turquoise indoor-outdoor carpeting of the vestibule. His torso glistens brown as the morning sun hits it. He is small but powerfully built. As he opens the door and shakes Ralph's hand a little boy scuffles up and cries with delight, "A doggie! Daddy, a doggie!"

"Yeah, well leave the dog alone," Stanley warns. I suddenly feel like an intruder on an otherwise peaceful scene. It had been my idea for Ralph to show me where Stanley lives. "This is a big place," I say in a complimentary fashion to Stanley as he leads us down the long, dark corridor inside his apartment. It is an apartment similar in design to the one I lived in down the street three years before. What was once the formal receiving room to a huge, splendid townhouse on the main street of the Village (the street named after the original ferryman who took people across the Tyler River

to the grassy banks of the large estates) is now cut up into four narrow rooms connected by a corridor that opens into a living room-kitchen area with sixteen-foot ceilings and hardwood floors. Stanley and Sugar have painted the walls a deep grape color, adding to the apartment's cavelike atmosphere. All the shades are pulled tight to the sills, allowing no daylight to penetrate. A black-and-white portable television dominates the room, blaring the canned laughter of a morning sit-com rerun, then a game show. A sofa bed is opened out in front of the television. From the looks of the little green area rug Stanley and Sugar do not own a vacuum cleaner. The place smalls stuffy. Four ripped vinyl chairs surround the formica-topped table set between the kitchen alcove and the living room area. "How many bedrooms you got?" I ask casually.

"Two," Stanley says.

"So Stanley Jr. has his own. That's nice."

Stanley leads us to the table and beings rolling a joint. He pokes into the kitchen area every few minutes and picks at some ribs he is eating out of a foil baking tray. Also he slugs at some red juice. "I wish I had some more," he says, draining the glass. "Stanley get away from that dog. Here, have the rest of this

Kool-Aid." Stanley Jr., silent but cheerful, comes and takes the nearly empty glass from his father. There are no toys in the living room, just a pad of yellow-lined paper and a few broken crayons lying on the coffee table, over which a bare yellow bulb burns. Beside the coffee table sits an old yellow armchair, partially destuffed. Stanley Jr. takes his father's glass and sits facing the television.

"This is a huge apartment," I say, perhaps feeling guilty for all the negative thoughts running through my mind about Stanley Jr.'s life in this dark place.

"It's okay," Stanley says. "It needs work." He looks up at the peeling paint and cracked plaster of the ceiling. "I oughtta get to that," he says, excusing how decrepit everything looks. "I'm gettin' spoilt on these baby ribs," he says, turning his attention toward Ralph. I begin to think my presence is making Stanley uncomfortable, and I warn myself to be careful about coming on too strong with what a nice place he has. After all, the place isn't so nice. It wouldn't be so bad, I tell myself, if only we could open a shade and let a little daylight in. Six huge windows are all covered with yellowing shades. As I'm thinking this, Stanley seems to grow nervous, scratching his arm and looking at his watch

as if he has someplace to go. "What's it like out there, man?" he asks Ralph. "Cloudy?"

Ralph says no, it's not, it's sunny, and I think how strange it is to ask how the weather is at eleven in the morning when all one need do is open one of the six window shades and look out. I note Stanley's negative assumption, that it is bad weather out there anyway. It seems that the shades are drawn to block out whatever is out there, since it is assumed to be undesirable. I think about the child-abuse literature that characterizes households of child abusers as closed to the outside, places where all is focused inward on the television because one's experiences with the world "out there" are typically negative. (I am not suggesting Stanley Jr. is abused, for indeed he seems cheerful and bold, amazingly so for one growing up in such an oppressive apartment.) I tell myself as we sit around the formica table and watch the fuzzy, rolling picture on the television set that Stanley's recent experiences with the world "out there" have been negative. His own father has fired him. He is not eligible for unemployment. He has a son and "a lady" to provide for in some way (although Ralph has told me that Sugar is still officially single and gets an AFDC check to help with expenses). The drawn shades are in some sense a denial perhaps, a means of keeping out

what is "out there."

> "I'm just on one of my temporary breaks, let's say. You know, we had a few words, and I need a better job anyway." (Earlier, Ralph told me he had done Stanley's income tax for him, and Stanley was embarrassed that he owed the government twenty-seven cents. He had earned only six thousand dollars all year at a forty-hour-a-week job, working for his father, and since he claims two dependents he gets nothing taken out along the way as Ralph does when he's working his union construction job. When Ralph told me about Stanley's financial plight he acted a bit concerned, but he could not hide the fact he also felt a bit bolstered by having discovered someone else was worse off than himself.) Stanley did not seem willing to discuss his present unemployment or his feelings about his father/boss any further, so Ralph and I let it drop.

Stanley provides a stark contrast to Eudora in terms of living conditions and opportunity for economic advancement. However, he is relatively unskilled, which is not true of many of the craftsmen who have gravitated to the Village for work.

Returning to the idea of the Village and Northton as a "natural area," one must keep in mind that the size of the buildings, their suitability for conversion into either apartments or showplaces for

wealthy landlords and architects, and the abundance of yard space are only a few facets of the physical habitat. The materials of which this habitat was originally constructed also figure into the relationship between landlords and womkmen, and indeed these materials require some highly skilled craftsmen as well as the unskilled manual labor that can be gotten from the street corners. Century-old wrought iron fences and gates, brick sidewalks, stone retaining walls, stained glass doors and windows, and hand-turned wooden roof supports, railings, and banisters compose the bulk of the architectural detail of the Village and parts of Northton. A group of men skilled in these arts have gravitated to the Village, and along with them have come architects who step in and change a feature here or there, making the practical areas of a home or apartment (such as the kitchen or bathroom) more appealing to gourmet cooks, plant growers, and other present-day tenants.

Though a few "modern" apartment buildings have crept into the neighborhood, primarily on the eastern and western fringes of the Village where the black homeowners tend to cluster, the nine-square-block residential "heart" of the Village retains its original Victorian charm owing to the efforts of skilled local craftsmen and the capital investment of interested landlords. These two groups reside within the natural habitat of the Village and share (if unequally) in the cash harvest of the terrain.

Many of the craftsmen are black men who, over the years, have picked up skills specifically suited to the buildings of the Village. One such forty-year-old black man (the same person who told me that the

Village had going in the fifties what the rest of the country didn't catch onto until the sixties) is a successful local artist. He started out doing iron grillwork and welding in the Village back in the fifties. He now does large municipally funded sculptures in other areas of the city, but the history of his progress as an ironworkers is preserved in several lovely gates and grills tucked away beside or behind individually owned Village homes. "I taught myself everything I know," this sculptor says. Other less successful but similarly craft-oriented young men make up a social network within the Village, a network the various landlords know how to tap when they have a fence in need of repair or want walls replastered or scraped of many years of wallpaper. Of course the magnificent scale and details of the buildings have attracted a good number of professional architects who choose to renovate and live in their own creations, but members of this group are generally white and middle class, and they tend to move out of the Village when their children reach school age.

The bulk of the labor force that maintains the homes of the Village are self-taught craftsmen who work job-to-job and make do as best they can between jobs. These laborers tend to be black and male. Some have grown up in their parents' large homes on the fringes of the Village, know about Village home maintenance through firsthand experience, and are retained on an informal basis by the whites who need them to keep their real estate holdings intact. Because these young men come from homes that are large and comfortable, they seem to have less incentive than one might expect to find apartments in some other

neighborhood. The Village supplies an endless supply of home craft and maintenance work. A sort of plantation mentality arises out of this, wherein the white landowners make use of the strong black men for jobs that might otherwise cost them more. Again, the black-white relations appear to be one-sided, but still somewhat beneficial.

Because the whites tend to be the owners and the blacks to constitute much of the visible labor force, especially in unskilled jobs that residents and passersby witness, such as lawn work, painting, and trash removal, the status hierarchy of the wider society that places blacks at the bottom is given public legitimacy on the streets and in the public spaces of the Village and Northton.

Whilte it is true that Bell Weather Street exists as a color line between what residents think of as Northton and the Village, it is not true that no blacks live south of this line, or that the blacks living in the Village are generally much better off economically than the blacks living north of Bell Weather Street. What is true is that all unknown blacks in the area are assumed to be from Northton unless they provide evidence to the contrary, and that, because Northton is "blacker" than the Village, it is considered to be poorer also. Thus, "strange" blacks are considered to be "from the ghetto," and their very visible role as janitors and sweep-up crews for the white landlords of the Village supports an oversimplified view of status arrangements between blacks and whites in the area generally.

With regard to nationally held stereotypes, the two neighborhoods can easily be played off against each other as poor black versus

middle-class white, and the visible economic relationships that arise from the nature of the physical habitat act to reinforce these easy assumptions concerning relative status. The people of Northton and the Village are thus competitors for status in the area, and they measure themselves with reference to each other. This mental measuring involves conceptions of both neighborhoods and thus links them into a single ecological unit. As Louis Wirth stated in his essay on human ecology, "Competition . . . manifests itself as a more or less regulated and controlled struggle for a living and for status (Wirth 1964, p. 181).

Footnotes for Chapter 2

1. Park (1967). In a discussion of human ecology as a branch of sociology, Park reminds the reader that the strict biological metaphor is limited in value for guiding research into human social organization because humans unlike other organisms, partake of cultural institutions that influence processes of competition, invasion, and succession. He goes on to write, however (p. 93), that "ecology conceives society as fundamentally a territorial as well as cultural organization. So far as this conception is valid, it assumes that most if not all cultural changes in society will be correlated with changes in its territorial organization, and every change in the territorial and occupational distribution of the population will effect changes in the existing cultures." The Village, as a given physical habitat, with its mansions and apartment buildings, has caused certain kinds of people to gravitate to it and remain. One axis along which these "successful" inhabitants can be classified is occupation, such as landlord, craftsman, and unskilled "handyman." The neighborhood might be viewed as a "natural area" in the human ecological sense.

Chapter 3

Use Versus Residence as a Basis for Hegemony

Among residents of the Village there exists a vague, unfocused concern, if not outright fear, of confronting strangers during chance social encounters on the streets. While residents may display confidence, even aplomb, as they move along acting the part of the blasé urban dweller, they seem always ready with a defensive posture. When one observes Village neighbors chatting on the streets they may seem engrossed in their conversations, happy, open, and warm to one another but they are not fully relaxed. Usually they keep one eye on their counterpart and one eye on the street, frequently glancing nervously back and forth to see who might be coming. At times Villagers can be seen unlocking their doors in the most careful manner, studying whoever might be looking at them while they get inside their houses. Any loud sound is upsetting enough to make them jump or look around. This seems especially true of newcomers to the neighborhood, who tend to be white, for these people still compose a distinct minority within the general Northton-Village area. It is a place where people with dark skin dominate the public places, especially the streets.

Though many homes are owned or inhabited by whites, their presence on the streets is observed primarily at certain times of the day, and usually not at night. Their relative impact is not enough to

make Village streets off limits to Northtonians--who are black--or to other strangers at any time of the day. In this way the Village could not be called a "well-defended neighborhood" (Suttles 1972, pp. 20-43). There are far more dark-skinned people from Northton using Village streets than Village people using Northton's. The large black public high school that Northton teenagers attend is across the Village from Northton, so school children must use the Village's north-south streets on school days all through the school year. The major arteries of east-west public transportation, including buses, trolleys, and subways, all have their stops on the southern edge of the Village, making it necessary for users of this transportation, who are mainly black and Northtonian, to cross the Village whenever they travel downtown or out to the suburbs or outlying areas of the city. The Village forms only a tiny racially mixed enclave bounded by a much larger black urban ghetto, and as such it serves as a corridor for motor and foot traffic from that ghetto.

Because of this relationship between the Village and Northton, personal decisions about the degree and nature of eye contact to be allowed with strangers, the length and quality of interpersonal contact on the streets, and the "safe distance" to be maintained between strangers in public tend to be color-coded. Outsiders in Northton, for example, can be spotted simply by skin color; to be white is automatically to be from the outside. Similarly, when a white person comes upon "too many" strange black people gathered in one place in the Village he usually knows that the particular street corner or park is

not a place for him right then, even though he may socialize with various black people and even have them for friends.

To many in the Village the dark skin of a stranger signifies a threat, a potential "desperate act."[1] Thus, dark-skinned people are to be avoided or deferred to, something blacks and whites tacitly understand. Especially at night, unfamiliar dark-skinned people are a matter of concern, if not outright fear.

Much like the Negro/Pygmy dynamic Colin Turnbull studied and wrote about in The Forest People (Turnbull 1961), the white/black dynamic between strangers on the streets of the Village allows one group (in this case color-designated and in Turnbull's case height-designated) a greater freedom of movement within a larger domain. Turnbull reports that the richer, culturally "superior" Negroes in the area he studied dare not venture into the forest where the Pygmies live and control rights of passage. The Pygmies maintain their hegemony in the forest partly through circulating intimidating stories of wild beats and vengeful spirits of the forest, and partly by virtue of their greater understanding of the terrain and its natural dangers. In line with Turnbull's findings and those of this study, the group generally believed to be on the bottom manages to keep control over at least certain territories that have come to be defined as their own. The Pygmies are "at home" in the forest. In the Village of Greater Eastern City it is their counterparts, the dark-skinned people, who appear to feel more at ease on the streets, even though the real homeowners in the neighborhood are predominantly white.

Many Villagers own dogs as an extra measure of protection. Although caring for a dog in an urban neighborhood requires much work, for many Village residents the rewards make the labor worthwhile. Dogs let their owners feel secure on the streets. With their dogs in tow people look smug, even relaxed, as they encounter strangers. Women with dogs do not hurry along when a car slows down beside them. Often those who walk their dogs without a leash make a show of calling them back when strangers approach, as if the dog might be dangerous. Dog walkers constitute a "use group" of residents, helping to make Village streets safe for all kinds of people during the early morning hours when they walk their dogs before leaving for work, in the evenings before dinner, and at eleven o'clock before they go to sleep. At these times people who have come to "know" one another through their dogs form an informal but effective, if unwitting, neighborhood patrol. One can easily chart their routes and discover what dog walkers consider to be the neighborhood boundaries, what streets one does not cross with or without a dog.

Mr. L, for example, is a veteran white Villager who walks his beloved Irish setter each morning at eight o'clock. He comes out his door with the eager dog on a leash and, immediately heads for one of the north-south Village streets, for these streets have fewer front doors facing on them and thus fewer guardians who might make a scene about where the setter "does his business." Mr. L travels up to but never across or along Bell Weather Street, the social boundary separating Northton and the Village. Nor does he cross Warrington into

the area here known as Northton Annex, despite the fact that across Warrington lies the only vacant lot of any size where a dog might be allowed to run. The lot is among a group of run-down buildings, and most Villagers, particularly the whites, consider the whole area dangerous. True enough, the people who use the vacant lot are primarily black dog walkers from Northton or one of the black families from the Village. Mr. L is not the only Villager who avoids the vacant lot or any blocks north of Bell Weather. Indeed, the general dog-walking route seems to involve very limited travel, around two or three of the residential blocks in the heart of the Village.

By not walking their dogs across Bell Weather or Warrington, the Villagers themselves help create and enforce lines of division between their own neighborhood and Northton. While one usually thinks first of stone throwing or other forms of harassment as the key factor determining where boundaries are drawn, it is also through everyday activities like dog walking that borders are made and remade by people on both sides of the dividing line.

Where one habitually goes to get the Sunday paper, the store one runs to for a quart of milk, or even the streets one prefers to take to visit a friend express one's sense of the boundaries. In this way these are negotiated, and thus creative, acts, for by choosing to use or to avoid a given street one either claims the street as safe for himself and others like him or abandons it to others. There exists a degree of sharing, to be sure, but this sharing is not simply random or spontaneous.

Nor are boundaries set once for all times of the day and all seasons of the year. In fact, actions by individuals, either unknowing or uncaring, that upset the tacit understanding of Northtonians and Villagers about how their public space is to be shared reveal how intricate the patterns are, how much background knowledge and work goes into being "just another passerby."

The block of Tenth Street between Main Street and Village Avenue is just one of many blocks whose "proper" use is at times brought into question through actions of unknowing pedestrians. This block is best described as a "no-man's-zone." "No-man's-zones" are time bounded as well as geographically bounded and thus lend a flowing quality to the limits of what Villagers and Northtonians view as their own neighborhoods. When time becomes significant in determining a block's public use, the block retains a quality of danger, and people particularly whites then tend to check themselves and others they encounter, to plan more carefully, and to be ready to defer if they are "caught out" alone during the general transition from "safe" to "dangerous" public use of the streets. At times a particular corridor may be used by both groups; that is, it becomes somewhat "neutral." But only somewhat. The whites and middle-income blacks, most of whom are Villagers, usually defer to black strangers at such times in such places, with truncated looks, a move to the other side of the street, a perfunctory greeting, or a steely noncomment that nonetheless communicates. In so doing, the Villagers remind those who in effect create and man the boundaries of their successful tactics of intimidation. As a result,

small groups of black youths sometimes feel rewarded and inspired to continue. Sometimes, after they have "scared off" the hapless "honky," members of such groups laugh and congratulate one another on their performances at boundary maintenance.

In an interview, one young white woman expressed hostility toward "the black girls" who repeatedly approached her and demanded money on the north-south street that runs in front of the local high school. "They don't ask they come at you, and there's five of them and one of you, and it's not like they'll take no for an answer." This same woman uses the street in front of the high school to get to and from work, usually at morning and evening rush hours when the block is somewhat neutral, but also sometimes during "off hours" when relatively few whites are using it. On one occasion she was rushing pell-mell, head bent against the wind, trying to make it the six blocks to her apartment before the rain began in full force. She scurried along, going as fast as she could "without giving up all semblance of dignity on this very tricky block." As she passed a loaded school bus in which numerous black high school students sat, one black teenager put her head out the window, laughed, and said, just loud enough for the obviously distraught white woman to hear, "I hope it pours down on you, girl."

Such stories are common among Villagers, who use the street despite what they tend to perceive as risk, mainly because it is so convenient for those who take public transportation to work, but also because of a strong sense of their personal right to use the public

spaces. One young woman was robbed outright by a group of black girls on this block at 10:30 AM, but reports on these more serious incidents are few. The battle over rights of passage goes on by way of harassment and insult, sometimes through public derision of whites. Most white Villagers simply endure the irritation and nascent fear, for they have come to know and understand that the area of the high school is not their place.

Not all students who attend the high school use public transportation. Those who live just north of Bell Weather or west of Warrington have only an eight- or ten-block walk through the Village. In the mornings and afternoons they often constitute a loud and very visible use group along the north-south streets that run between the high school and the Village's northern boundary. Usually they create a mild disturbance as they move through the neighborhood, for some engage in loud talk and cursing as well as all the other behaviors characteristic of students who have been in school all day. One witnesses what appears to be a fight between two young men; but they are really playing and they break into grins after sparring for a few minutes. One young man "cusses out" a group of four young women, two of whom cuss back: "You black motherfucker, you." Then they walk on. It is behavior some Villagers find baffling, even frightening.

As the black students mill around the area, often stopping in groups of three or four to buy ice cream or potato chips at Mel's, the local deli, they often meet the suspicious stares of Village whites and some blacks. The students meet these stares with counterstares or

scowls. It is often the white Villagers who feel they must negotiate their way past the students, who at times do accost passersby. Many times they simply beg for money, which is often so intimidating to the "mark" that he or she gives up the amount asked for, viewing such alms as a kind of tax one pays for the privilege of walking down the streets without serious challenge. The interaction during such meetings usually involves a minimum of eye contact, payment, and a quick departure, since the parties have nothing in common, they feel, and little basis for building any other relationship. The students go their way, chuckling with their friends about "the mark" they have found. "The mark" goes his way, hoping he will not be bothered again. For most Villagers it is the wrong time of day to pass Mel's or to be walking alone along one of well-traveled north-south streets. The following interview with a young white woman indicates how dominant the black students are in the area during certain times of day.

> It was three o'clock on a sunny, breezy day in October. Two white women strolled across one of the Village's well-traveled north-south streets, talking about the piano music coming from a second-story window of a brick house that appeared to be vacant but was obviously being used by someone for practice of fast, intricate scales and finger exercises. The two women were on their way back to their apartment after a quick trip to Mel's for dog food. Their dog scampered along up ahead, in pursuit of one of the neighborhood's many squirrels. The dog

charged ahead, then dropped back to pick up on the scent, then charged ahead again.

The peaceful scene and the piano music were suddenly interrupted by the boopety-boop-boop of a "suitcase radio" coming up swiftly from behind. The women turned. Two young black men were fast approaching. The large radio was slung over the shoulder of one of them. Its sounds got louder and louder until the women could not hear one another above it. The young men were dressed in green army fatigue pants and white tank-type undershirts, with several gold chains around the neck, and black-and-white high-top sneakers. One wore a baseball cap, puffed up on top so that it "looked more off than on." Their walk was a "stylized hipster gait," rhythmic, arms swinging to the beat of the music, which was "low down and funky." The way they moved up on the women and made their way through the neighborhood seemed to be a learned, tightly patterned form of self-presentation, displaying that they knew where they were headed, and had no doubts about being able to get there at their own pace. They appeared "platoonlike or squadronlike, a walk that was much more than casual stroll. It was a very self-confident swagger."

The two women slowed down to let the two young men pass.

> The men moved up to within a foot of the women and then slowed down themselves, refusing to pass. Their music was overpowering. The two women became tense, not daring to look at one another with the young men so close behind them and so able to see whatever eye contact passed between them. In street lingo, the two young men were doing what is known as "jamming" the women's communication, a mild form of harassment. The two women seemed to understand this and deferred, turning down the very next side street without a backward glance. As the men continued north toward Northton, the two women "stole" a look at them from behind, laughing nervously about what had just occurred. "They're almost military," one woman said to the other.
>
> "Hmph!" her friend answered, scorning the idea that the young black men deserved a label that implied strength. "Real militant, yeah!" She seemed anxious to deny that she had been afraid at all, and yet she had quickly deferred to the boys, giving not even so much as a disapproving look for the disturbance their radio had caused.

The decision to pass a stranger on the street or not to pass involves a whole set of mental calculations that rely heavily on the skin color of that person. Indeed, how two people effect a pass

sometimes depends on two sets of calculations, as each participant fits his actions to the actions and cues of the other. Guiding such passing-related behavior is the background knowledge that darker-skinned people represent a potential threat, while whites represent potential victims. Most whites and blacks tacitly understand this, and it informs both groups' perspectives on how to handle fast-approaching strangers of light or dark skin.

In some cases a black person may wish to capitalize on the fear he knows he is capable of evoking. Blacks sometimes "put on a swagger" and wantonly intimidate those with whom they must momentarily share a small space on the sidewalk. When passing such a "swaggering" dark-skinned person, especially a male, whites are usually easily intimidated, anticipating danger while hoping for a peaceful encounter. Whites and middle-income blacks are often more than ready to cross the street to avoid having to pass a "strange" black person at close range. Young blacks understand this behavior, and they sometimes choose to exploit the fear on which it is founded. Or they can choose to allay the white person's fear through obvious acts of self-disarmament such as moving to one side to allow the white person extra space to pass, or making friendly eye contact, or even offering a friendly greeting. There are circumstances in which blacks will work hard to put whites they encounter at ease. The following filed note illustrates how well-tuned blacks and whites really are to one another on the streets, and how capable members of each group are of subtle gestural communication, when they wish to be.

It is about eleven o'clock on a cold December morning after a snowfall. Outside, the only sound is the scrape of the old lady's snow shovel on the oil-soaked ice of her front walk. Her house stands on a corner in the residential heart of the Village, at an intersection that stands deserted between morning and afternoon rush hours. The old lady spends hours each week outside her slowly crumbling three-story mansion. She seems to work and work and work at keeping the leaves raked, the snow shoveled, the front path swept, but still she cannot keep the old house from looking forlorn. The vines that once covered the red brick facade have died, leaving only woody stems and debris. The wooden trim around the huge front windows and doors is bare of paint, forming gray, rotting frames around dirty windows. The sycamore tree in the front yard has long since died, and what remains is a twisted, gnarled trunk, picturesque but sad. All that remains of this corner twin's other half is a pile of rubble and a weed-filled lot that the neighborhood dogs use as a toilet. Still, the old lady sweeps and weeds and shovels. They are perhaps the only maintenance chores she can do herself. Painting would cost money, as would removing the dead tree. The only signs of life coming from this house, other than the old lady, who sometimes works alongside a woman resembling

her, perhaps a daughter or sister, is the piano playing that comes from the second-floor rear window. The house is used for this alone, and yet it seems to be enough to keep vandals away.

Suddenly a truck pulls up directly across from the old lady's house. Before long the silence is split by the buzz of two tree surgeons' gasoline-powered saws. As the men work the saws send up puffs of oily blue smoke. They hoist themselves up another dead sycamore standing by the intersection in the margin of grass and snow, taking turns sawing off limbs. Soon they are down to a stump in the ground, which they leave rooted. The old lady leans on her shovel and watches for a while, then turns and goes inside the house. The tree surgeons begin sawing up the fallen trunk, which by now is lying on the icy sidewalk.

A middle-aged white man in a beige overcoat approaches the site. His collar is turned up against the cold, his chin buried within. He wears a fur-trimmed Russian-style hat. His hands are sunk in his coat pockets. In his hard-soled shoes he hurries along this east-west street in the Village, approaching the intersection, slipping a bit, having to watch each step in his haste on the icy sidewalk. He crosses the north-south street of the

intersection and continues westward. A young black male, dressed in a way Villagers might call "streetish" (white high-top sneakers with no laces; shoe tongues flopping out from under the creased gaberdine slacks, which themselves flop about and soak up oily water, bought no doubt to be worn with higher-heeled shoes or boots; navy blue "air-force" parka with matted fake fur on the hood--hood up, arms dangling at the sides) is walking up ahead on the same side of the street. He is moving slowly compared with the man in the overcoat. He turns around briefly to check who is coming up behind him so swiftly. The white man keeps his eye to the treacherous sidewalk, brow furrowed, and displays a look of concern and determination. The young black man moves with a certain aplomb, his walk distinctive, though comparatively slow.

From the two men's different paces it is obvious to both that either the young black man has to hurry up, the older white man has to slow down, or they must effect a pass on the otherwise deserted sidewalk. Their contrasting dress and skin color suggests that such passing is likely to entail some uncertainty on the part of the white man and some recognition of this on the part of the black man.

The young black man slows up ever so slightly and fades

> to the left, to the outside edge of the sidewalk. The white man takes the cue and drifts to the right while continuing his forward motion, and thus in five or six steps (and with no obvious lateral motion that might be construed as avoidance) has maximized the lateral distance between himself and the young black man he must move up on and pass. What a minute ago appeared to be a single-file formation, with the white man ten steps behind, has suddenly become side-by-side, and yet neither participant ever appeared to be moving sideways at all. It is an intricate "ballet" (to use Jane Jacobs's term) in which the movements are patterned to minimize tension and allay fears, and yet not openly express a breach of trust between the two parties. Such is the "good behavior" more conspicuous on the relatively well-defended east-west streets of the Village, the streets whereon the Village's white middle-class professionals tend to cluster, and where blacks and whites often must encounter each other.

Such smooth gestural communication is most evident between blacks and whites traveling alone, especially during hours when sidewalks are deserted. White Villagers' fears seem to run highest then, for that is when the opportunity for harassment or mugging is greatest.

Though it is not true that most blacks intend most whites harm on the streets, this is the commonsense definition of affairs between the

groups. Most blacks as well as whites tacitly understand and accept this definition. Blacks are generally believed to have informal hegemony over the area. On occasion young blacks may even choose to assert their perceived turf rights. Such assertion of rights becomes a game of sorts, to be played out in the public places where formal agencies of social control are absent. Subways, bus stops, and public parks are examples of places where blacks are believed to dominate, for in the Northton-Village area these are used much more frequently by blacks than by whites and are not well-patrolled by the police. Black males traveling in groups or sitting on benches in parks or at bus stops sometimes show off to one another by intimidating whites, who bear the brunt of what may be no more than jokes and games among peers as they stnad waiting for the bus or subway or share a bottle of wine or a "joint." The following field note illustrates how tense white Villagers become while in the presence of such loud, joking peer groups in an area generally considered "black turf."

> A young white woman descended the concrete stairs to the subway. The walls had been spray-painted with graffiti. Initials and other coded signatures covered the grimy white-tiled surfaces floor to ceiling. As the woman came onto the platform she made brief eye contact with one of a group of six black teenage boys who were standing on the platform, dressed in long woolen overcoats, velvet hats, creased pants, and polished shoes and carrying schoolbooks. They glanced over at the lone white woman

and then started a "coded conversation" among themselves, each one adding bits and pieces about the woman's clothing, her green paratrooper pants, her short haircut, and such. They bantered about her just loudly and clearly enough to be understood by anyone willing to strain to make out what was being said (anyone, that is, who did not know enough not to hear). The word "white" came out louder than the other words, again and again. The woman's face tensed. She lowered her eyes, thus ruling out any further eye contact with the boys. It seemed she did not want her demeanor to be construed as a challenge. As long as she pretended not to hear them there was no opening between herself and them, no opportunity for exchange. She slunk to a seated position on the bottom step, thus appearing to give up, to defer

The boys' talk grew louder. Their laughter was punctuated by jokes in which key words sounded so loudly as to make it obvious that the young woman was purposely ignoring them. "White" came up again and again, "Chest." "Yeah, stick it out." "Green silk pants, man."

Finally the train came. The boys piled into the same car as the young woman. Now they grew silent, but she sat looking reverent, her eyes lowered, her heart pounding. When she got off the train downtown she did not look

> behind her to see if the boys got off too. She ran the length of the platform, then took the steps two at a time until she was out onto the street among the bustling midday shopping crowd.

Although this particular subway stop is within what is generally considered the Village, apart from rush hours the whites do not use it enough to constitute a legitimate use group. Blacks who use the stop know this, and consequently some behave in ways that remind "stray" whites that they are indeed out of place, at least until the afternoon throng of white Villagers returning from work downtown makes it "safe" for others like themselves. Once this rush is over and night falls, subways and other public transportation in the area again fall into the hands of those who use them, in this case, usually blacks and the few whites who are bold enough.

Owing to fear, many white Villagers simply do not go outside at night unless they are with others or have a specific mission such as buying something or going downtown or out to the suburbs for a movie. If they must travel, the whites generally go by car, seldom on foot. Usually they lock themselves in their homes, concerned about unexpected knocks on the door and strange noises.

Because of this self-imposed curfew, the apartment dwellers, particularly in the small, six-unit buildings, tend to form social circles within their own buildings. These are spontaneous dinner parties given by one household for the tenants in the upstairs apartment, as well as other forms of casual visitation, contributing to some

Villagers' feelings that their neighborhood is an intimate place. Perhaps this intermittent friendly interaction obscures how unfriendly and hostile the neighborhood can be at times. Defined as potential victims on the streets at night and during many hours during the day, the Villagers are in a sense prisoners of their private spaces. Going outside involves great caution. Certain blocks must be avoided. "Be careful." "Take care of yourself." Good-byes are important at certain times of the day. Sidewalks are given up completely at night. The middle of the street (far away from trees, doorways, and hedges) becomes the safe passage zone.

From time to time Villagers voice irritation over their limited freedom of movement. Women especially say things like, "I'm sick of having to run from my car to my front door at night," or "I feel like a prisoner in the city." And Village men try to take it all in stride. Summertime, when people would like to be outdoors for walks and recreation, exacerbates these feelings of "pent-upness," and Villagers plan weekend escapes to the seashore or the mountains. As one white Village woman packed her children and a picnic basket into their Datsun station wagon outside their home, she looked up at the buds beginning to open on the tree and remarked, "It's the beginning of my love-hate affair with the city." Such is the ambivalence many Villagers, black and white, feel toward their sometimes hostile urban environs.

Sundays are peaceful times in the Village, for automobile traffic dwindles to almost nothing, even along the north-south arteries between the city's biggest expressway and the major east-west axis for

inner-city travel. Most movement is Northton or Village pedestrians going to and from corner delis and laundromats, or black churchgoers walking to and from their cars, which they park along the residential blocks while they worship at the Village's many Gothic fieldstone chapels. There are at least five or six such churches in the residential heart of the Village. They are used not by Villagers but by non-Village blacks from Northton or other neighborhoods in Greater Eastern City. On Sundays the buildings themselves and the street corners and sidewalks around them become the domain of these non-Village visitors. Churchgoers will remind their "hosts" of this if need be. In the following field note a black churchwoman plays the part of "neighborhood defender," though she does not reside there.

> On Sunday mornings black churchgoers arrive in their big, fancy cars and elegant dress. The men are nattily dressed in expensive-looking dark-colored hats, suits, and shiny shoes. Hats with veils, flowers, and ribbons adorn the ladies' heads. The smell of perfume is heavy. Some women carry tambourines with ribbons trailing and dress in "uniforms" that display their extra measure of saintly involvement. Milling about on the street corners adjacent to their churches, the visitors attract friendly and approving stares from many of the Village residents, who, dressed in casual garb, make their way up to Mel's at noon for the paper or a quart of orange juice. On weekends Mel's get in a special order of bagels from

Brooklyn. The Villagers are a contrast to the church-goers who spill out of the huge old fieldstone buildings after worship and dot the sidewalks, in colorful hats and shiny shoes. The white Villagers tend to think of these people as "upper-class blacks," but this evaluation is due largely to their inexperience with class distinctions among black people. True enough, the black churchgoers do exhibit middle-class respectability; their comportment is very proper. They behave as if the church and the space around it is rightly theirs and at times in need of public recognition as such.

One Sunday morning a few stragglers stood here and there, the women in nylons and woolen coats, the men standing erect in their suits and hats, milling in groups near their clean automobiles, parked in front of Village residences. A church lady came out a side door onto the north-south street that runs beside the church. As she appeared, a young white Village man dressed in jeans, sneakers, and a nylon parka passed by. A dog that trailed him slightly but seemed to be with him did not pass, but rather squatted and "took a shit" on the granite step of the church. The church lady (who was holding a foil-covered baking pan and might have been coming out the church's kitchen door), saw the mess the dog was leaving, looked up ahead at the young man, and

> yelled, "Young man!" loud enough that a few Village pedestrians on the opposite side of the street could hear. The dog-walker did not turn around. "Young man!" the well-dressed woman yelled again. "You come right back here and clean up this mess!" The man stopped and sheepishly walked back and cleaned up the mess.

The young man above no doubt learned something about church property on Sunday mornings in the Village. He will be more careful about where he takes his dog on Sundays in the future, since he will not want to risk such public shaming. On weekdays when the churches are not used the risk is slight that anyone would object so vociferously to his dog's use of the church steps. In this instance and in the instances reported in other field notes the more general point emerges--that living in a neighborhood is not tantamount to controlling it. A residential group controls its public space only to the extent that it is allowed to <u>use</u> that space, that it constitutes a large enough and visible enough force on the streets, in the parks, and in the institutions and business establishments to offset or at least contend with groups from other residential neighborhoods who use the streets for access to work, school, and other parts of the city. "Use" constitutes informal social control over an area. If a residential group lacks full and equal use rights, owing to commonly held notions of their relative place within a color-coded set of rules about street use (as in the Village-Northton area), then they must rely heavily on formal agents of control, the police. As the "weak" ones in public

places, Villagers, particularly whites, often must appeal to authority to keep their rights of passage open. This position of relative weakness influences their views of and relation with the police in the area. Many have the sense that the police have been put on their side against the dark-skinned intruders from Northton.

The Village and the Police

The presence of the police helps make the streets of the Village seem more secure, at least to whites, who tend to be much more jittery and ill at ease out in public than do blacks. While they may not constitute a sufficiently large use group to contend with the blacks for informal hegemony in the area, they nevertheless feel that they should have full access to public conduits of travel. A word of caution is perhaps in order here. It is not my intent to argue that the Village is "run over" by blacks simply because dark skin color on a stranger tends to invoke fear among whites as well as among some blacks. Indeed, Suttle's discussion of the "defended neighborhood" in The Social Construction of Communities points out that defended neighborhoods are not simply manifestations of other, more fundamental social divisions within urban populations. "Indeed, it appears that the most persistent characteristic of these defended neighborhoods is their boundaries and the necessity of anyone who lives within these boundaries to assume a common residential identity" (Suttles 1972, p. 72). Because the street etiquette in the Village is color-coded, with darker-skinned people commanding greater deference, residence

notwithstanding, it might appear that white urban dwellers in general cannot effectively compete for rights on their own sidewalks.

On the contrary, it seems that a key factor in street use is a resident population's work schedule, and in middle-class neighborhoods like the Village this schedule is apt to be similar for most residents. Village professionals by and large work nine-to-five. At these hours, therefore, they are not at home or even in the vicinity of home. In addition, many Village families have two working adults, both professionals, both gone from the neighborhood all day, both unavailable for maintaining the boundaries Suttles says are necessary to the defended neighborhood. Driving around Northton in the middle of a weekday, one notices many people on the streets. At noon the sidewalks are bustling with pedestrian traffic, young black males, often unemployed, walking in pairs with a basketball between them or, at times, a bottle in a brown paper sack, women with children up on porches or walking to and from the corner grocery stores and laundromats. People are polishing their cars or sitting on stoops <u>just watching</u> the passersby.

Though a higher rate of unemployment no doubt accounts for some of the men out and around in the middle of the day, others are accounted for by the staggered shifts at factories and the hospital that employs many Northton residents. In Northton, or in any working-class neighborhood, most people go to work at seven, three, or eleven. The nine-to-five day has its place, but the resident population is not uniformly on that schedule. It is perhaps true that Villagers rely on the police to do formally what they cannot do informally--maintain the

boundaries and remind intruders that they are being watched. This formal boundary maintenance is illustrated clearly in the following field note:

> It was eleven o'clock in the morning on a warm Wednesday in March. I walked through Northton near Warrington Avenue, looking at the boarded-up three-story row houses and empty shells with windows missing, shades torn, and wallpaper lying smoke-stained or dirty in piles on the floor inside. As I passed a building that was half-empty but inhabited in back, two young black men came out of a rear door. One carried a bottle in a brown sack. He sipped from it while his buddy locked the door they had just come out. The one with the keys held a basketball under one arm. Both young men wore white sneakers, baggy khaki pants, light spring jackets, and caps. The man with the bottle saw me coming up alongside him. "How ya doin'?" he said.
>
> I felt a bit nervous encountering these two on an empty street. They seemed friendly, though. "Oh, not bad, not bad," I said, not hesitating an instant. I kept walking, allowing them to be ahead of me, for that way I could keep my eye on them.
>
> The two walked down the street, one bouncing his ball, the other sipping his taste. As we approached Warrington

Avenue, the two friends started talking louder, referring several times to something that just "took them out." I realized they were referring to the cop parked on Warrington Avenue.

"He take me out, this motherfucker," one of the guys said to his friend. "He always be watchin' me. Watch him. He gon' try and mess with us."

They crossed Warrington Avenue, sipping their taste, bouncing their ball, looking back over their shoulders at the cop, who I could see was black. The cop did follow the two young men, or so it seemed.

As we crossed Warrington Avenue and entered the quiet residential neighborhood of the Village, sure enough, the cop started his car and headed slowly in the direction we walked.

"See? What'd I tell ya? This guy tryin' to mess wid us," the sipper said. His friend, a little less bold, just kept bouncing his ball, not looking back over his shoulder as his friend kept doing. I turned off toward a friend's house. The two men kept walking. I could see them walk through the Village, past Tiger's Lounge on Thirty-seventh Street, and over to another part of Northton. The cop turned off down Bell Weather Street as

the two friends left the Village.

In the same way as civilian Northtonians remind strangers they are being watched for false moves, the police in the Village watch those they consider outsiders. An unspoken "escort service" is in effect at times for strange blacks who cross Warrington or Bell Weather Street to get from one part of Northton to another, or to and from Northton and other parts of the city. The policeman in the field note above did not bother escorting the two black men any farther than Bell Weather Street. By turning off when he did, he helped reinforce Bell Weather Street as the boundary. He works for the residents of the neighborhood he sees himself as protecting.

In a government crime-prevention program funded by the Justice Department in 1979 in Hartford, Connecticut, the problem of pedestrian traffic from outside the neighborhood was tackled head-on (U.S. Department of Justice 1969). To cut down the number of burglaries and street robberies in a middle-class neighborhood not far from the central business district of Hartford, the social planners proposed to install fencing along a railroad track that bounded the target neighborhood on one side. When this plan failed to get through city council, the planners dropped back to a less drastic plan of "reducing non-residential traffic through the neighborhood and structuring that which could not be curtailed" (p. 117). Accompanying this curtailment approach was an effort to stimulate residents to use their own streets and sidewalks more. Small shops and convenience stores were cited as desirable additions to the area, and, indeed, a flourishing of this

kind of magnet business area is no doubt a step in the right direction. As Jane Jacobs points out, however (1961, chaps. 7-12), an area is safe to the extent that it has many diverse primary uses, that streets are used by many types of people at many times of day for access to and from places they must go, places such as work, school, and shopping. When, as is true in the Village, most people follow very similar work schedules that take them out of the neighborhood en masse, and when there are few stores, restaurants, or businesses to draw them out into their own neighborhood at night and at various times of the day, the residents themselves can claim very little in the way of use rights. They have in some sense abdicated such rights, and to the true users of public space those rights are passed along.

From time to time the Villagers get "fed up" with all the strangers in the neighborhood and with the crime attributed to them. They form vigilante-type block walks and patrols and committees. Meetings are held at night in the homes of concerned neighbors. Crime is always the main topic, as residents come together to trade horror stories and express outrage. To solve their problems they often come up with organizational solutions, solutions that involve committee work and chairpeople and formal mechanisms of surveillance. They know they are losing the battle over territorial rights in the Village, but they do not understand that the loss is attributable to differences between themselves and Northtonians and the exigencies of their lives. Northtonians need and use the streets more than do Villagers. Their presence is a result of need, in some cases dire financial need.

Villagers are looked on as "marks," people "with something"--and this "something" can at many times of the day and night be taken by force if need be. The police patrol the Village streets and try to prevent this from happening too often. When they seem to need help, Villagers will rise up and try to take matters into their own hands.

> When the issue of "strange kids" in the neighborhood came up at the block meeting, Mr. B, a twenty-year veteran, shook his head and said, "The only way to really do it is to have a strict curfew and enforce it." By this he meant that the police should help the neighbors keep nonneighbors off the streets altogether after and before certain hours. What he was calling for, in effect, was a formal hegemony of residents over nonresidents, enforced by the police.
>
> The Villagers who were sitting around drinking their coffee and tea and listening to Mr. B did not react openly either way to what he was suggesting. There was one black couple attending the meeting, and perhaps their presence inhibited any discussion of "strange kids."
>
> "I mean, I'm just a private citizen," Mr. B continued, unwilling to let the subject drop. "I have to be careful about just going up to any strange kid and asking him what the hell he's doing here. The other day I saw some

blankety-blank kid up on Mrs. R's porch at ten-thirty in the morning, and I'm sayin; to myself, 'what's this kid doin' on that porch at ten-thirty in the morning?' So I watched him; he knew I was, and when he came out of there, boy, he gave me a good talkin' to, I tell you."

"What did he say?" someone asked.

Mr. B laughed. His eyes grew wide. "Want me to tell you?" he asked in the way of threat to the "decent ladies" in the room.

The neighbors all got the joke about the excessive profanity, and they laughed, thus releasing the tension that had built up in the room as the subject of skin color was (albeit obliquely) approached. Suddenly Mr. B got serious again. "But what are we supposed to do?" he asked, throwing up his arms in a gesture of frustration.

"No, no, I think you did the right thing," another neighbor said. "You've got to let those people know you're watching them. That's the only way to let them know this block is being watched. If the guy's legitimate the chances are he'll say okay and understand where you're coming from. If the guy's not legitimate, then he's gonna think something about it, and what have you. We've got to let them know we're watching though;

otherwise they'll just keep coming."

Mr. B's suggestion about the curfew demonstrates his tacit understanding of the time-bounded nature of safe passage on the streets. It also suggests the Villagers' concern with mechanisms of formal control. Indeed, such formal defense of a neighborhood's boundaries has been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States in a recent ruling involving the shutdown of a public street that had enabled residents of a predominantly black area in Memphis to enter an all-white community. By a vote of six to three, the justices overturned a federal appeals court decision that held that the closing discriminated against blacks of Memphis.[2] Writing for the court in Memphis v. Greene, Justice John Paul Stevens maintained that in closing the street the officials and white residents were motivated by a legitimate interest in "protecting the safety and tranquility of a residential neighborhood."[3] In the absence of informal control, the court and the law decided to step in on behalf of residents against the users of the public space.

It is doubtful that any such drastic court action would be taken in the Village, for Villagers, perhaps unlike certain whites in Memphis, are sensitive about being seen as "racists." Their history of civil-rights and antiwar activity has left a residue of liberalism even among the Village landlords, who would have the most to lose were the Village to become defined as "unsafe." While Villagers use skin color as a master status-determining characteristic for dealing with strangers on the street, they nevertheless do not like to see

themselves as prejudiced against blacks. Their color-coded behavior might be viewed as a brand of "racism" somewhat distinct from white supremacist notions about Negro inferiority, and genetic deficiency. This behavior may be better described as a practical and adaptive sort of color prejudice for getting by in public places in a community area where skin color does matter. Blacks and whites "know" how others see them based on their own sense of commonly held community definitions of both groups, as they orient themselves in public with the others' view of them in mind. Though black and white Villagers resist such invidious distinctions, they nonetheless tend to operate in public, particularly on the streets, with a color-coded perspective.

Notions about racism create a certain ambivalance toward the police on the part of Villagers. While they sense their dependence on them, many residents look on them with a certain distrust, if not some contempt, feeling that the police are the ones who are unfairly prejudiced against people, especially males, with dark skin. In the following field note a white woman tells the story of a recent burglary that she, alone with her eight-year-old daughter, witnessed from their bedroom window across a narrow alley. As she tells the story she reminds the listener that it was not her assumption that the burglar was black, but rather an assumption made by the police.

> "I dialed the police," she said, "but I couldn't remember if it was 119 or 911, so I dialed the operator and she connected me with the police. They were here in three minutes, and the funny thing is I was standing there at

the window the whole time while the operator connected me and I talked to the police, but I can't remember seeing him take the TV, or what he looked like, or anything. I just remember being so scared. I was behind a bamboo roll-up shade, you know, and I remember I didn't want him to see me or hear me. Maybe I was too scared to look, I don't know, but I just couldn't remember anything to tell the police. I didn't know which way he'd run or anything. All I told them was that whoever it was was wearing electric blue jogging shorts and a white T-shirt. The crazy thing was that in five minutes they were back at my house telling me they had someone out in the van and could I come identify the man. I went out and they brought the guy out of the paddy wagon . . ."

The eight-year-old daughter, who had been sitting on her mother's lap during the story, interrupted: "What's a wagon?"

"A paddy wagon, sweetheart," the mother answered. "What they put people in to take them to jail."

"And they just assumed the robber was black, right?" the daughter prompted, revealing that she had heard her mother tell the story before and knew the punch line.

"Right," she said to her daughter and to me. "I didn't

make any racial identification to the police at all. It was dark, and all I knew was that he had brown hair, but that doesn't tell anything about skin color. I was so angry when they got me out there and pulled this young black guy out of the wagon, who wasn't even wearing the right clothes. I mean, they'd obviously just gone out and picked up the first jogger they found."

"What did you say to the police?" I asked.

"I told them that he wasn't wearing the right clothes in the first place, this guy they had was wearing navy blue shorts and a gray sweatshirt, and I couldn't identify him anyway because I hadn't seen him. The guy looked really mad. I don't blame him. I don't know what I would have done had they brought out someone wearing what I'd said. I mean, even if it was the guy, I would hate to put him through what city police do to blacks."

Such is the dilemma many Villagers face when having to report a crime or deal in some direct way with the police in the area. Stories about police prejudice against blacks are often traded at Village get-togethers, especially among Villagers who see themselves as the old guard, or "old-time Village people," the ones who were around during the "good old days" when antiwar activity was the Village avocation. Hence many Villagers view the police with suspicion.

And many Villagers are reluctant to call the police over a

mugging or a petty theft such as a car break-in in the middle of the night. Cynicism about the police's effectiveness mixed with community suspicion of police behavior toward blacks keeps the middle-class Villagers from fully embracing the notion that they must rely heavily on the formal, legitimate means of social control in maintaining even the minimum of freedom of movement they enjoy on the streets in their own residential neighborhood. Thus, most residents are left to informally negotiate civility and safe passage on the streets with others they meet face to face.

Footnotes for Chapter 3

1. It is important to point out that skin color is not used only to mean "race" in this discussion of street etiquette, for "race" implies a complex and interrelating set of facets of an individual's identity, facets pertaining to cultural as well as physical traits. On the streets, particularly between strangers, these more complex components of a person's identity are not always taken into consideration as an approaching stranger scans a fellow pedestrian for clues to the likely ways the stranger might behave. Skin color, a stark physical sign, is used as a handle of sorts, a crude way of summing up another on the streets. Police use it. A very dark Italian living in a white working-class neighborhood in the city reported that he was often stopped by the police at night, "by mistake," as he put it, "because they thought I was Puerto Rican or something from far away." He reported that as soon as he handed over his license, on which his Italian name is printed, the police quickly let him go, realizing their mistake, based on their automatic response to the presence of darker-skinned males in the neighborhood.
2. Philadelphia Inquirer, June 1981.
3. Ibid.

Chapter 4

How Villagers Develop Their Neighborhood Perspective

At various social gatherings, cocktail parties, dinner parties, and the like, middle-class Villagers gather with other city dwellers of like circumstance and exchange stories about urban living. Conversations invariably turn to life in their respective neighborhoods--particularly its more gruesome aspects. Middle-class people commiserate, casting themselves and others with whom they identify in the role of victim. Recent stickups, rapes, burglaries, and harassment are subjects that make them sit up and listen, taking note of where certain kinds of trouble are likely to occur, and in what circumstances.

By engaging in such talk they learn about the streets. They also affirm a personal conception that "city people" are somehow special, deserving commendation for putting up with the many problems of being middle class in an environment that must be shared with the working class and the poor. For example: "I'm convinced," one such middle-class woman said while out on her porch fertilizing the geraniums, "that city people are just so much more ingenious." (She had been discussing a friend who moved out to one of the city's posh suburbs.) "We <u>have</u> to be," she concluded matter-of-factly.

City living in itself does not seem to be such a "problem" for

blacks and former hippies in the Village. Working-class blacks, who often view the Village as a prestige neighborhood relative to Northton, see their neighborhood as "nice" and "decent" compared with the streets of Northton where many grew up. The former hippies, on the other hand, who view themselves as the vessels of the unique "hip" Village neighborhood identity, pride themselves on "knowing the streets." They generally consider theft and harassment "facts of life" in the city, and they display little interest in stories of who did what to whom. "Those meetings are all pretty much alike--boring," said one thirtyish former draft counselor of a block meeting scheduled by concerned Villagers and entitled "Violence in the Village." "A lot of 'who got mugged where and when,' and all that old shit," she said. She did not plan to attend the meeting.

At times the young blacks and the young white former hippies even come together in apartments or spontaneous intra-building get-togethers and lament the recent influx of "middle-class suburbans," whom they see as responsible for rent increases and stricter standards of porch and yard maintenance. They talk about the newcomers as "squares" or as "uptight" and believe their fears about theft and violence are not to be taken too seriously.

Many of these self-proclaimed veterans, and even the young blacks to a certain extent, act as models and agents of socialization for the newcomers who so desperately need to get a "handle" on the streets. Women, especially as they stay longer in the Village, learn to adopt a style of dress designed to negate stereotypical "female frailty" and to

symbolize aggressiveness. For many of the veterans, up to age forty, blue jeans are the mainstay of Village casual street garb. Denim jackets and unisex nylon parkas, heavy boots, sneakers, and unshaven legs are all part of the "urban female" costume. The old-time Village men, most of whom are between thirty and forty years old, also stick to blue jeans and take to the streets with a determined set to their jaws, an offensive-defensive urban scowl planted on their faces, intended to ward off unwanted advances by strangers. Newcomers learn to park their cars on the east-west streets to avoid having them broken into at night. For their cars, they buy "crime locks" and hood locks. They have chains for their bikes, bars for their first-floor windows, and dead bolts for their back doors, but they continue to feel insecure. They constantly worry about getting "ripped off." They sometimes build high fences to supplement the quaint waist-high wrought iron fences from the early 1900s when the well-to-do still claimed moral hegemony within the area.

Newcomers learn the schedule of the nearby black high school, enabling them to avoid the well-traveled north-south streets when the high school students are there in force. The racial and age composition of the clientele at Mel's at various time of day is something newly arriving Villagers slowly learn to "work around." In addition, they come to know by sight specific other Villagers and frequent visitors from Northton, even though they may not always know they know them. The more general color-coding, which people in racially homogeneous areas can more easily apply in making decisions about

strangers, goes through a refinement process because of the heterogeneous class and racial makeup of the Village.

Certain black and white others are "documented" and often held in a kind of social reserve as possible future allies on the street. In certain circumstances of need, even certain "types" of dark-skinned strangers become recognizable by black and white Villagers as a social type--harmless old "wineheads" or "shopping-bag ladies," for instance.

The urban environment of potential and actual street-crime inspires the social process of documentation and lays the foundation for situationally necessitated trust between strangers proceeding by way of repeated face-to-face meetings, this social process may be viewed as the microsocial basis of what may be called community with such an urban neighborhood.

Community Documentation

Social documentation begins something like this: One person sees another walking down the street alone, with another person, or with a few other people. The person spied might be engaged in some notable activity, such as getting out of an unusual car, riding a bicycle, walking a dog, taking the run of the grounds of a particular dwelling in the neighborhood, or he might simply be crossing a street at the light or even leaving a store with bags of groceries. In such circumstances, skin color, sex, age, dress, and peculiar styles of street navigation can become important as markers. At times, depending on the observer's presuppositions, such specific markers can become the

master status-determining characteristics, superseding other attributes of the person. The most important thing for the present is just that the observer notices the person, that some significant social contact, not necessarily reciprocal, is made.

Although such initial contact is important, it is not the most crucial element in "knowing" or identifying others in the community. Rather, the initial contact situation helps set the background expectancies for any meaningful subsequent interaction, unilateral or bilateral. It is important to understand how objectively insignificant the initial observation can be. The meaning and significance of this encounter is contingent upon subsequent encounters. If the person spotted is never seen or heard from again, then the initial spotting gradually loses its power. The impression of the observer weakens. On the other hand, if the person is spotted again, the impression has the chance of becoming strong. The strength of such impressions, nurtured through repeated encounters and observations, serves as a kind of social bond that slowly knits a neighborhood into a series of overlapping communities wherein certain people keep certain other people in mind as potential "friends," even allies in time of need. This form of "knowing" allows strangers of diverse life-styles to navigate the Village with a certain reserve of knowledge that in time may grow into trust.

Much of this documentation is not dwelled upon or recalled in situations that do not require it. Its use is situation-specific. Until situations of need arise, the knowledge takes on no great

significance for the knower. Indeed, it is held in abeyance--a kind of ready reserve. A Villager may tell others about certain "strangers" he has noticed on the streets, and, while such group talk may be important as a means of consolidating, it pales in comparison with the mental effect of actual repeated encounters and social experience with the others on the streets. Every encounter and documentation builds the context and public culture of community. Background expectancies are formed, and the Villager learns to adjust his behavior to the exigencies of the situation. From individual and group experiences with strangers and others on the streets, knowledge is generated and shared, forming a group perspective, a way of seeing the community. It is from this perspective, and the practical social problems such a perspective claims to resolve or illuminate, that a peculiarly Village street etiquette emerges.

The stranger may be seen first in one context, then in another, then in a third. The observer might say, if he could stand apart and ask himself, "Do I know that stranger?" "Yes." For on a certain level he does know that stranger--by sight. He has documented him many times in various contexts in the neighborhood, albeit perhaps unwittingly. With each successive encounter he has gotten to "know" him, and to some degree others like him, better and better. This familiarity is usually based primarily upon visual exchanges, not yet having reached the verbal level. If asked, the observer may say, "Yeah, I've seen him around." But a particular stimulus or provocation often is required to bring such information to the surface, and there is a distinct

possibility that such information may never be verbalized. On a visual level stranger and observer may both know each other, though they may have never spoken a word. It may be that they have exchanged certain looks, looks important enough to establish the basis of some future trust between them. Verbal interaction, however, may not yet be justified, and it may never be.

When visual interaction becomes rich enough, when it has happened repeatedly over time and a background has been established, then the stranger may be placed in a kind of social reserve until opportunity or need arises and all background information, gradually built up over time, informed and nurtured through reciprocal observations and visual exchanges, becomes useful for social connection and subsequent interaction. For example, in emergencies such as house fires, crimes on the street in which someone is clearly suffering, or some other focus of attention in which people have the opportunity to stand around together and compare notes on their neighbors, they may stumble a bit and seem embarrassed, saying, "Yeah, I've seen you around. My name is _____." This sometimes happens when two people who have been taking note of each other in the neighborhood for some time happen to meet in a different part of town and, somewhat embarrassed, become constrained to greet each other like long-lost friends. Perhaps in the Village they had not even reached the point of speaking but had only warily acknowledged one another with knowing looks, perhaps stolen looks, or even the customary offensive-defensive urban scowl. After a meeting and verbal exchange, say downtown, two such previously socially distant

Villagers may begin to exchange verbal greetings on the streets of their neighborhood. In this way the microsocial basis of interpersonal trust can be established between Villagers who increasingly view certain others as worth noting.

These person-specific microdesignations that Villagers make every day are not always conducive to the flourishing of ideal-typical gemeinschaft relations. On the contrary, documentation like that described above allows neighbors not to become involved in indiscriminate forms of social exchange. Whereas in the ideal-typical gemeinschaft community people presumably become quite openly involved with the personal lives of their neighbors, trading favors and various kinds of help without keeping score of who owes what to whom in return, Villagers generally avoid the responsibilities and social obligations that emerge from this deeper form of interpersonal involvement. They "know" one another well enough to use each other as buffers against real strangers, often strangers just passing through, but they most often call each other forth as real "friends" only when neighborhood crises emerge, when they would otherwise, at least for the moment, be short of help. Thus this unseen network of reserve relationships works to bind together the residents and regular users of the public spaces of the Village.

Crisis and Adaptation

In the words of Herbert Gans, the urban villagers he studied were "not at home" in the city. They were, rather, "European

immigrants . . . trying to adapt their non-urban institutions and cultures to the urban milieu."[1] In many ways the Villagers share the predicament of Gans's West-Enders. Although most are American whites and blacks, they are not "urban" in the same way as many of the Northton blacks, some of whom emerge as residents of the Village. Most newcomers to the Village come from the suburbs, and many have suburban backgrounds that stretch to their childhoods. They have chosen the Village because it is close to the cosmopolitan center of the city, but also because of its unique offerings of large yards and homes, places to raise children and grow gardens and have pets, all important parts of suburban life. In his article "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life,"[2] Gans differentiates between urban and suburban settlement types, characterizing urban populations as "cosmopolite, unmarried, and childless," living in neighborhoods that are less homogeneous than suburban neighborhoods, less bound together by primary relationships of any kind. As a third settlement type Gans draws attention to the neighborhoods of what he calls "outlying regions of the city," neighborhoods that occupy the same ecological niche as the Village.[3] At the time Gans wrote this article, twenty years ago, such outlying regions of the city contained segregations of homogeneous people, "homogeneous with regard to place and nature of work, income, racial and ethnic characteristics, social status, custom, habit, taste, preference, and prejudice."[4] He also characterized these areas as predominantly lower middle class. A move from a lower-middle-class neighborhood in the suburbs did not, he maintained, involve any great

behavioral changes for the new urban dweller.

Because outer city settlement types were so similar to suburban types, the development of a new perspective for handling the streets and public spaces of one's immediate environment was not necessary. The recent influx of middle-class professionals to areas of the outer city has changed this. Areas, such as the Village, that have undergone what some may see as "regentrification" are not homogeneous with regard to the criteria listed by Gans.

Situated as it is on the edge of a large, poor black ghetto, the Village is not conducive to a wholesale transplanation of middle-class suburban life-styles within its closely restricted, yet poorly defended boundaries.

Especially in their use of outdoor space, Villagers exhibit a sense of conflict, a halting acceptance of the adaptations they must make to survive in what is to them a very new environment. For instance, on a piece of ground that abuts a main intersection in the Village, a lesbian couple scratch out a vegetable garden behind a six-foot cyclone fence they have erected to keep out stray dogs and thieves. The two women may be seen on Saturdays and Sundays outside their large Victorian twin house weeding the lettuce and the beans, shirtsleeves rolled up, bending and grunting as a big city bus stops in front to load and discharge passengers before roaring off in a thick cloud of black exhaust. Except that the owners of the house and garden are open lesbians, they might well be living in the suburbs where the air would be cleaner, the yard quieter, the fence unnecessary. But their

sexuality might be looked at askance by neighbors in the suburbs. Their life-style might be questioned, even talked about unkindly. In the Village they do not stand out as much more unusual than the next pair of homeowners, or at least the urban dwellers' code of "live and let live" protects them from feeling out of place and offers them a measure of hospitality. What may seem out of place is their full-scale vegetable garden and six-foot cyclone fence on a plot of ground intended by its nineteenth-century planners for perhaps a manicured privet hedge and a rosebush or two. The vegetable-growers' mentality hangs on as an artifact of suburban life.

But the lesbians are not alone. Mr. G, a recent arrival to the Village, may be seen digging carrots out of the dirt of his front yard about dinnertime. The things a suburbanite might do, garden, raise a family, own a home, sit out in the yard, barbecue, are not ruled out by lack of space in the Village. Engaging in such activities just becomes somewhat more difficult, given the distinctly nonsuburban influences prevalent in the Northton-Village area.

A major nonsuburban influence is crime. In the following field note a young couple from suburban California learn how they must alter their notions about private yard space, how careful one must be about protecting the boundaries commonly ascribed (at least in the suburbs) to one's "private property."

> Doris, her husband Bob, and their two toddlers are white newcomers to the Village. Bob is a chemist employed by a local firm. Doris stays at home in the daytime with

her three-year-old daughter, Celeste, and her one-year-old son, Roger. On Thursdays she goes out in the mornings, leaving the children with Bernadette, the black cleaning woman who comes once a week to "help out." Doris takes great pride in her massive ten-room, three-story house and backyard deck. On any given day she might be found stripping woodwork or giving her deck a fresh coat of paint. The one stumbling-block to Doris's "dream-house-come-true" is the yard. A tangle of weeds, old rosebush canes, dog dung, and rubble, it needs her attention as badly as any part of the house. Doris complains for weeks about the condition of the yard. Finally, on the recommendation of a neighbor, she hires a landscape architect to help her decide what to do.

The entire twenty-by-twenty-foot area was first leveled off. Doris did this with a machine she rented at a hardware store in the suburbs. In her tiny blue BMW, she carted home bags and bags of topsoil. She enlarged the flowerbed surrounding the now-rototilled plot of dirt. She spread bark chips under the natural-wood swing set left behind by the former owners. Finally, she planted grass seed. For several days the neighbors were treated to a chorus of half-stifled grunts and groans as Doris swung the pickax she had bought to break up the ground, then spread the lime and other chemicals sold to her by

"her" nurseryman out in the suburbs. At last the seed was in. By June the yard was turning green all over, and the ornamental plantings went in.

The azaleas went up against the deck, the dogwood in the corner, the phlox and pyracantha against the back fence Doris commissioned "to keep out the odor" of the neighbor's neglected German shepherd watchdog. It was all lovely and blooming by July, and the family began eating dinner out on their deck at the expensive glass-topped iron patio table they had carried along with them from their days in California. Doris eventually hung four or five big bamboo roll-up shades to give herself some privacy from the neighbors, who also ate dinner on their deck ten feet away across the common cement walk. Huge spider plants rained down from the ceiling of the deck. Roger's high chair became a permanent fixture. One neighbor remarked to another admiringly, though somewhat sardonically, "Doris has created southern California right here in the middle of dirty Eastern City."

Then the crisis: Neighbors buzzed across the fences. Doris and Bob had been wakened in the middle of the night by what turned out to be a burglar on their back deck. Doris phoned for the police while Bob hurried downstairs

in his underwear. A crowbar was found on the deck. The glass-topped table was gone. Doris told a neighbor the thief had been apprehended on one of the north-south streets, heading for Northton.

"How old a guy was it?" one white neighbor asked, perhaps wanting to know more than the thief's age but not wanting to ask the wrong question, the question pertaining to skin color.

Doris understood the question. "I don't know," she said first about his age. "Maybe about my age. I don't know." Then she lowered her voice and whispered, "Black . . ."

"That's a shame," the neighbor said.

"It means we have to put the table [which was retrieved by the police] back in the house and drag it out every time we use it."

"You could chain it up to the railing of the deck," the neighbor offered.

"Yeah, we thought about that. Or we could build a tall fence across the walk and give keys to everyone who uses it. That way at least they couldn't take big things over it. It's such a pain, though. I mean, we have this big

> beautiful house and everything, and it seems like we can't enjoy it because you always have to be afraid that someone's going to break in or steal something. Sometimes it makes you wonder if it would be better just to give up and move out to the suburbs where everything's safe and you don't have to lock things up. But it's so nice being close to everything. If you want to go to a good restaurant, or a movie . . ."

Doris and Bob thus began battening down the hatches.

Other incidents of theft involving the children's toys and a set of eighteen-dollar lawn chairs were reported by Doris to her sympthetic back-fence neighbors, but the family did not move. They simply learned to make the appropriate adaptations to their new city life, complaining about how "dangerous" the neighborhood was, learning to suspect blacks of everything that was wrong in the neighborhood, but hanging on for the sake of their sixty-thousand-dollar investment and the privilege of sharing all the city has to offer. Crises come and go, reminding former suburbanites, who sometimes forget, that life in the Village can be disrupted by theft and violence, finding victims among the careless and the unlucky.

Fear surges and then recedes again as horrible crimes are reported by the media or travel the usually peaceful blocks of the Village by word of mouth. In February a young woman, a new mother, was stabbed and left for dead in her home on one of the well-traveled north-south streets. Her month-old baby was unharmed, but it was weeks

before the mother, recuperating in the hospital, remembered she had recently given birth. Word of the stabbing traveled up and down the blocks of the Village. Neighbors said the woman often went out her back door to take out garbage, or call in the dog. She was known to leave the door unlocked, something no veteran Villager living on such a heavily traveled street "would be foolish enough to do." But to uninitiated newcomers the cobblestone streets and large yards are deceptively peaceful. When crises come and go they gradually leave behind a deeper understanding of the "openness" that characterizes this quaint area of the city.

Living less than half a block away, but in a building facing an east-west street, a friend of the young mother was temporarily overcome with fear. Her husband, scheduled to be out of town the week after the vicious attack on his wife's friend, found he had to make arrangements with another neighbor to "baby-sit" with his wife and children at night while he was away. Security all over the Village was tightened for a time. People who used to go in and out, feeding the birds, shoveling walks, or whatever, no longer came and went so carelessly. As the news traveled the blocks, fear reached a high point and, rather like a stone thrown into a pond, created a ripple effect that emanated outward from the young victim's immediate neighbors, eventually affecting behavior in other parts of the Village. One young black man reported that after the attack he was greeted with suspicious stares on his way to Mel's. "Everyone's looking over their shoulder suddenly," he said. "All black people are suspects."

In time the fear did recede. People once again started occasionally leaving back doors unlocked. Summer came, and first-floor windows stayed open at night from time to time. This until the next disruption of the Village's illusion of safety. Then comes more discussion and trading of tales, back-fence gossip to teach the newcomers what can happen when the guard goes down. "It makes you stop and wonder about living here," said one young mother, shortly after the stabbing became the main item of speculation. "I've never lived in such a dangerous neighborhood. I run upstairs and leave my back door open sometimes. Like today, I got both kids and took them upstairs, and all of a sudden I said, 'Oh, no! I left the door unlocked!' and I just stopped what I was doing and ran downstairs to lock it." Such extreme--compared with certain suburban areas--security measures in the middle of the day are not common around the Village, but such fear-induced behavior is reported by neighbors as they work out their group perspective on what is at least possible, if not probable.

Through successive documentations and informal neighborhood gossip, Villagers build toward a sort of complacency, an acceptance of the risks and likely dangers of living in the city. Unknown but familiar others on the streets are "mapped" in much the way a Villager maps the streets, parks, and playgrounds in his immediate environment. When the various mental maps remain reliable and undisturbed for months and months, this is experienced as a kind of "peace." More and more can be taken for granted. Night excursions become more likely. Children may be given a longer invisible tether. Villagers can gather

and talk about the pleasanter aspects of neighborhood life. But they know and are often reminded that the peace is precarious, for events can suddenly take a turn for the worse as some pillar or other upon which the calm rests is shaken. Mel's gets robbed, or the Co-op, or someone is mugged in broad daylight. In the following case a mugging takes on especially potent meaning for the neighborhood, for the victim is herself a pillar of stability, "a permanent fixture" on the streets.

On 4 June Mrs. Legget, an eighty-five-year-old white woman, was mugged again. As she completed her usual afternoon walk, coming down one of the well-traveled north-south streets to her own east-west street perpendicular at the intersection near Mel's, several black girls approached her and demanded her money, which Mrs. Legget handed over. News of this reverberated throughout the neighborhood. People were shocked, particularly those of the middle-income white and black communities, but also those of other enclaves of the Village. Who would do such a thing, people wondered. What sort of person would steal from an eighty-five-year-old lady? She was quite defenseless, with her frail body, failing eyesight, and disarming wit. She has been walking the neighborhood streets for years, a fixture of the community, the sort of person "everybody knows"--at least by sight.

Neighbors identify with Mrs. Legget. They form an important part of her "own" group. They "know" her plight and empathize with her, even if they do not know her personally or even by name. Any Villager who does any amount of walking in the neighborhood can be made to remember "that frail old lady with a cane," for she is a reference

group member by which many Villagers gauge their own security. That she can walk the streets means that others, visibly stronger (if less wise), can believe themselves capable of maintaining the same rights of passage. Mrs. Legget's freedom of movement stood as a kind of proof of Village street safety.

Now the thinking goes, "If they'll do it to Mrs. Legget, they'll do it to anybody," and thus the mugging becomes an affront to the neighborhood. It works to transform what intermittently lapses into an amorphous group into a kind of community of "the decent people." The neighbors begin to talk and ponder their group position in relation to others they know of, particularly others of the group from which the muggers are sensed to spring, the black youths of Northton and the Village.

People in the Village had to become more circumspect after the attack on Mrs. Legget. Her daily presence on the streets stood as a marker of sorts, a statement of at least partial hegemony over some of the streets during some of the daylight hours. After the attack, Villagers plans for taking public transportation become more elaborate. One young woman, a tenant in the apartment building Mrs. Legget has lived in for twenty years, changed her plans to take the city bus back from the Greyhound bus terminal. Instead, she drove her car and paid to park it by the Greyhound terminal, thus assuring herself of door-to-door transportation for her nighttime return from out of town. "There's a lot of crime going on right now," she said to her friend on the phone. She was embarrassed, for she usually ridicules the block

meetings and homeowners gripes about theft and vandalism. Mrs. Legget's mugging shook even the firmest beliefs in street safety.

Like the stabbing of the young mother, however, this incident involving a "pillar of the neighborhood" will pass on into vague memory for most Villagers. The neighborhood is resilient; it has experienced all this before. After a point, after the collection of neighbors, black and white, has reaffirmed its solidarity vis-à-vis the presumed dark-skinned intruders, things will gradually settle down. This is a slow process requiring a certain amount of testing, of careful walking, of greater-than-usual scrutiny of strangers, but things will get back to "normal." It simply takes too much energy to be so careful all the time. It is easier to begin the process of recovery, of redocumentation, the way of morally rebuilding one's sense of security through the accretion of positive experiences and memories.

Footnotes for Chapter 4

1. Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: Free Press, 1982).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Chapter 5

Familiarity, Protection, Social Distance

On a warm day in June, towards the end of the project, I sat on a bench in the playground. The tire swing, merry-go-round, and wide slide were empty. Two grade school-age black boys were huddled, talking in the cable spools set up as a fortress or clubhouse over in the corner of the park. They ate candy, letting go of the wrappers, unthinkingly littering up the area. Surely they had noticed me, but my presence was not troublesome. Often on breezy, sunny days adults use the benches to sun on, get air.

After a while the boys gravitated to the tire swing, a truck tire suspended on chains, a circular seat with the hole in the middle for legs to hang through, dangling. Three or four kids can ride it together. The teenagers stand on it pumping. These two boys, dusty and wearing old sneakers, no belts, (adjusting their shorts up and up on their small frames), used the swing like a guantlet, flinging it over and over again, taking turns diving under, rolling, crawling out on their elbows, little

marines. They tackled each other, too. They rolled, laughing, in the dust under the heavy moving swing. They took turns aiming it at each other's heads, standing, having a raucous good time.

I wondered at first if I should warn them: Be careful. But I saw how tough, wiry, quick, skilled, and fearless they were.

A middle-aged white man escorted two girls, perhaps eight and ten, into the playground. He carried a styrofoam cup that was steaming, a New York Times under his arm. He sat on a bench in his shorts, T-shirt, plastic shower sandals. Though on the other side of the playground from me, he nodded, unfamiliar but showing comaraderie. The girls stood eyeing the swing and the boys, who took brief notice of the newcomers and then continued their rough game, perhaps glad for an audience. Two pairs of strangers, these boys and these girls who did not speak.

The girls looked so "dressy." Their hair was in braids. They wore socks with their "clean-looking" striped running shoes. They stood stock still, just watching, estranged from each other it seemed. The boys' play spilled over to the merry-go-round next to the swing, also a cable spool, set on a turner. The girls closed in on the vacated swing quickly, eyeing the boys over their

shoulders as they maneuvered up through the center hole and onto the rim, sitting. They worked their pale legs a minute or two then yelled, "Daddy! Come push us!" The man looked up from his paper, but he didn't get up. He sipped his hot drink. His looked puffy from sleep. He said, "In a minute!"

The boys now returned to the swing. I looked away, and when I looked back they were pushing the swing, suddenly silent. In pushing they made contact with the girls, but I did not see them make any eye contact. They swung the tire with what seemed like all their might, coaxing it into a huge swinging circle that brought the girls' heads, backs, and arms very close to the telephone pole support post. The girls were not smiling. They even seemed too scared to look at their father. I started worrying.

Again and again, aware now of their strange power to keep the girls silent and nervous, the boys caught onto the rim of the tire at its high point, flinging it forward with all of the weight of their bodies falling. Small, involuntary squeaking (his girls!) attracted the father's attention. He looked up from his paper, lowered the paper, stood, put his hands on his hips. The boys did not look over at him. I expected the man to shout: Hey!

Be careful! Or something. He did not speak though. I thought: How strange! What parent would not at least caution the boys?

The father walked over and stood, dumb, then trying to smile, watching the girls, whose braids were lifted up off their backs by the force of the pushing.

"Daddy, stop us!"

The man reached a hand in and broke the swing's motion. The boys simply watched. At no time (that I saw) did either boy make eye contact with the man, nor he with them. He did not say anything at all. It was eerie, this lack of rapport. The boys were simply foreign it seemed, to the man. When the girls got off they hopped right on.

In the way that Suttles' "cognitive maps,"[1] (maps <u>discovered</u> rather than invented by the sociologist), contain and express meaning for the urban dweller about the social "neighborly" relationships he or she understands and participates in, (indeed, creates), so does street etiquette, "perspective," if you will, contain certain such meanings. In the fieldnote about the father's stand-offishness expresses some (albeit unconscious) "distance" he feels between himself and "them." One must infer the "meaning" of his behavior in the situation. Were the boys one might infer that the father was fearful,

too fearful to reprimand their recklessness with his daughters. Observing the scene, however, with the sociologist's hypotheses about race relations in Northton/The Village, and having experience as a parent in playground situations, the sociologist-participant-observer discovered an aspect of social relatedness, or lack of relatedness perhaps one might say. The father's strange silence, the black woman's treatment while buying "organ-t-ic lemons" at the Co-op,[2] the pretense of not knowing that results in documentation,[3] the averted eyes for the black stranger.[4] all these can be viewed as creative acts, and what they create is a distance between blacks and whites. Perhaps this is based on mistrust, this creative distancing etiquette. Motives are hard to infer. The etiquette is there though, engaged in neighbors because that is the way one behaves in the city, at the park, in the streets, etc. It is doubtful that the father on the playground fears the waist-high boys, regardless of their skin color. Still, Villagers just do not feel comaraderie with kids from Northton. They are different. Open familiarity is just not done.

Though we have argued that Northton/The Village is a single "natural area," the exigencies of daily life for Villagers and their neighbors north of Bell Weather Street are different. To the extent that they differ they hold different outlooks on etiquette, different solutions to such problems as burglary, fear, mugging, rape, murder, and rough-housing on the playground. Perspectives on dealing with neighbors unite and divide such integrated areas as Northton/The Village. Economic and cultural differences are tempered and

reinforced by divergent adaptations to the age-old common problem: Crime.

For the black working class and poor people living north of Bell Weather Street the unemployed, criminal element lives among them, might be a nephew, a best friend's son. Though neighbors in Northton are cautious they cannot keep secret their work schedules, sleep habits, appliance deliveries, physical frailities, aloneness, and vulnerability in the same way that Villagers, by living apart, can and do. The fundamental sharing of space and information is different, for Northtonians live among the potentially violent ones, the ones who have guns, lack jobs, opportunity, commitment to middle-class civility. Villagers share sidewalks, parks, and, to some extent, schools with their Northtonian neighbors, but residentially they are segregated by way of Bell Weather Street. They do not share back fences with Northtonians, (for the most part), side alleys, or apartment houses. An out-of-work youth living in Northton can sit on his own parents' front porch steps and watch old Mrs. Teller leave each day at three for the market, return at three-thirty. Sharing space daily, regularly, closely leads to a special other etiquette--different than Villagers' stand-offishness.

The bulk of Northton's population, that is the law-abiding, frightened black people, adapt by "making friends" with their neighbors in an effort to "be known," to ingratiate onself with the potential criminal. One young man from Northton had the following to say about his mother, (who lives alone in a row house in Northton):

> "She always got something to say to the young boys she sees on the streets. Things like 'how y'all doin'' or 'how's yo' mama.' She visits her neighbors regular and gets all involved with them. She'll do that so they'll look out for her when she's not home. She'll even go so far as to bake cakes for some of the young boys for their birthdays. See, she's real cool about it. . . . But even though she goes through them changes, she's still afraid to leave her house at night."

Northton thus becomes a tighter knit neighborhood through this etiquette of cake baking and public shows of familiarity. Just as the distance, however, between blacks and whites in the Village is patterned, perhaps lacking motive in specific instances, (such as the father and the boys on the playground), so does the familiarity characterizing neighborly relations in Northton "take on a life of its own." No specific act of endearment, such as Mrs. Teller's baking a cake for the teenager next door, can be reduced to only an act of cold, self-interested calculation. Relations between neighbors, Northton/The Village <u>are just different</u>. The sociologist observes the different exigencies of daily life and infers reasons for the difference. In this case, the nature of sharing, i.e., space and information, dichotomizes the Northton/Village area with regard to etiquette, perspective, and neighborly relations.

There are two common conceptions of the poor black neighborhood. One is that neighbors "do in" their neighbors. The other is that

neighbors "really know each other." They are informal with each other, less "private," drop in for coffee and drinks without engraved invitations. Perhaps these two views are both true. One in a sense "explains" the other. In situations where neighbor fears neighbor the saving factor is accountability.

A villager does tell his close neighbors of trip plans, long absences upcoming. This is true. Villagers take in each others' mail, newspapers, hire neighborhood kids to turn on a light in the back before dark, etc. They make these arrangements privately, however, not over lawnmowers or paint brushes out back in a holler. They do so with easy confidence, taking each other's whiteness and middle classness as proof of trustworthiness. By virtue of light skin color and what this suggests about "friends," the Villagers are thus in a position to band together against, whereas in Northton the banding together must rely on more knowing, more intricate judgments, more time.

In this segregated society to be black is to have black friends. Black men have "buddies" at work, "cousins," an unknown, imagined (by others) circle of intimates with whom "confidential" information might be shared, unwittingly even. Thus, to be black is to be suspect, or at least suspected of having the wrong kind of friends. This is why Ms. Eudora[6] makes her tenants nervous when she sends 'round unknown blacks to empty out the trash or clean up dog doo. The Villagers have worked out a stance much different than that of their Northtonian neighbors. It is an attitude, a way of being in the presence of blacks. They create "social distance" through pretenses of not

knowing, stand-offishness, reserve, averted eyes followed by over-the-shoulder stolen glances. They do not fraternize except in extreme situations. (See A Place on the Corner, Anderson, Elijah, "Distancing Oneself from the Wineheads.") As institutionalized as the distancing posture is, it functions automatically except in times of crisis. It defines race relations in Northton/The Village. Blacks accept it, understand it for the most part, especially black males who grow up with the "distance" as part of their social identity. Think of the little boys in the park, the ones who were not even looked at.

Footnotes for Chapter 5

1. Suttles' discussion of "cognitive maps" in The Social Construction of Communities.
2. Organ-t-ic lemons.
3. See notes on documentation.
4. See fieldnotes on black males on the streets--passing.
5. "naturalness" of Northton/Village area.
6. Ms. Eudora Stories.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

A perfunctory view of the streets of the Village would lead one to believe that this is a pleasant neighborhood, that people get along well with one another, and that there is genuine comity among the various kinds of people making up the social area. The area has a perceptible museum quality: the Victorian houses are often set behind wrought iron fences shaded by a large canopy of sycamore trees along cobblestone streets.

As residents saunter up and down the streets, there is often a pleasant show of civility, if not outright intimacy, between neighbors. A middle-aged black woman, for instance, pushes a buggy across the street on a sunny weekday morning. Approaching a young white woman, she smiles. The smile is returned, as both continue about their business. Black youths dressed in jeans and sneakers emerge from around the corner. They speak to one another loudly enough for all to hear, their voices seem to rise as they approach and to fade as they move on down the street. An elderly man stands near his dog, waiting for the dog to finish "his business" by a clump of hedges. Cars pass. An occasional police car passes. A middle-aged white woman with seven children ranging in age from five to seven appears at the corner. She stands between the children and the traffic and carefully inspects the

street for moving cars, though she has the light. She cautiously moves into the streets while the children seem raring to get to the other side; she has her hands full. As she approaches the other side, passersby look on sympathetically, somehow knowing what she is going through--and communicating this by their looks. But others are oblivious. In this area, blacks and whites, males and females, and young and old appear to get on well, exchanging pleasantries, and even help in those situations requiring it. And the area does not seem at all foreboding.

But, to the careful observer, this view is deceptive. People are quite concerned about others with whom they share the social space here. This concern is expressed in various situations. It is expressed by how people treat their children. Whites, for instance, seem to be very protective towards their children in this environment; they fear something bad will happen to them if they do not take care. Most white children are closely supervised, and they play outside their own yards only when another adult is present. Such an instance belies the idea that this is a trusted environment. Indeed much distrust exists. People in this community tend to see the streets as a jungle, but particularly at night. While thinking the area is basically a hostile place, there is a generalized need to view the area as a cultural island of civility and comity.

Accounting for the competing view that this area is a jungle is the fact that just across the street from the area resides a large black ghetto area. The area is known to be economically depressed and

thus a source of much if not most of the crime occurring in the Village. The perpetrator of crimes is known to be young, black, and male. Thus, people of the Village have in their minds that people of the black ghetto are desperate and dangerous people. Hence, strange black people are viewed as mysterious, and are often feared outright. Because the people are viewed this way, it is then necessary to be on guard against such people. It is necessary on the streets to fend them off with sometimes truncated, if not hostile looks. It is felt necessary at times to cross the street if one is coming your way. It is necessary to be short with "them" in public encounters. All of this is because of the great need somehow for creating social distance that is thought to be protective. This is not the social distance in the old way in which Park described it; rather it is something new and different. Law-abiding people, including many blacks, of this community place distance between themselves and blacks out of a felt need to protect themselves from strange blacks.

Until or unless blacks, particularly black males, prove they are committed to civility, residents of the community assume the blacks are up to no good. And for most blacks, especially young males, this is next to impossible to prove in the face of law-abiding people who feel themselves under threat and pressure to discover those persons who might be the real perpetrators of crime. Hence, to many whites as well as many blacks, young black males simply mean "trouble" and are thus to be avoided in close encounters.

The Village is best viewed as a kind of middle-class, integrated

oasis in close proximity to the large black ghetto of Northton. Also important, the blacks of Northton must pass through the Village to get to and from the racially segregated high school on "the other side" of the Village. They also "use" the Village as a "shortcut" to the "downtown" trolley or the bus. Moreover, many come to the Village to visit their friends. This means that the Village experiences much street traffic by "outsiders," people who are not known and even less understood, at various times of the day and night. But although the metaphor of oasis seems apt for describing the Village, it does have certain shortcomings.

In fact, the two communities are not all that separate. The blacks of Northton and the whites and blacks of the Village are part of the same moral community. Both groups see themselves in relation to one another, if not extensions of one another. Blacks very often share with whites their attitudes about the general community. Blacks feel indeed that the neighborhood is not safe, though they tend to be less uptight about this feeling, mainly because they feel a sense of territory here. They tend to feel the environment is tougher for the whites than for themselves. Consequently, the blacks tend to be much more relaxed in the general community area; indeed, they take the "run of the area," walking around at all times of day and night. And their children, unlike those of the whites, tend to walk around unsupervised, walking to and from the parks with other children, or even by themselves, returning home safely.

Yet the overriding view is of the neighborhood area is that of

jungle. Hence, if one is to venture out, particularly at night, he must beware. But even more important, people must beware not of white people, but of blacks, especially black males. This is a part of the community lore, something everyone, white or black, knows and takes for granted, particularly when using the streets or when discussing crime in the streets. At the same time, the general feeling, however untrue, is that black persons on the streets are somehow safer than their white counterparts. For instance, when a black person is seriously injured in a mugging, it is more difficult to understand common-sensically than if the person had been white. When a white is mugged on the streets, blacks and whites are able to "understand" it.

Much of this attitude is gained through community perceptions of the black ghetto. It is supported whenever community residents take a drive through the ghetto and view the "proof" standing on the street corners of Northton. They view people who are "shabbily dressed," youths carrying radios, black youth engaging in boisterous conversation, or they may view what they take to be a fight or a holdup. It is from this that they then begin to generalize, as they have little or no worthwhile knowledge about the black area, and this picture will do. And this picture is about the kinds of people they would rather have not close to them; rather, these are the kinds of people they want desperately to avoid.

To the dismay of many of the middle-income residents of the Village, black as well as white, the area seems to inhale and exhale black youth at various times of the day. This "problem" is especially

acute at the times when the elementary and high schools are "letting in" and "letting out." It is at these times, carefully noted by many residents, that many Village residents attempt to avoid the streets. In the morning when school begins, the streets are full of black students, who flock to Mel's deli/grocery store, creating a problem for the owner, who believes the black youth come in to shoplift. But after a point, the streets are quiet and peaceful again, as things return to "normal."

But it is at this time that another kind of traffic begins. Because the ghetto area of Northton is "on the other side" of the Village, Northton residents who want access to the subway and buses find it convenient to pass through the Village. Much of the "traffic" is composed of young black males and others. To many residents, black as well as white, the presence of young black males on the streets is intimidating. In their encounters with others they encounter, residents as well as people from Northton, they act as though they are intimidated, contributing to a generalized definition of affairs between and among those who use the streets. Hence, residents of the Village tend to defer to those of Northton, and since the darker complexioned people are known to come from Northton, by implication black people from Northton as well as those from the Village get deferred to--and then come to expect such behavior from the whites they encounter on the streets. It is in this way that such interactions and encounters on the streets contribute to the prevailing public order.

This prevailing public order presupposes the general association

of blacks, particularly males, with a culture of violence and trouble. Whenever there is an account of public incivility involving blacks and whites, blacks are given the benefit of the doubt for being primarily responsible. For is the presupposition in much casual and clever conversation that, for many, easily supports a general, if often erroneous, view that blacks, especially strange blacks, mean trouble. And the general rule is that public close encounters with blacks are to be avoided. Physical, as well as social, distancing amounts to the enactment of such rules. And blacks and whites in public tend to keep their distance in public places, thus remaining strangers who "know" enough about one another to remain strangers.

Much of this is due to the social conditioning received through living from day to day in this community. For too many residents, the blacks represent the "bad guys" and the whites the "good guys"; whites are trusted, and blacks are not. People of the community, blacks as well as whites, have been socially prepared to see blacks as primarily responsible for the street crime occurring in the community. This means that the blacks and the whites, in line with their conditioning, tend not to give the black person the benefit of the doubt as trustworthy in most public situations. This is especially true when blacks display the emblems of the so-called urban underclass. These emblems include black skin color itself, gender as male, youth, jeans, radio, chains, basketball, loud and boisterous demeanor, and simple presence on the streets at all and any times of the day and night. These emblems go into making up the elements of the uniform of underclass

status. Moreover, many people are more than ready to place people who display such emblems in the category of criminal, for doing so can facilitate one's decision making on the streets, as he assumes a guarded public posture. All of this contributes to a psychology of racial fear, culminating in social distancing behavior in public places. It amounts to the self-expression of a class of people who come to see themselves as law abiding and as culturally superior to others they come to see as a socially bruised underclass inclined to criminality.

Strikingly, blacks know this as well as do the whites who distrust them. The major difference between the whites and black middle-class people of the community is that the black person, because of background and affinity to blacks, is usually able to make sometimes subtle distinctions between and among "kinds" of blacks, distinctions which clue him in on the intentions of the next black person. Because of this, such a person, though he might be inclined to distance himself from the black underclass, is usually able to operate on the streets of the Village in a more relaxed manner than can a white person of similar position. The white is often handicapped in his ability to stereotype as compared to the black; white stereotypes tend toward broad strokes, blacks tend toward finer ones. Because of the usual lack of knowledge, experience, and familiarity with blacks and black culture, most of the whites of the area simply cast a wide net of prejudice around them, often holding blacks accountable and responsible for crime and criminality until the black proves himself to be

law abiding.

Strikingly, blacks of the Village tend to be aware of this cultural dynamic. And they find themselves rising to the occasion of prejudice. Often they find themselves in the position of trying to prove themselves as law abiding to others, blacks as well as whites, they encounter. Equally important, they never seem able to prove this to the satisfaction of others they encounter. Consequently, blacks who want to be taken as law abiding find they must expend an inordinant amount of energy to make successful claim on such an identity. The identity of law abidingness must be campaigned for. It is this campaign, often based on unexpressed resentment, and its expectation that goes far towards defining the relations between blacks and whites in the streets of the Village.

For those blacks, particularly males who might approach the color border existing in the community, it is necessary to be on "good behavior." He must be extra nice. He must dress nicely. He must speak proper English. And he must display emblems of the overclass. But when all of this is said and done, he is not usually fully accepted, for he is still a representative of the urban underclass of Northton, and thus still to be at least somewhat distrusted. Often frustrated, he attempts to remind people repeatedly that "I'm not a criminal"--but no one seems to be listening. He does this for blacks and whites he encounters. Somehow the campaign is part of the expectation others' expectation of him. It is just such expectations that lend an air of resentment, distrust, and unstability to public encounters between

black males and others of the Village.

To be sure, there are numerous instances of comity and good will between and among black males and others in the Village. It is just that such relations require of their participants a good amount of work and energy, primarily because of the general attribution of criminality to black strangers.

In attempting to deal with the black stranger as a presumed perpetrator of street crime, the resident finds himself manufacturing and then placing distance between himself and others he encounters on the streets, particularly black males. It is not clear to what extent the person's fears include all other people he or she encounters on the streets, but it is clear that the person, through social conditioning, tends to become concerned about those things, including sounds and people, on the streets which do not readily fit into an accepted and tried cognitive picture.

Residents develop a certain ambivalence to the area. On the one hand, they somehow know they should distrust it, and they do. But on the other hand, distrusting the area and the people who use and occupy it requires very much energy. In resolution of this problem, residents come to cautiously accept the area through trial and error and through a kind of successive approximation of the urban environment. When things go amiss, when there is a bad personal experience such as a mugging, attempted mugging, or even the report of such, the resident, at least for a while, retreats and retrenches, withdrawing any trust that had been building up over the long haul of noneventful experience

in the area. It is this generalized situation that creates and sustains a climate of uncertainty in the neighborhood.

The social problem of uncertainty in public places is due largely to the heterogeneity of the area. As mentioned, the community area is comprised of many different kinds of people who increasingly come to see themselves as distinct from one another. It must be faced that the area of the Village is at present "mixed" and self-consciously integrated, while slowly becoming white and middle to upper-middle income. At the same time, lower-income people, including blacks as well as whites, are being displaced, with blacks often moving into the ghetto area and whites tending to move into other mixed areas. While most of the new residents are white, some are black. But the perception among those of the black community at large is that the area is being overrun by well-to-do whites. It is this perception among the blacks, as well as the perception among many whites that blacks hold such a perception, that contributes to a certain amount of tension in the general area.

The general area is bordered by the large black ghetto area of Northton. This area has the general reputation in the Village, among blacks as well as whites, of being economically depressed and beset by the classical urban "ills" of high unemployment, illiteracy, high crime, and female-headed families on welfare. In fact, the area is one where many of these characteristics are borne out, but there are indeed numerous solidly black working-class, nuclear families. Yet, in the Village, blacks encountered on the streets are at first supposed to be from Northton. And it is the presence of blacks on the streets of the

Village that contributes to feelings of uncertainty among Village residents, black and white.

To be sure, the heterogeneity of the Village makes for a variety of responses to blacks on the streets. Among many of the younger whites who came of age during the sixties, there is an ethos of tolerance which includes a strong appreciation of "black culture." These people tend to be streetwise and try very hard to resist "racist behavior" in their interactions with blacks on the streets and other public places. At the same time, there is a disparate group of "liberal old timers" of the fifties who too are tolerant of racial differences, people who over time have learned to co-exist with the blacks of Northton. But there exists a third group of "new comers" who are believed to have little "urban experience," and seem especially intimidated by the blacks they encounter in the public places of the Village. But importantly, all groups of people seem to associate young blacks with what they consider to be rising street crime in the Village. In this way, residents, come to gain a common group perspective on their environment.

Hence, in attempts to deal with the social problem of "safe streets" in the Village, residents have adopted a kind of etiquette of the streets and public spaces designed to allow them safe and secure passage. In these circumstances, the social environment of the Village becomes increasingly color-coded, and prejudice becomes increasing situational. Strikingly, the centerpiece of this etiquette is the avoidance of strange blacks, particularly males, in public places.

Through their exposure to the immediate urban environment residents have become conditioned in the arts of racial avoidance, as they engage their eyes and ears and their bodies to navigate the streets safely. While this would seem to work for the residents--they tend to get to and from their destinations safely--this etiquette negates any real comity among the races. Rather, it tends to create social distance and racial stereotyping of the blacks, to which blacks of the area, especially those middle-income blacks of the Village, are especially sensitive. But also, it makes whites especially vulnerable to the charge of "racist."

One major result of the etiquette, which is primarily defensive in nature,is that black and white strangers who necessarily share closely the same public spaces tend to remain estranged socially. There is an overwhelming tendency for relations between blacks and whites to remain superficial and guarded.

It is from this perspective and the necessity of dealing with actual encounters that a set of informal rules emerge among residents and users of the public streets. These rules, discussed among friends and refined through practice, allow members of the diverse groups of people orderly passage with the promise of security, or at least the minimum of trouble or conflict. The general result amounts to at least a deceptive appearance of an effortlessly ordered and racially tolerant public space. In fact, color and gender prejudice is much at work in the public ordering of the community.

Generally viewed as perhaps the most racially tolerant area of

the city, the Village's public spaces and streets are places where distinctions and discrimination are very often made along the lines of color. There is prejudice, to be sure. But such prejudice must be distinguished from a traditional kind of racial prejudice that was perhaps more deep-seated and profound in its total emotional content and effects on the general relations between the races. These prejudices seem to emerge not so much out of deep-seated racial hatred and hostility, but rather seem to become prominent as they are felt useful for safe passage and security on the public streets. But this situation can and often does degenerate into racial hostility among white residents who often experience a certain humiliation when they are required to expend the enormous amount of psychic energy necessary in figuring out and abiding by the informal rules of the streets--or suffer certain consequences.

Hence, in an unexpectedly practical manner, the residents' cognitive maps of the area tend to be color-coded, contributing a situational and selective aspect to such prejudice. To be sure, this prejudice has as a basis an inordinate fear of blacks, and a very strong association of black males, especially youths, with street crime. In an effort to avoid danger on the streets, residents undertake various defensive strategies. There exists a definite fear of the streets, particularly after dark. And along with this fear, there is a felt need to place distance between themselves and others who might mean them harm. Importantly, black middle-income people appear just as eager as whites to prejudge, avoid, and even defer to black males in

the interest of safe passage on the streets.

As a general rule of the public order, blacks tend to be more suspect than whites. The unknown or strange black male, particularly the youth, is to be heavily scrutinized. Not to be trusted, his commitment to civility is easily questioned. When he approaches, people sometimes cross the street. Women sometimes tense up and clutch their purses or move them around to their other side. This is illustrated in the following fieldnote:

> At seven-thirty on a sunny Thursday morning, I was jogging through the Village neighborhood. I was dressed in a blue jogging suit and running shoes. I was running on the sidewalk as I occasionally do to avoid cars. I spied a young white man and young white woman walking ahead of me, their backs to me, approximately thirty-five yards away. The man was walking on the inside with the woman on his left and near the street. They look over their shoulder and spotted me. Our eyes met. As I approached towards the outside, still a good twenty-five yards away, the man immediately and instinctively traded places with the woman, pushing her to the inside, in a grand protective measure. She clutched her pocketbook. As I passed, both looked at me intently. No words were spoken. When I was about twenty-five yards ahead of them, I looked back over my shoulder. They were still watching me. I simply proceeded.

Still others often cut short their looks at blacks, averting their glance, and gazing at something apparently far away. As one young white female informant reported:

> "I must admit, I look at blacks [males] on the streets just for a few seconds. Just long enough to let him know I know of his presence, and then I look away."

While members of all groups are inclined to engage in defensive behavior towards the stereotypic black male, many blacks and "street-wise" whites attempt to be selective, deliberately and carefully choosing those blacks, and others, they will distrust. On the public streets, most are on the lookout for those displaying the emblems and uniforms of the underclass, including black skin color, age, dress, and demeanor. To be sure, for many such symbols have a certain ambiguity--and felt risk; people often say they don't know what to expect from strange black youths on the streets. Consequently, many whites, and an increasing number of blacks, tend to cast a broad net of defensive prejudice around them, thus holding suspect many black male strangers they encounter.

To be sure, black males are not equally distrusted. While younger males seem to warrant keen scrutiny, those black males who are "known" stand to be trusted. Moreover, those black males who display the emblems and uniforms of the "overclass," particularly suits, ties, briefcases, books, and who conform to a certain sense of propriety and etiquette may be granted a measure of trust on the streets. Older

black men tend to earn a greater measure of trust through their appearance and demeanor, suggesting maturity, and even a caretaking role towards others on the streets. Strikingly, they often become guardians of the public peace. They inform people about certain corners; they warn people of where not to go. But most often, the information they offer is on the basis of white skin color and a presumed ignorance of "the ways of the streets." Primarily, though, these are civic-minded black males who care about public civility and express this care by their guardianship of white pedestrians in dubious street circumstances.

It is clear that the black male's presentation of self is crucial for gaining trust from their public counterparts on the streets. Importantly, an overwhelming number of younger black males are indeed committed to civility on the public streets, but they tend to have a difficult time convincing others of this because of their youth and their color. This urban environment is color-coded, and strange young black males are interpreted by many as trouble. Many black youths simply give in to the stereotypes, often becoming angered by the presumptions they know others have about them; at times, the youth may attempt to "get even" by scaring or ridiculing those who clearly operate with such prejudgments.

Informal rules emerge during street situations. A person's color, sex, age, dress, demeanor, and comportment are critical. Incidents in public places become situation-specific and person-specific. There are great numbers of black youths on the streets who are committed to being civil and law-abiding, but their subcultural

displays tend to convey a different message. These emblems and displays, along with media reports of widespread black youth unemployment, crime and desperation, intimidate many law-abiding citizens these youth encounter on the streets.

The main problem in such encounters is often one of public image and relations. Many black youth exude an offensive-defensive posture because they themselves regard the city streets as jungle. And their pose is generally not intended for people who are aggressive towards them; it is usually intended for other youth. And yet this pose encourages fear, circumspection, and anxiety for law-abiding residents, black and white, whose primary concern is safe passage on the streets.

Appendix A

This is an interview with a black twenty-eight-year-old employed busboy who has resided in Northton for most of his life. His account supports and elaborates more general themes of the ethnography.

A Once you cross Bell Weather Street it's the Village.

B Yes, either way. If you cross one side its the Village; if you cross the other side it's Northton. Either which way you're going. But the Village consists of a lot of college kids, students, a lot of people that want to get away from the ghetto and want to find a nice people spot. The only thing about that that messes the Village up is that the people over in Northton, the young ones who have nothing to do over there so they go over there, rob, steal, find old ladies to mug, that's bad. Most people go over there to have a good time, which you can. You come over to the Village and have a good time, meet the right people. But people from the Village, they can't find too much of a good time over in Northton. They feel different. They act different really. They're from different atmospheres, different surroundings. They're not used to certain people. Most of the time this is good. People in the Village like to meet people; I make a lot of friends on that side. I'm not really a prejudiced

type myself, I like anybody. That's the way I was brought up. I feel as though you can understand people feeling like that, most of the time they can't comprehend. The cops got most of the Village under control. So the people in Northton think twice before they go over there mugging people. You don't know who's a cop no more, first of all. You can have a college student walking around with girls, they can be a female and a male cop. You go 'round mug one of 'em, you locked up right there. I seen that happen before, of course, so I know all about that. So the cop who's got nothing to do over there go over to Northton and find plenty of things to do. You got muggings, shootings, stabbings.

A lot of violence over there, yes. And I happen to be living in a violent part. There's a real difference between the violence level in the Village and the violence level in Northton. In the nighttime it's more dangerous over there. But daytime too. It depends on what goes down. You get a lot of family fights over there. One family across the street fighting another family, people get shot. And with the bars open; especially when the bars close, that's when the real violence start. The cops are more thicker. Twelve o'clock shift, they're thick. It's so bad now, they got downtown cops over there now. They doin' a good job bring the highway patrol over there. Regular cops don't like that. You can tell that. They even try to emphasize to us the certain category. Highway patrol come up, he leave, they say

somethin' about it. We can do our job over here. They come up stop one time and say, "You run I'll blow your nigger brains out."

We call 'em Nazis. They about 6'8", 7 feet. We walkin', they jump out, "You run we blow your nigger brains out." I hate bein' called a nigger. I want to say somethin' but get myself in trouble. When a cop do somethin' nothing happen to 'em. They come from downtown. From what I heard some of 'em don't even wear their real badge numbers. So you had to put up with that. Just keep your mouth shut when they stop you, that's all. Get your questions, get against the wall, just obey 'em. "Put all that out right there"--might get rough with you now. They snatch you by the shirt, throw you against the wall, pat you hard, and grab you by the arms say "Get outta here." They call you nigger this and little black this, and things like that. I take that. Some of the fellas get mad. It's a whole different world. When I see the movie Escape from New York that reminds me of my neighborhood. Just like bein' in a little wall, you can't get out. This whole university is tryin' to push the blacks out of Northton. That's why they're fixing up so good down there. And that's gonna start a big riot. Blacks are not gonna take that. They gonna fight for their livelihood, what they worked for.

Some of the whites over Bell Weather Street already but they respect it. Some of 'em live right on Bell Weather St. but it

got so tight with the blacks. Blacks live on Bell Weather, and whites. Nice white people live there and blacks understand that. They sit on steps, talk, get high, listen to the music. They nice people. You can tell they're not prejudiced or nothin' like that. But in certain parts of the Village, you can just forget that. That's not what happens. Someone's gonna fight.

They know if they get wrong with one black, he gonna go back tell his friend, another friend tell another friend, and first thing they come back and kick his ass, burn his house down, break his windows up, things like that. I listen to it down there: I stay out of trouble. I mind my business, watch my back, respect people. I got respect. Anybody messes with me. If I go in certain places, I'm in trouble; I can't go too far in the neighborhood. Like on Lancaster Avenue; that's deathtrap there. I had a friend killed last month over there. Three guys jumped him, beat him up. That's in Northton. Fortieth and Lancaster. They stabbed him. He was minding his own business. Walking up there. Like I told you, he was from a gang. I was from a gang. That's the only way growin' up in the seventies, you had to be from a gang. Without a gang you was in trouble, you had to fight by yourself. Or you live right in the heart of a gang. Gang I was from, we were rough. We were called _____. The way it's going now, it's a revenge thing now. Drugs are gettin' worse and worse down there, methadone, cocaine, marijuana; and you get little drug wars down there. Like a guy burn another guy outta

money, or a guy sell another guy bad drugs, he wanta' hurt him. Tryin' to hurt him, he gonna get his boy and hurt him. There's a whole little gang war. The way things goin' now, it's gonna be the early seventies again. Life is gonna be very bad down there.

Gang fighting. But it's not the way it was when we were younger. As you grow older you get more devious and more rougher.

Use guns more and more. But the way things goin' now, they so smart about it; they use knives and sticks. Like the guy you read in the paper, they said his girlfriend stabbed him in the heart. His girlfriend didn't do it, her son did it. But she got the rap for it. Son stabbed him in the heart with a screwdriver. So when the cops pick the body up, they found one bag of speed, two pockets full of money, and one pocket full of cocaine. Then they drop the case; <u>they don't even investigate</u>. They say he mighta sold somebody bad drugs. But he wasn't like that. They just wanted his drug business; and they got it now, he dead. And the cops not even investigating. That's the way life is. I can get killed; think they'll investigate it? No way. More people want to move over to the Village. They got nice houses over there; they want to move over there. But there's not enough housing. Whites are gettin' it, gettin' the houses. They give the houses to a white before they give it to a black. If I'm black and there's a white sittin' there, guy tell me, she's more presentable for it. I look around, I'm more presentable for it;

I got more money than she do but you don't give a damn. Cause of my skin color. I'm a Negro, she's a caucasian; he's a caucasian so he gotta take care of his people.

Blacks lived in the Village, but it's changing up. More and more whites are moving into the Village, fixing up houses. Blacks begin to move out, where they can afford it. Rents are going up. Rents are going up and they know they can't afford it.

A The value of the property goes up. Blacks are moving out--where are they going when they leave the Village?

B Northton; it's cheaper. It's cheaper. Northton's not a bad neighborhood now. You go down there; you take a walk down to the Village from Thirty-third to Thirty-sixth St. there be nothing but lots of old houses. They tore that down, made new houses for blacks to move into. They did, apartment complexes that look real nice. So they move out of the Village and find houses cheaper. They give 'em a certain time, they move. Why you think they buildin' all those apartments over in Northton now? Tearing down all the old houses and building new apartments so blacks can get out of the Village and over to Northton.

A Are blacks taking it laying down? Whites are moving into the Village, slowly coming in . . . things are changing in the Village. What do the people moving out feel?

B Blacks in the Village feel as though what they're doin' goin'

through all these divisions, like ICON, a little company like Milton Street (black politician), tell them about it. They go back and talk to the people about it. They don't give a shit, say what they talkin about. They gonna do what they wanta do anyway. I don't care what you do, you can holler and scream all you want.

Ain't no sense in them gettin' all hyped up about it. They feel as though they move over there to Northton, they still got a lot of back-up. It's 100 percent black. Whites get along with blacks in the Village. They get along well now. Yeah, a nice community. Everybody work together over there. 'Cause I walk through there to go to work everyday and come from work. Hell of a difference between blacks and whites living in the Village. Many of the blacks work in factories and this kind of thing. Make all their money as carpenters, electricians, painters. They're working people over there. But the whites moving into the Village are from all kinds of backgrounds from workers to university, hospitals, and businesses. A lot of doctors move over there. There's two hospitals very close to the Village. You got that mixture. Yeah that mixture with that atmosphere. It's like they're a little too good. They can't live on Maxwell. They feel the blacks in Northton are ignorant, want to hurt people If any of the whites complain about black families over there, they gonna kick 'em out, automatically. Most of the college kids have houses over there. They got money. That's why

they gotta comprehend with them. Swagging with them. A just laugh at 'em. I have a friend lives over there; he couldn't stand it. He said that blacks are too nice to them whites over there. And then when the whites leave, they talk behind their backs like dogs.

A He said, 'blacks are too nice to the whites over there? What did he mean by that?'

B He said you know that the whites are prejudiced towards them, but yet they know they want to live over there so bad. They (whites) can get 'em put out. Whites can get 'em put out just like that. They get a notice they gotta get out in a month. They say "Why?" "Complaints." "What kind of complaints?" That's right. Comprehendin' with the whites. Playing baseball and all. A lot of middle-class blacks come down there from Mount Airy. There's a lot of middle-class blacks livin' over there now. Livin' in the Village, that's right. A lot of 'em. Don't get me wrong, I see 'em and I can tell they got money. They really don't want to be associated with blacks. Lady says, "When you go across Bell Weather Street--damn."

A Who said that?

B A black lady said 'Don't go across Bell Weather Street' to a little black kid. There's a whole row of houses where three black families live. Beautiful houses, you can tell they got

money. None of their kids can go across Bell Weather Street to Northton.

A They tell them that?

B H'mm. It takes me out. I was comin' to work one day. I heard, "Don't you go across Bell Weather Street." "I'm not. I'm just goin' to the store." Little store on the corner. I look and say, "No"--I couldn't believe that. Here's a guy sixteen years old, he can't go where he wanta go. They got school buses comin' to pick them up, mother drive 'em to school. What school you go to--Upper Darby somewhere?

A The young blacks living in the Village get well supervised, too.

B Their kids get supervised. Old enough to go on their own. Say, "Mom, look. I takin' myself."

A Black kids that age seem to run around by themselves.

B Yeah, they parents don't care. Yet in Northton, mother say, "Don't you go across Bell Weather Street." They're free to go over there anyway; they know nothin' gonna happen to them. But they come over there, they don't know you from over there--"where you live at?" "Oh, the Village." He beat up. Just wears me out.

A Blacks living in Northton let their kids go over to the Village?

B Yeah, they can go anywhere they want. They can go to the movie, catch the trolley. That's right, it's a friendly community.

A Northton is a defended community, It's not defended in a broad way. It's defended on various streets. A group of kids on this street, another on that street. So if you are able to avoid one gang, you might get caught by the next one.

B That's right. Every three blocks there's a gang. Thirty-second Street gang, Thirty-fourth Street Empire gang, Thirty-sixth and Lancaster Street gang, Thirty-ninth Street gang, Market Street gang. Two--three blocks apart. Usually one street is just two gangs got together with each other. That's how the Hub came. It was Thirty-ninth and Halford, Thirty-ninth and Union, Thirty-ninth and Brandywine. That's three gangs together all from the Brandywine part, that's where I live at. Thirty-ninth and Brandywine and Thirty-ninth and Halford are right down the street from each other. So we comprehend and say "You fightin' each other, we only a block away from each other." So we joined in and somehow it become the Hub. H-U-B. And that was it.

A The Village isn't well-organized. Bell Weather is a boundary and it's primarily a boundary to people living in the Village?

B That's right.

A It really suggests that the whole area belongs to black people. Blacks can go anywhere. Whites can only travel freely in the

Village. But during the night the streets belong to blacks?

B That's right. Just like a PLO guy can't go near the Israelis. He dead automatically.

A Whites in the Village are cordoned off?

B Just like a rope. Now if you come down to Northton at night. Whites drive past in cars, we be standin' on Thirty-ninth and Halford. They say, "Niggers." We say, "Hit that car with a brick! Get 'em!" They drive fast. They go through stop signs too. They can kill somebody. Goin' about fifty miles per hour they come through hollerin' "Niggers." And that's what sets it off.

A Are these people from the Village?

B I don't know. That was caucasian. That's what sets blacks off. White man walk through mindin' his business he be in trouble. Just because some ignorant whites come past hollerin' "Niggers," he get his brains beat out 'cause of some ignorant whites and he ain't even prejudiced. It would usually be the young ones. People our age stand on the corner, talk, drink beer. But we don't go over there.

A Such actions remind you of where you are.

B Yeah, and we remind them of where they belong.

A If one of 'em walks into Northton, first thing you know two or three guys go up to him

B . . . and he beat up. You gotta be a real fast talker in the neighborhood. I don't mess around. I come here to have a good time. You want me to leave, I'll leave, that's all. They offer me to stay, I'll still leave. I ain't no fool.

A How do the blacks and whites really get along in the Village?

B They mingle. Say whites have a party. There's a black family across the street. They say, "Won't you come over to our party?" They have a party. You can see whites and blacks, it's a white person's house. I know a guy on the third floor, he's white. The neighborhood's so quiet. Nobody from Northton, too many cops over there, undercover cops. Four men walkin' down the street, you think eight blacks gonna mess with 'em, all four of 'em cops. Northton don't have that much trouble.

A Do your buddies believe cops hang out in the Village?

B That's right. A lot of cops live in the Village too. I know a couple of policemen live over there, they're caucasian. I know them; I even know where they live at. See they got police protection over there. Only protection we got over there is our friends.

You stay where you live at, they stay where they live at. A

black move over there (the Village) in an apartment, nothin' happen to him. A white move into Northton like on Friday or Saturday, he's in trouble. Three weeks ago my friend brought a white girl down there. Nice lookin' girl. A little feud broke out. This guy took a whole can of beer and smashed the back window. One of my friends sittin' in the back got mad put one down his back. They got to fighting'. The brother who threw the can of beer, he got mad and beat him up. He said, "All this because of that white bitch." She got blamed for that. But it was that ignorant brother. He's gotta live with it. You can't comprehend it, just move. Once a white guy came with two Dobermans. They don't give a shit about a human. He was walkin' 'em down Bell Weather Street. Everybody say "What's he tryin' to prove?" He stopped on the corner. Then walked up the street and came back down and stood on the other side of the corner. "What's up with him?" He must be protectin'." So my friend, he go home and get a pistol. He says "I'm gonna shoot him and both them dogs." That was his way of sayin' that man lookin' for trouble. Somehow I got to find out. He'd got beat up by two blacks two nights ago before he came down there. He wanted to see how tough they were when he had his two dogs. They go up to him and say "What's up?" He said "What the fuck you mean is up. Two niggers beat me up two nights ago. There was a lady lookin' out the window, she knew there was trouble and called the cops. Another guy standin' with a rifle. That guy jumped when he saw

that. He didn't know what to do then. He said "I kill you and both them motherfuckin' dogs." "So why don't you try lettin' the dogs go, so we can kill both their asses and you better know how to run." So that white man started to back off. You could tell he was scared. My friends had the guy and he was scared when he saw that. Them dogs ain't nothing with guns. He let them go. He walked away. Then two police cars came up while he walkin' the street. Somebody told them he come down here and try sick them dogs on people. So cops stopped him and said "Hold that fuckin' dog." That's what the cop said. He told the cops what happened. He said "You recognize any of the guys on the corner?" He said "No." "Well why don't you go down and arrest 'em?" He was a white cop, nice cop. But he gettin' to the point. Let's see who's wrong and right. "Where happen?" "Thirty-fourth and Halford." He wait on Thirty-eight and Halford. "What the fuck you doin' on thirty-eights and Halford?" He didn't have nothin' to say. So the cop said, "Why don't you take your dog and go back where you live at." He went back to the Village. Cop came back and told us "Turn round." That was all he told us, he just drove away. He knew the guy was wrong. My boy thanked the officer for bein' understandable. Cop just waved his hand and drove away. That was it. That's the way it is down there. Keep the peace. You got good cops and bad cops.

If you show a cop that you nice and not a smart-ass they be nice to you. They talk to you like the man you are. You gonna get

ignorant like a little kid, they gonna get ignorant with you. It's very little police that patrol the Village now. The have no trouble down there for so long, they feel they're wastin' their time. You can see 'em sittin on corners in their cars; they get tired of walkin' around. You see that car ridin' in Northton, now you know you gonna find some trouble on a Friday night, and they love it. That's the way that is. Wears me out, boy. I understand it.

Yeah, they lookin' for trouble. They gotta look for trouble when you got five, eight police cars together and they laughin' and talkin', start teasin' people. One night we were at a bar, they tore it down but they buildin' it back up now, it be open soon. They sent downtown cop. We read in the paper that the downtown cops comin to straighten things out. Same night, three police cars, downtown cops with their boots on, they pull the sticks out, beatin' around the corner, chase into bars. My friend Todd, one of 'em grabbed him and knocked the shit out of him. He punched ' 'em, little short white guy. They start a riot. Cops started that shit. Everybody start seein' how wrong the cops was--they start throwin' bricks and bottles, cussin' 'em out. They lock my boy up; they had to let him go. He was just standin' on the corner, they snatch him like that. He knew who it was. Cop just snatch him, he turn around and hit him. But he got out; plus he never been arrested. He had no police record whatsoever and they couldn't do nothin' to him. Let him go.

A How do you distinguish between a downtown cop and a regular cop?

B They're more tougher, first of all. ("downtown cop")

A How do you know they're tough?

B They show how touch they are. They get up. They don't say "Get against the wall" or nothin'. They get out of the car and they snatch you, with their sticks in hand, and they throw you.

A Call you names?

B Yes, they call you names. They don't say "Get against the wall" and pat you down like the regular cops. They just snatch you by the collar, throw you against the wall; if you don't move fast enough they gonna hit you with the stick on the arm or the leg. One of 'em took a gun and began hittin' people. He thought he had a gun. He took the cop's gun and bam--he had a little hickie for that. He didn't know who the cop was, because there was no such thing as a badge number. They have phony badge numbers. You can tell they're tougher, the way they dress, plus they're bigger. They have boots, trooper pants, blonde hair, blue eyes, even black. And they seven feet tall, and six foot 6 inches and six foot eight inches. Big. They the rough cops. You don't get smart with them or they beat the shit out of you <u>in front of everybody</u>, they don't care.

A You call 'em Nazis?

B We call 'em Nazis, yeah. Even the blacks among them. They ride along with 'em. They stand there and watch a white cop beat your brains out. Downtown police. What takes me out is the next day you don't see 'em. Never see 'em again, or not 'till two months later. Say they startin' up again, go down there, come back, and they ride right back downtown, come back do their little dirty work, go back downtwon, and put their real badges on. You see 'em with a 45 or 55 number, "ain't no such number here, I'm sorry, son." Plus they got unmarked cars. They ride in Furies, brand new Chevys. No sense takin' 'em to court. But when that happened at that bar, another black cop from the 16th district, ridin' a real car, came back and said "Why don't y'all go on over to the 16th district and file a complaint." Them musclin' cops was wrong. Beatin' people. So about ten people went over there, 16th district knew nothing about it. They come in unmarked cars, they must been downtown cops. Some of 'em do that just to do it. Some of 'em are on "off duty" on their way home. District commander told us they do that. They have a patrol over there, but them cops from downtown have control of them cops. Have bigger ranks and bigger guns. They carry 357s and regular cops carry little 38s. Downtown cops are all around. They carry magnums. Two cars the other night. We sittin' on the steps playing cards. Somebody called the cops. We turn around and see four regular police cars and two highway police cars. We drinkin' beer and playin' cards. Police get out and say you're gamblin'. We say we got nothin' but

cards here, we have no money. They said all right, got back in their cars, and drove away.

A Are these guys Philadelphia police or state troopers?

B Philadelphia police.

A But they dress like troopers?

B They dress like troopers. That's intimidation. Damn. You do what they say. But most of the Village people stay on their porches. They have little beer parties on their porches. If they walk on the street they got big dogs. They don't have the little cha chas down there. Or else they got a gun. A little old lady got this little dog, 11:30 at night and she's walkin' the streets? She got to have a gun. She got her pocketbook here and it look like it was open. Somebody came, bam. Nobody go over try see if she had one. 11:30 on a Friday night?

A So the buys won't even mess with her.

B No.

A She defied the etiquette of the streets.

B In Northton, a lot of 'em gettin' locked up from snatching pocketbooks, breakin' peoples' houses; they were caught just like that. They never even made it back to Northton. Caught just like that, there gotta be a cop on the corner somewhere.

A The guys that break into Village houses tend to be apprehended quickly.

B Cops be on 'em before they cross Bell Weather Street. So they get stuck in their own neighborhood, try to do their dirty work over there. (In Northton.)

A So the Village is kind of off-limits for the hard core street criminals.

B Right. They think twice before they go over there. I know a lot of people from Northton who get locked up over there. They not gonna do it again. The man's too thick over there. Don't know who a cop is anymore. They got two granny squads. An old man. When you're over in the Village, so many plain cops ride in plain cars. Try somethin' over there and there's cops. See a black and white, might be cop. See two blacks, they're cops. They donna do their job. They get a little medal. They protectin' the whites.

No they don't care about nothin' over in Northton. Over there (Village) you call a cop they get there so damn fast, man. Over in Northton, you get beat up, knocked down. You call a cop, they don't come. My boy got shot, we had to take him to the hospital ourselves. He's on the phone. This guy shoots him back of the ear, shoots him in the neck, takes a big chunk of meat out of the neck, shoots him in the shoulder, he was down on the ground. Bullet came out the lower back, plus it hit him in the leg. By

the time we got in the car, took him to the hospital, cops came. They thought we robbed somethin'. Police wagon's ready to ram the car. I hollered out, "somebody got shot." So we had a little police escort to the hospital. All the cops followed us. We was on Bell Weather by the time they came. He was bleedin' all over--I had blood all over a brand new pair of pants. I still got the pants at home. I told Steve I'm gonna keep them pants remind me what happened that night. I say where the cops? We get him in the car, get to Bell Weather. Cops come, think we robbed somethin'. They don't care.

He said, "You know who did it?" We said, "No." He said, "Well, I hope he dies if y'all don't say nothin'." What he say that for? My boy says "I hope your mother die" he told the cop right to his face. And I was grabbin' another cop, and he made a complaint about that. There were a lot of witnesses. Even the nurse behind the counter said that cop had no business sayin' nothin' like that. He said it loud, "I hope he died." Nothin' like that should be comin' from a cop.

People come out of the door and they're scared. So when they see blacks on the streets they try to get away. Even ones who live right next door. All of a sudden they change attitudes toward each other. They're very suspicious. The guy that killed that lady and her husband down on Thirty-fourth in the Village, he from Empire (gang). He tried to rape the lady right in front of

the husband, he stabbed the husband and killed him. He a get electric chair now; they gave him death penalty. They caught him comin' out. Wouldn't been so bad, the cops got another call to next door to where he did it at. She was screamin' and the cops heard and came around the door.

A When that happened it reverberated through the whole community.

B Yeah there's a feeling--you could feel the vibes from whites. When things like that happen, things get very tense between blacks and whites. And you can feel the way they look at you, 'cause they think you might be the one who might do the crime. I can take you certain places, like on a weekend night, where there's whites partying, and they come out the bar high; blacks in trouble. They in trouble.

A They wanta fight with blacks?

B Yeah. We were goin' over my boy's sister's house to watch the fights, and we were goin' down to catch the trolley on Thirty-fourth Street. Whites come out of the bar near the Holiday Inn, next thing you know, three bottles flyin' over there. "What you niggers doin' over there?" So we find three bottles and throw 'em right back. What the hell. We gonna back off? There's eight of them and only three of us. We stood there fightin' though. Here comes the cops. Cops knew that we didn't start it. We tell cops we're takin' the trolley. That's the way it is on weekends. I

seen notes left on napkins: "Niggers." You say, look at this, I been called a nigger.

One time in the restaurant, "Hey boy, clean my table." They difinitely got off summer break and comin' for registration. It was crowded. I'm cleanin' one table off and four of 'em sittin' there, "Hey boy, come clean the table off." I got hyped just like that. "First of all, I'm not your boy. You in a hurry, go the fuck someplace else." Manager came and push me out of the way before I rearrange the whole dining room. He put 'em out. He said "Go down the street. Get the fuck outta here." And they did. It weren't for the manager I woulda beat the shit out of 'em.

A Whites walkin' down the street in the Village are scared?

B They so glad to be gettin' where they goin'.

A When they see you on the streets they try to be very nice?

B Yeah. "How you doin?" They speak to you now.

A They smile?

B They smile. "Hi." And their heart's pounding. You can see it in their shirt.

A They see you comin' they tend to cross the street?

B Yeah. What they hell they runnin' for?

A They don't want to confront you.

B A white lady walkin' down the street with a pocketbook. She start walkin' fast. She got so paranoid she broke into a little stride. Me and my friends comin' from a party about 12:00. She stops and goes up on the porch of a house, but you could tell she didn't live there. I stop and say "Miss, you didn't have to do that. I thought you might think we're some wolf pack. I'm twenty-eight, he's twenty-six, he's twenty-nine. You ain't gotta run from us." She said, "Well, I'm sorry." I said "You can come down. I know you don't live there. We just comin' from a party." We just walked down the street and she came back down, walked across the street where she really wanted to go.

A So she tried to act as though she lived there?

B And she didn't. After we said "You ain't gotta run from me" she said, "No, I was really in a hurry." My boy said "No you wasn't. You thought we was goin' snatch your pocketbook." We pulled money out. "See this, we work." We had money on us. I said "We work. We grown men now. You gotta worry about them fifteen-, sixteen-, seventeen-year-old boys. That's what you worry about. But we're grown men." I told her all this. They the ones ain't got no jobs; they're too young to really work. They're the ones you worry bout, not us. She understood that. You could tell she was relieved and gave a sigh. She came back down the steps even when we cross the street. We stop in the middle of the street. "You

all right now? You can breathe easy now?" And she smiled. We just laughed and went on to a neighborhood bar.

Now, four guys, Four black young guys. They must've done somethin' to this white guy in his car. He hit 'em with his car. One of 'em banged on his car--BAM! "Watch that motherfuckin' car." He gets out of the car and pulls out a 32. I seen it.

A The white guy?

B Yeah. He pulled out his pistol. Those guys stopped. "We ain't say nothin'." All right then. Just like that. I shoulda jumped up, told him I was a cop and took his pistol. "Put your hands against the wall. Give me the gun. You got a license for that?" Yeah, man. "Well get back in the car. Get in the car. Give me the keys. I woulda threw the keys right back on the hood and drove away. Shoulda did it. He woulda shot those boys.

Guy with the pistol was in his early twenties. Caucasian. I don't blame him. Paranoid. Whites. They were scared and tense. They don't know what the hell to do with themselves now. Every time they see a black they don't trust 'em. Should stay in own neighborhood! You get in a fight, next thing you know you got a whole gang want ta kill you. Gang war. Most of the white women will wear pants. You don't see a white woman with a dress on unless she with her boyfriend. She by herself, she'll go right on a porch when she see some (black) guys comin' this way. That's

the Village. Paranoid. I'm thinkin' about gettin' armed. You gotta have a lotta heart to do that. I never did it. I never snatched a pocketbook, or mugged a person. I can't do that. I ain't got the heart for that. It could be someone in my family. They get bold when they have dogs with 'em. They got some big dogs too. Yeah they get bold. They go "sit" so you know he's trained. I wonder what the kill word is, you know what I mean. Ha-ha.

They (whites) all know most of the black guys got pistols now, the dog gonna get killed. "You shoulda had your husband with you." Most girls walk with a pack of girls. They feel safe they got at least two girls with 'em. Two not feel too safe. You get a group of three or four they feel they have a better chance. They have a dog with 'em, a man, or a pack of four or five. And they dress in jeans. You can tell they're paranoid. They don't know what to do.

They say: are they good blacks or bad blacks? Most of 'em will take a chance. Chance is good; nobody do that no more, they know they got the cops. In the Village, cops sit on the porch, park between cars; they lookin' at every move you makin and you don't even see 'em. But they see you and waitin!.

A Your boys don't want to mess with cops, so very little happens there. But the Village community is still wary. Still scared regardless of that.

B The women stay home. And have a car. Don't come out at certain times. Especially after 11:00 or 12:00. They don't go in bars. They go to clubs downtown.

A They feel isolated?

B Yeah. But they put that on themselves. It seems older blacks like us, in a group of four or five don't do that. And the young ones they got to worry about. The young ones walk around lookin' mean and touch. They don't care about the white guys. No, they goin' to catch the trolley to the movies. You gotta go through the Village to catch the trolley, bus, el.

A How do the white men behave?

B Most of them have dogs. Everytime you see a white man out, he got a dog with him. Or two or three. You can see the handkerchief and the barrel of the gun stickin' out of the pocket. So they don't care. I'd say out of 50 percent, thirty-five are armed. They don't scare. Most think twice about messin' with a white guy down in the Village.

A Do the young boys know that?

B Yeah. Young boys know that. They don't mess with 'em.

A Is that a general rule?

B Yeah, it's a rule. That's the way it's gonna go for a while, so

they don't have to worry bout bein beat up. But at night, most of the blacks be out partying, especially on weekends. And downtown, out of 100 percent it's 80 percent black. Go to movie it's 80 percent black automatic. Every human being tell you that. Whole downtown.

A What else do the (white) fellas do? How do they act on the street?

B They look at you strange, be paranoid. Especially if you're walkin' behind 'em. They slow down and let you walk in front of them or walk on the other side. You know they got their eye on you. I walk past one one time. My mother live on Fortieth and Filbert and I did that. I said "You ain't gotta slow down brother. I ain't gonna do nothin' to you, I ain't like that." He looked at me and laughed. He knew what I meant and I knew what he was thinkin'. He had a little smile.

A He was walkin' ahead of you by himself?

B Yeah and I had hard shoes on, casual dress.

A What time of day?

B It was late at night, about 1:00. He let me get in front of him. He was comin' from a bar, he had a six-pack. I'm a fast walker anyway; you hear my shoes clicking. I see him slowing down. I said "I ain't gonna do nothin' to you, I ain't like that." He

just laughed; I kept on walking and I laughed. That's the way that went. Nuts out there do things like that. You can get a real prejudiced black, walk up to a white man and just stab him for nothin'. Just prejudiced. Next thing you know cops down there pick up every black they see. Cop got knifed one time; they picked up every black in the neighborhood! They picked up every black in the neighborhood. Cop got stabbed in the shoulder; two black guys jumped him. He tryin' to be tough with 'em, and they don't give a shit about a cop. I watch two cops get shot. Highway patrol troopers followed a guy in the house, you hear three shots. One got got shot in the forehead, the other one in the leg. The whole group of police was around with M-16s. The guy got caught. His name Larry. I play basketball with his son. He killed a guy in jail too; stabbed him to death. He ain't never gettin' out of jail. He was a contractor. I seen him shoot a guy in cold blood. He was a hit man. He shoot you fast for money. Guy owed him fifty dollars, he shot the guy with a 32. I was there. A state squad wagon came, they said put him in the wagon. But the state squad wagon had nothin' but guns in it, no ambulance patrol, just arsenal. No, can't do that, had to wait. The guy woulda died. They get on the phone and call their boys; and they cops. Take 'em more than half an hour for the cops to come. Like he said, "Guy shot on so-and-so street. Nigger. Take your time."

It's a jungle. You got no more than 50-50 change of survival.

Only way you can survive is verbally and physically; mentally mind your business and the other peoples' business alone, physically know how to fight. Carry a piece (gun). Get a reputation that you'll bust somebody's ass, or stab 'em. All my friends carry knives. It'll be like '70-'71 gang wars down there again.

A Especially Northton, not the Village?

B That's right. The Village got nothin' to do with it.

They be all night. We sit on corners to 4-5:00 in the morning. Blacks, that's their environment. That's the chance they gotta take; it's home. A lot of 'em don't have cars. But that's the chance they gonna take. Plus, if you're known. Only person that would rob you is somebody from out of your neighborhood. Only person that would rob you is somebody from out of your neighborhood. For instance, somebody from Fifty-fourth Street will beat the hell out of you. They don't know you; you're from way up the way. Other than, you live on Thirty-ninth Street, somebody on Thirty-fourth, they know you. Everybody know each other down there.

A People walk close to home. As soon as they walk outside of their territory . . .?

B You're in trouble.

A Any age?

B Yeah, any age. Don't walk on Lancaster Avenue at night. You're dead.

A Neutral area, but it's tough?

B That's right. Guy hit with a baseball bat on Lancaster Avenue.

A No man's land?

B That's where the bars at. Guy got drunk, especially if he run out of money; somebody get mad if lose their money gambling. Somebody want money for some drugs. Or for speed; we don't have real heroin goin' around down there, one good thing I like about, a lot of speed, cocaine, marijuana. Guy owe somebody some money, they get tired of waitin', pull a knife out--whoosh--you can keep it. They know they can get away with it. Cops won't investigate that; especially when they know somebody's dealin' drugs. Like my boy who got killed; they knew he sold cocaine. Had a pile of money on him. Think they gonna investigate that? They caught one guy that did it; but he's out on the street now. He didn't spend two days in jail, but he's still on drugs.

A That just means that somebody might get him, because that was his friend that he killed.

B That's right. Now he gonna have a contract on him. That my boy. I grew up with him since 1970. We see each other everyday. Walk each other home, get high, go to the movies together. But yet the

guys who did it, one guy's in New York. Basically it's open season on blacks. You get caught dealing by cops, you're in trouble. They wear you out. Beat the shit out you, man. Get locked up. So the only good thing I got goin' for me is my complexion. (Speaker has light complexion.) Not too many light-skinned people do this; only dark-skinned people do this. A light-skinned person do this, I'm in trouble. They gonna pick up every light-skinned person they see. But see so far no light-skinned person never done that.

I used to run home all the time, from the football team. From Mr. Vernon Street I live on Brandywine. Everytime the light turn green on Haverford Avenue I used to break out runnin' just for the exercise, I was on the football team. One day I was washin' dishes for my mother, I was eighteen. I seen somebody knockin' on the door--bam bam bam--I go to the door. Man standin' with a cop: "That's him!" I say, Ma! "He's the one who tore the muffler under my car." I don't know a damn thing bout no car. No nothin'. So we go to the police station and everything. "He's the one." Look at my record; my record's clean, new-born baby. He says, "You didn't do that did you?" I said "Nope, I don't know nothin' about a car." Cop said any light-skinned person might a did it. Judge talked to me, I was in the room. He says, "I heard Mr. Holmes you stole the muffler underneath the car and you had a pair of grey khakis on." Which I never owned a pair of khakis. My mother says "My son, he doesn't own a pair of khakis."

Judge says "All right, you can go." I had no record. And I looked like I give you no trouble. He said "Okay Miss Holmes, you and your son can go."

A What's Northton like in terms of family life? Find a lot of women running households, a lot of fathers not there? Are most of the families just a mother, sons, and daughters?

B Mostly sons are winos. They come in the house and fight. Fathers are not there so much. So when a young boy's growing up, he's gotta look at other fellas. He takes his friends as his family. As I was doin'. I took my friends as my family. Teach you the street life.

A The older guys?

B Yeah, the older guys tell you what's happenin'. I would tell a young boy. I told him to keep out of trouble. I would tell him to stay away from certain people. He's doin' a good job. He's goin' to school now. He listens to me. I tell his grandmother, boy potentially smart.

A So the older guys become big brothers?

B Try talk to 'em. Friends are family also.

A Man go out and gamble. Boys have to protect the territory 'cause that's all they got. So they become the men. Guard the neighborhood, protect the mothers. Protect the mother. Father gonna beat

the mother up, son gonna beat the father up. Soon the father leaves. Shit like that. It's deep, man. Father scares the sons. Son from a gang; son don't give a shit 'bout him. Sometimes the son beat the shit outta the father. Father gets so scared. He get to drinkin;, come home, smack the mother, son smack the father, hit him with a baseball bat, shit like that. You learn from the gang. Family don't teach you nothin'. They together. Nobody in your family got money to loan you, you got friends. I ain't got no money tonight. I got plenty friends I can go ask, borrow ten-twenty dollars. And I'd do it for them. Just like that, security and money. I can go ask for any amount of money I want and I got it.

A When whites of the Village look over to Northton, it's a big mysterious place.

B Just like King Kong. Whites don't go over there; they don't give a shit what happens over there. But it's a jungle. You gotta be on your P's and Q's. Dog eat dog.

You never know you gonna see your house again, see your family again. Get shot down, stabbed up, anything.

A So how do you go down the street? How do you handle all that?

B I go straight to my friends. I watch out for certain people I don't know from the neighborhood. I go straight to my friends, they be on the corner. I watch my back. I observe everything,

look in the bushes. I know which way to go home. When I leave here, I go down Fortieth Street.

A You walk in the middle of the street?

B No. I never do that unless there's a dog on that side. St. Bernard's a right dog I got bit by. I don't trust no dogs.

A Sometimes when you see a bunch of fellas, what do you do when you're confronted with another black youth?

B I just say "What's up?" Somebody might say "How you doin'?" They say "What's up?"

A You don't expect anything?

B No conflict. If he starts say somethin' to you, you keep walkin'. At times, I have an expression on my face that I'm not to be messed with. Which I do.

A Grit on 'em?

B No I don't grit on 'em.

A I've heard that expression.

B Yeah, starin' at a person. Intimidate a person. Eye-to-eye. See who back off first, thing like that. I don't pay 'em no mind. Bump into you on purpose, I keep on rollin'.

A I've noticed a fellow might say, "All right" and keep on goin'.

One word.

B Yeah. One word. He'll say "What's up?" Other'll say "You got it brother." Or say "Hey" and keep on rollin'.

A That's the way you get by; how you pass.

B It's certain ways you can give him body language that you're not to be messed with. Some people ball their fists up or just walk, or they're built a certain way. You move the hand. Walk with his hand like this, means he's a fighter. I been doin' that for years, I'm a fighter. I handle myself. I can handle three guys. See, if you're fightin' three guys, if you swing at the same they swing, you get tired first, you fightin' three guys. But you use your head. One swing, you snatch him, knock shit out of him. Another one comes, - bam - throw him off balance. You don't go swinging as much as they do. Use your head.

A Basically you gotta look the part. You gotta show you're not to be messed with? Keep a certain look on your face, look away. Do you cross the street when you see two or three guys comin' the other way?

B No.

A You've never done that?

B Yeah because I feel as though they see you doin' that, they feel as though, what's up with him?

A They know what you're doin' it for?

B That means you're scared or you can't fight. But you walk on the same side, first thing they think--he might got a gun, he might got a knife, he might be into martial arts, or he might be a boxer. Shit that means you intimidatin' them. I can come right to 'em; I don't give a shit how many are there. I'm too dumb to run.

A Have you had a situation when somebody has crossed the street and you understood?

B Yeah I understood that.

A Have you seen other black males cross the street when approaching you?

B Yeah, I understood that. They scared to death. Say I don't trust them guys, take no chances.

A How bout black females?

B They crazy.

A Crazy?

B Yes. You got two or three of 'em in a group, black females is crazy. They'll run you like a man. They will fight you. Now one will be paranoid, but black women will carry knives and will run and try'n cut your head off, if you mess with 'em, and pick

bottles up. So they don't give shit bout nobody. I seen black women wear men out. I seen 'em beat the shit outta man. They will fight. Men won't mess with black women. They say "Hey baby, how you doin'" But see black women can feel that. They know they fine, shit like that. All a group a guys wanta do just get nasty, "Hey babe what's your name" things like that. They keep on walkin'. "My name's Cynthia" keep on walkin'. Things like that. That happens all the time. You don't see too many black guys messin' with black girls really.

A Gettin' back to white females on the street of the Village. How do they look at you?

B Yeah. They give the eye. You can see 'em lookin' right at you. They look at you and turn back this way, and keep on walkin'. Like you don't exist, but they be paranoid as hell. Won't say hello. But some of 'em do. Some of 'em say hi. Some of 'em smile. But they always scared. You can feel the security. They feel more secure if you speak to 'em first. "How you doin'?" They say "Hi." Just like that. And they feel security. It's deep.

Males will speak to you sometimes. "How you doin?" You speak to them, "How you doin'?" Break the ice. "What's up man?" That's the main thing, "What's up?" Shows you how tough it is out there. That's how tough it is. It's all a psychological thing. You got to use it mentally. You can't use it mentally, you in trouble.

You gotta show how strong you are mentally and physically. Just the vibes. It's a jungle.

A People get conditioned to that?

B You got to. I don't smile, look serious, right? Like you're not to be fucked with. Say you gotta go a certain part of the country, you're not used that environment over there. Yeah. They say "I'm ain't goin back to Philadelphia. I'm gettin outta here." My boy Roy, you couldn't get him over there to Georgia with his mother. Albany, Georgia. You couldn't get him stay away for a week. He too used to over here. He went there for a week, he came home within three days. He said "Man they got that over there." Nothin' to do over there, too used to this street life here. They can't comprehend with that live over there. My bother got like that one time. I got paranoid as hell. I went to snort some coke one night with my friend, he walks up to me "Hey man, what's up man?" I got paranoid. I hit him right in the forehead. I never see him again. That happened three months ago. Yeah it's a jungle out there. Like that war album. They tellin' the truth too. The world a ghetto, city life. That's the way it is man. Just like that what I told you.

CHAPTER 1

URBAN BLACK POVERTY: CRIME AND ONE FAMILY

This is a case study of crime and urban black poverty as lived and understood by one family. Other portions of the research project of which this study is a product describe the urban black poverty - crime relationship in the broad strokes which survey methods make possible.[1] This study, based upon about a year of participation in, and observation of, the lives of a family we shall call the Freemans, paints those same relationships in closer, shorter strokes and day-to-day detail. To use the Freemans in this way, as living examples of large scale social relationships and as native guides to the complexities of their everyday meanings, is, of course, not without precedent in the literature of criminology or urban studies. It is precisely this which Edwin Sutherland asked of "Chic Conwell," which William F. Whyte asked of "Doc," which Elliot Liebow asked of the men of "Tally's Corner," and which Oscar Lewis asked of his five families of Sanchez.[2] In each case, the subjects of these studies served to explain large scale relationships by reflecting them in what they said and did and understood.

The question, always, with such work is one of how generalizable or representative are the experiences and understandings of the small number of particular subjects in such a case study.[3] Are their activities, understandings, and attitudes typical or unique? Are the ways they conduct themselves and resolve the demands of their situation common practice or idiosyncratic behavior? By and large, in field work studies the answer to such questions must be framed in terms of an introduction which describes the ways in which those subjects are typical and in what ways they are unique and, then, by virtue of a mix of both, establish their credentials to speak with authority on the everyday realities of their situation. Such an introduction to the Freemans follows.

An Introduction to the Freemans

The Freemans take their name from a man who died of cancer some twenty years ago. The father of six of Mrs. Emma's seven children (Gloria, now 42; Tyrone now 29; Geneva, now 25; Juanita now 23; and twins Doris and Darlene, now 22), he met Mrs. Emma in the small southern town where she grew up the daughter of a farm worker. Because Mrs. Emma was only 17 when Gloria was born and Freeman had gone off to war, Mrs. Emma's parents refused to let her raise her child. Instead, they sent Mrs. Emma north to live with her older sister while they assumed the responsibilities of raising Gloria for her. When the war ended, Freeman returned, married Mrs. Emma, and brought Gloria up to the northern city in which her mother lived and would continue to live for the next forty years.

Tyrone has no recollecion of his father, who died when he was about 7. He does, however, have memories of Mrs. Emma's second husband, a man named McKay, whose name Mrs. Emma's seventh child, Brenda, now 20, assumed. McKay is remembered as a mean, jealously possessive man. In 1960 he died of cancer, leaving Mrs. Emma with Tyrone, age 10; Geneva, age 4; Juanita, age 3; Doris and Darlene, 2-year-old fraternal twins; and Brenda, just a year. When he died in 1960, Mrs. Emma was just shy of 40-years-old herself.

Over the next twenty years, Mrs. Emma raised her son and six daughters on income from a variety of sources. Mr. Freeman left a small military pension, and she collected child support for her dependent children. In addition, Frank, her common-law-husband for the past several years, contributes to household expenses from the seasonally variable salary he earns as a construction worker and the unemployment money he draws when he cannot find work. Frank is about 55-years-old, 5 years younger than Mrs. Emma.

During the Vietnam war, Tyrone left his mother's home but returned to stay on an irregular basis after the war ended. Two years ago he left home permanently, and became the father of a child who now lives with his common-law wife. Although Tyrone's relationship with the child's mother fell apart, he continues to live away from his mother's home, though still close enough to visit regularly. The space he vacated when he went to war proved hard to recover. His sister Juanita had married, had a child, and left home, but Darlene had her first daughter in 1976 and second in 1977. Doris had her son in 1977 and Brenda gave birth to her daughter in 1979. His four sisters, their four children, and Frank did not leave much room in Mrs. Emma's three bedroom house.

Place and Space in Mrs. Emma's House

A good deal about the Freemans, their relationships with one another, and the distinctive character of modern, urban American poverty may be learned from claims to place and space within and about Mrs. Emma's house. In one of the most expensive cities in the country, Mrs. Emma pays about $200 per month for a two story row house. It has a front yard just slightly larger than a pool table. In it are a park-type bench and a flower pot as permanent fixtures, and, on a more or less regular basis, a motley collection of small children's toys. In the summer, particularly in the evenings, the bench and the one step stoop which leads up to the house are often occupied by the Freeman sisters. To the sidewalk, in no uncertain terms, the yard is theirs. All but absolute strangers are obliged to acknowledge them if they are out there when they pass. Others know that if they wish to speak to them, the sidewalk is the place to do it from. Closer friends know they can enter the front yard and approach the stoop

with impunity, and a few who are very close know that they are almost always welcome to sit down.

At the top of the stoop is the main door to the house. It admits one to a hallway. A flight of stairs directly ahead leads up to the three bedrooms on the second floor. Beside the stairs, a hallway leads back to the kitchen. To the right is, to use a rather quaint and dated word, the parlor. It is a curtained room which contains a plastic covered couch, two chairs which do not match it or each other, a coffee table, some plants and portraits of Jesus, John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King. What makes the room a parlor, as distinct from, say, a living or family room is that, except on special occasions, no living or family uses are made of it. It is a room kept clean and neat, a condition which requires that, except for adults, it be kept empty. What is remarkable about a parlor in the Freemans' house is that it takes up a third of the first floor space in a territory in which space is at a premium. It is a room which formally belongs to no one and everyone.

Behind the parlor is a dining room which may be entered either through a doorway from the parlor or an archway off the entrance hall. It contains an imitation wood table, five wooden chairs of differing origins, a small wooden serving table, a china cabinet of sorts and a piano in need of minor repairs and major tuning. No one in the Freeman household plays the piano. The space atop it is used to store two broken record players. On the dining room wall is a mirror with Dianna Ross' image in it. In a ten person household, six dining room chairs prohibit a meal in common.

There is, however, a table in the kitchen. It is pink metal and could accommodate four children easily. There are, in fact, four chairs in the kitchen as well as a high, bar-type stool. But two of the kitchen chairs are broken and the stool is too high to fit underneath the table. For these and other reasons, the Freemans almost always eat in shifts.

The kitchen is Mrs. Emma's domain, and she presides over it from the high stool which cannot fit beneath the kitchen table. Mrs. Emma has arthritis and two hundred plus pounds of body weight to limit her mobility. Hence, she must take up her positions wisely and lay claim to space which will be there when she needs it. The advantages of her stool positioned properly in the kitchen are almost too numerous to count. The most obvious advantage of the kitchen is that it places her close to all the food and the tools she needs to prepare it, as well as those she needs to clean up with afterwards. Preparing thirty meals plus snacks per day, more or less, can mean lots of walking, even if others can be counted on to do the shopping and to help with cleaning up.

From her stool, it is only three or four steps to the

yellow refrigerator, which works, and another two steps to the green one, which does not, but continues to serve as a storage cabinet for dry goods anyway. The stool is a good height for work at the stove or the white sink next to it.

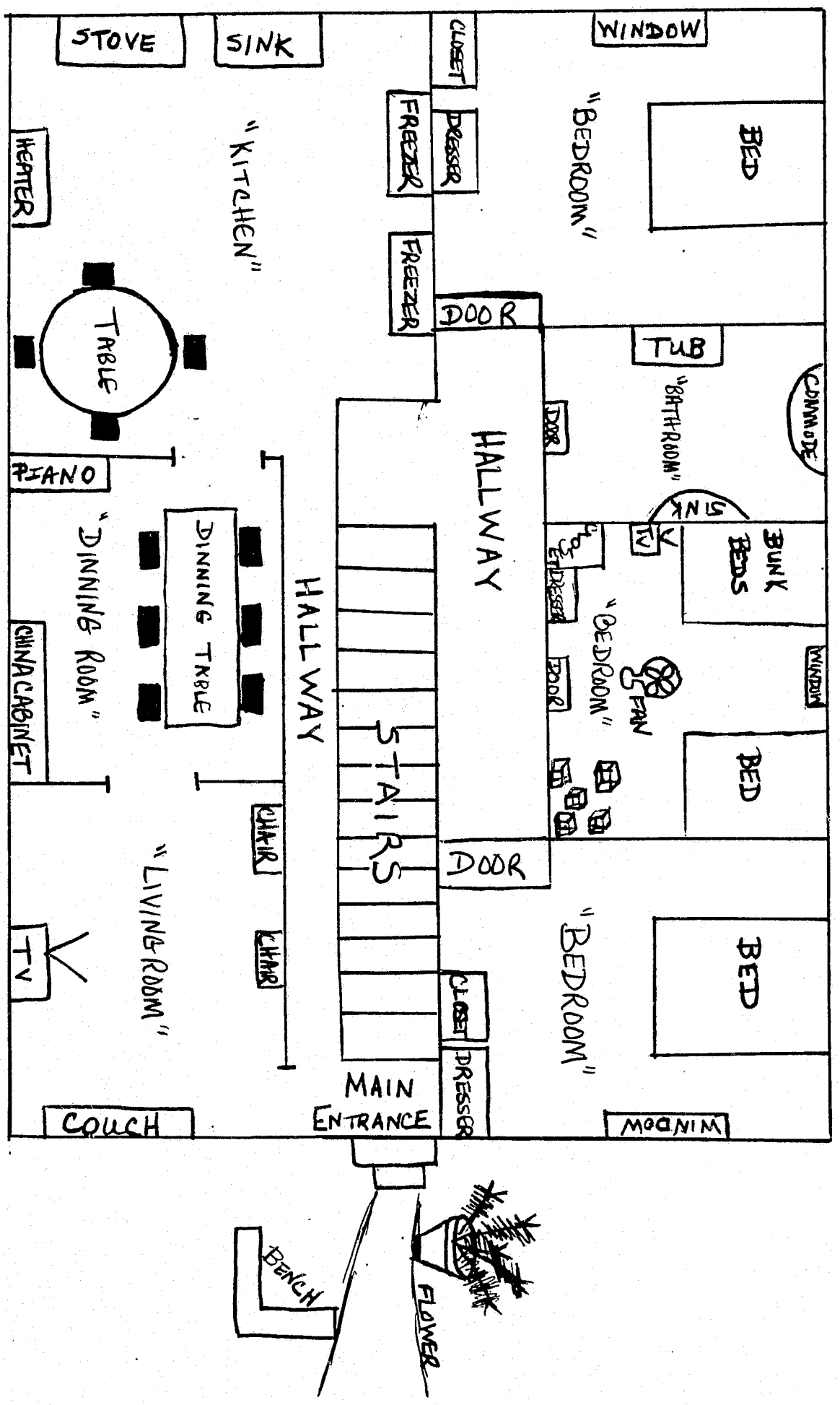
In addition to such functional and operative culinary advantages, the kitchen as the preferred place to eat offers up quite a range of social opportunities. The children's welfare can be monitored in the morning as they eat their bowls of cereal before school. At lunch time, which ranges from noon to about two thirty in the Freeman kitchen, Mrs. Emma spends time with all four of her daughters, who invariably eat in the kitchen because that is where Mrs. Emma keeps the TV (which belongs to Doris) during the day, and all of them are addicted to their "soaps." Moreover, the kitchen is where the phone is located on the first floor.

Mrs. Emma's bedroom is where the extension is located on the second floor. It is the room she shares with Frank. Located at the end of the hallway which runs the length of the second floor, its window faces the street. After five thirty or six p.m., when everyone has finished dinner, Mrs. Emma can be counted on to tire and retreat to her room for peace and quiet. Almost always, she will stay there in her room until the following morning. The first part of the evening she will sit at her window. In the summer she can be counted on to be by her window until dark or maybe even later if the neighborhood stays active in ways she can see beyond that time.

Mrs. Emma is a steady fixture at that window but her vigil is broken routinely from inside. Frank may join her, and they may talk a bit, but often he will watch TV, play cards or have a beer or a smoke with friends or the girls downstairs until he is ready to come up to bed. The children are brought in at various times to "say goodnight." If the door is closed at nine o'clock, it means Mrs. Emma may be sleeping, and it would not be kind to disturb her.

Things can get noisy, though. Four children, ages 2 through 7, must get to sleep in the three beds in the room next to Mrs. Emma's. Later, after they go off, their mothers will join them in those same three beds. Doris and her two daughters, Kay, age 7 and Bay, age 5, sleep in the bed on the left side of the 16' x 16' room, directly ahead as one enters through the doorway. The bed is pushed into the left rear corner. There is an ill-fitting window with a broken pane of glass on the left wall, just above Doris, Kay and Bay's full bed. In the summer it is propped open with a soda bottle. In the winter it is boarded over to keep out a draft.

Diagonally across the room in the right front corner is the bunk bed where Darlene, Doris' twin sister and her son Nick, age 7, sleep. Brenda and her 2-year-old daughter sleep


STOVE
SINK
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WINDOW
"BEDROOM"
BED
FREEZER
DRESSER
"KITCHEN"
HEATER
FREEZER
DOOR
TUB
TABLE
"BATHROOM"
CONMODE
HALLWAY
DOOR
PIANO
SINK
TV
BUNK BEDS
DRESSER
"DINNING ROOM"
DINNING TABLE
HALLWAY
"BEDROOM"
FAN
WINDOW
CHINA CABINET
DOOR
STAIRS
BED
CHAIR
DOOR
"LIVING ROOM"
TV
CHAIR
CLOSET
"BEDROOM"
BED
DRESSER
MAIN ENTRANCE
COUCH
MOONIM
BENCH
FLOWER

in the top bunk in the room. The floor plan, Figure 1, may prove helpful in illustrating where things are.

All the beds have white bedspreads on them. At the foot of Darlene's bed in the right front corner of the room are four or five cardboard boxes filled with clothes and a metal folding chair which belongs to Doris. Almost in the center of the room is a small portable floor fan. In the right rear corner is a closet which is Darlene's and to the left of it is a three drawer chest. Each of the sisters claims a drawer in it which they use for clothes and personal items. Doris' shoes and other items are stacked on the floor on her side of the chest. All of the Freeman sisters are attractive women, quite careful and concerned about their appearance, but Darlene who spends three hours each day getting dressed, is the most meticulous of all. Darlene claims the surface of the dresser, which contains her make-up, combs, jewelry and other dressing equipment. The third which is kept more or less free of such paraphenalia is where she and her sisters place a small TV belonging to Doris to watch while they are dressing.

The Freeman sisters share their clothes with one another, but Doris appears to have more to share than the others. She hangs her clothes from nails driven into the bedroom door, while the few hang-up clothes of Brenda's are mixed with those of Darlene.

With so much living going on in such a small space, it is quite remarkable how neat the small bedroom is kept. That neatness preserves understood boundaries and agreements which would lead to conflicts in the wake of disarray. Deviance from those rules, straying into others' space, is met with sharp rebuke.

The room next to the bedroom shared by Doris, Darlene, Brenda and their four small children is the bathroom. It contains a small white sink with a mirror above it, a toilet, tub and almost nothing more - no toothbrushes, combs, deodorants, hair dryers, medications, soaps, shampoos, creams or lotions. Not even any toilet paper on most occasions. All of these things the Freemans carry to the bathroom from their rooms and return with them when they are finished using them. The virtually complete barrenness of the bathroom represents a wholly different variety of solution to the problem of living tightly packed than does the seven-person bedroom next to it.

Where the bedroom represents a solution of tight boundaries and territories, closely watched and carefully preserved by strict demands for neatness and strong verbal sanctions for transgressors, the Freemans solve the problem of living with a ten-person bathroom by rendering it, as nearly as possible, a public place. That is, no claims to the space or time of the bathroom spring from rights to property within

it. For a ten-person (four of whom are single women in their early twenties) bathroom it would be difficult to imagine a more satisfactory solution. Not only does it imply that no one need take up bathroom space or time doing anything which could be done elsewhere in the house, but it also guards against disproportionate or unauthorized consumption of consumables in a space where such use would be difficult to monitor.

The third bedroom is located on the other side of the bathroom and is the most difficult reflection of place and space in the Freeman house to make sense of. It is the exclusive domain of Geneva, at 25 the eldest child of Mrs. Emma still living in her house. Apparently, she lays claim to her own room solely on the basis of her being the oldest at-home daughter. Like her sisters, she has no job, no job skills and has rarely been employed. However, unlike them, she has no children and does not draw child support or food stamps which could contribute toward the welfare of the house. The only money she brings in is a dollar or two here and there, which is given to her by her boyfriends.

Geneva's occupying a whole room while her sisters triple up and contribute more to the household than she does creates a strain in place-space distribution which Mrs. Emma is aware of. For months, she has been threatening to charge Geneva for her room, but the threat has not been carried out. To do so would require Mrs. Emma to issue an ultimatum to the effect that unless Geneva got a job and brought in money, her mother would put her out. This Mrs. Emma will not do and apparently Geneva knows it.

The Freemans and Modern Urban Poverty

Having said this much by way of introduction to the Freemans we may return to the questions which prompted us to describe them in the way we have: Are the Freemans typical or unique? Are their experiences and understanding such that they may be considered good guides to the relationship between crime and modern, urban black poverty? They are a second generation welfare family of ten persons, only one of which is gainfully employed. They are a matrifocal, matrilocal and matriarchal family. No one in the family has more than an eighth grade education, none of the women has ever held a regular paying job outside the home. The home is located in a neighborhood which would be readily identified as a ghetto, and its furnishings strike us as aesthetically typical of the culture of modern, urban black poverty. Moreover, since none of the sisters works or draws a regular income from any source other than the state, their poverty is as severe as the state in which they live is prepared to let it be. Finally, it is appropriate to add that their poverty is not only modern, urban poverty in its aesthetics but in its absolute material base as well. It is modern, urban American poverty, a better

class of poverty than the world has ever known, a poverty with indoor plumbing, portable televisions, extension phones, minimum heat, light, food and medical care, and lived, on average in the Freeman family, three and one-third persons to a bedroom.

In all of the above ways, it is possible to defend the choice of the Freemans as a family whose situation modern urban black poverty described. However, in at least three quite important ways, the Freemans situation is distinctive and must qualify what they are capable of exemplifying. First, all four daughters have a mother who is willing and able to help them out by sharing her home with them. Needless to say, many people are not so fortunate. Hence, understanding the Freeman sisters' poverty as the depths to which the state is prepared to let one sink falls far short of the mark. Secondly, five of the six adults in the Freeman home are women and three of them support four dependent children. Economically, their children provide them with sources of support which would not be available to males. In this way, not only is their poverty softened, but what we will say about crime in relation to the Freemans will tend to take on a female cast. Third and finally, a distinctive if not unique feature of the Freemans situation is not only that all four of Mrs. Emma's at-home children are women, but quite attractive women, as well. This, too, as we shall shortly see, exerts some additional influences on their conduct and behavior in ways that bear upon both modern urban poverty and crime.

The Freemans and the Problems and Solutions of Crime

At least four different varieties of crime are part of the Freeman family's life and affect what they do and how they live in substantial ways: (1) alcohol abuse and the illicit sale and purchase of it; (2) illicit drug use, sale and purchase; (3) theft and the traffic in stolen goods; and (4) assault. Other offenses, like littering, affect them by rendering the children's play areas more dangerous than they need be, but the four varieties of crime above affect all of the Freemans in broader and more far reaching ways.

In considering how each of the above four varieties of crime affects the Freemans, we will describe not only their role as participants or perpetrators of them but also their role as victims, their attitudes towards them and the special ways those crimes resonate with their urban poverty. All of the crimes we will consider represent both problems and solutions to the Freemans. And, as we shall also see, there is substantial difference of opinion, even in this small sample, over which crimes in what ways should be understood as problems and which understood rightly as solutions.

Alcohol Abuse and the Illicit Sale and Purchase of It

The consumption of alcohol in various forms and on different occasions plays different roles for various members of the Freeman family. For the Freeman sisters, alcoholic beverages embody a fairly elaborate and shifting status hierarchy. There are drinks which are "in," like Hennessey cognac, which reflect the sophistication and good taste of the drinker; drinks which are "out," like vodka, a decidedly low-status preference; and drinks like rum and coke, which were once fashionable but which recently have fallen to the level of vodka in its status implications. For all four Freeman sisters, such understandings are elements of style and fashion and they observe them on occasions where being stylish and fashionable is important. By and large, this means on dates and at parties. At home and in their immediate neighborhood, their beverage of choice is beer.

Usually they buy it by the bottle either from the store on the corner of the street, about 150 feet from their door, or from a neighborhood bootlegger, Skinney's, located just two doors down the street in the opposite direction. From the street, Skinny's looks like any other row house in the neighborhood, neither better nor worse. Except in the summer, when one can usually count on finding four or five patrons on the entrance stoop drinking from identical plastic cups, nothing about the exterior of Skinney's house signals that it is a bootleg bar. Inside, in the room which in the Freeman's house is kept as a parlor, are a couch, a couple of chairs, a TV and a portable, vinyl covered bar of the kind one sometimes finds in recreation rooms of private homes. Liquor is not served at that bar but occasionally Skinney's patrons will bring their drinks from the back and stand at the small front bar to drink.

To get served at Skinney's, one must go to the back room, which is slightly larger than the room one first enters. Skinney keeps the liquor in a closet on the left side of the room. A price list with everything but "beer" and "soda" misspelled is taped on the door. Only Skinney is allowed inside the closet. The beer is kept in a refrigerator in the kitchen, which, like the closet, is off limits to all but Skinney. There is also a bathroom at Skinney's which his patrons are welcome to use, but for reasons obvious to anyone who has ever seen Skinney's bathroom, the Freeman sisters, when they have to go, go home.

Skinney's clientele are mostly men, though two or three middle-aged women with chronic drinking habits regularly settle in the front room to drink and watch TV in the afternoon. The smaller back room, about 12' x 12', contains about a dozen chairs. By virtue of its size it can sustain not much more than three semi-private conversations. The space required

for a fourth makes everybody else's conversation public. The place is rather dark and, although there is no trash on the wooden floor, it has a kind of dirty ground-in grit to it, composed of shoe soles and spilled drinks.

The Freeman sisters go to Skinney's to buy beer when the corner store is closed. Skinney sells for 60 to 70 cents the same bottle of beer the corner store sells for 50 cents. Over the long run, the Freeman sisters could undoubtedly save a fair amount if they bought their beer by the case or even in six packs. However, coming up with $8.00 to $10.00 for a case is much harder for them to manage then 50 to 70 cents per bottle. In higher economic circles, such short term solutions are spoken of as "cash flow" problems.

The Freeman sisters are also welcome at Skinney's when they come to drink there instead of taking their beer out. Often one or another of Skinney's patrons will offer to buy them a beer. They will generally accept such an offer, but they will also be careful to deport themselves in ways which show that accepting such an offer does not imply anything else. They are not interested in or attracted to any of Skinney's patrons and would not want it thought that, for the price of a beer or two, they would lead them on. Consequently, they do not drink at Skinney's all that often and do not stay too long or expect to have their way paid for them if they do. In short, they treat Skinney's as a neighborhood bar, a slightly backstage, friendly sort of place where one can show up without showing off.

Things are very different, though, when the Freeman sisters plan to party. Each has a steady boyfriend and expectations that at least once a week he will take her out. Going out does not mean Skinney's. What it does mean is a concert, cabaret or disco, two or three clubs and a couple of private parties, preferably interspersed with short periods of rest and recovery. Often the Freeman sisters' partying will begin on Thursday evening and continue through until Monday morning. A considerable amount of drinking is appropriate on such occasions. The problem for the Freeman sisters' escorts is that if what their woman is drinking is individually mixed drinks, to purchase them at bars and clubs on an individual basis is extraordinarily expensive. Hence, it is common practice on such occasions to bring along a bottle or two to strengthen and supplement served drinks. This practice seems to encourage drinking to excess, drinking while traveling from one party site to the next and driving while intoxicated.

It would be hard to find a sharper, more dramatic contrast to the Freeman sisters' drinking habits and attitudes than those reflected by their mother and Frank. For both of them , liquor consumption has no status significance whatsoever. Frank may have a beer or two at home after work. He does not party and rarely goes to Skinney's. When he drinks hard

liquor, it is at home and what he drinks is "low status" vodka. Mrs. Emma drinks when her arthritis hurts her very much or when she is depressed. She drinks vodka alone in her room, and the next day it makes her sick.

Illicit Drug Use, Sale and Purchase

The attitudes of the Freemans towards illicit drug use and their willingness to use such drugs themselves differ across generations with respect to the drug in question and its effects on the user. Marijuana ("reefer") is regularly and openly consumed in the house and in the presence of the children by all four daughters and, occasionally, by Frank. The only critic of this practice in the Freeman household is Mrs. Emma, who is categorically opposed to all illicit drugs and sees them, undifferentiated, as responsible for the deterioration of her neighborhood and many of the people in it. Her objections are known by everyone, but the support for marijuana use in the community and in the subculture of which her daughters are a part is so strong and widespread that her objections fall upon deaf ears. She is occasionally teased about what her daughters regard as a ridiculously old fashioned opinion, offered a hit by them, and advised to try it as a relief from the pain of her arthritis. In fact, Mrs. Emma once did so. It did not help her arthritis, and she has kept her experiment secret from her daughters.

As is the case with liquor, the Freeman sisters obtain marijuana by purchasing it locally in very small quantities (never more than $5.00 worth, a "nickle bag") or by having it given to them by friends. The potency of the marijuana they purchase varies considerably, and they shift their trade among neighborhood vendors according to who is reputed to have "good stuff."

Patterns of consumption and attitudes toward those who consume become somewhat more complicated in the Freeman family when one considers other drugs. In the Freeman home, the second most frequently consumed illicit drug is phencycledene (PCP), which the daughters refer to as "whack." Although they will occasionally purchase it in very small quantities, one or two joints worth, they normally obtain it by receiving it as a gift from one or another of their current boyfriends, who usually will offer some to the other sisters as a gesture of goodwill. Only one of the sisters, Doris, refuses to smoke "whack," but her decision is based on the fact that she dislikes its effects and not on any moral or social grounds like those on which her mother rests her opinions.

But while three of the Freeman sisters will use "whack" when they are in the mood to enjoy its effects and the forth sister would also do so if she found its effects enjoyable, their attitude toward the drug is not nearly so simple as it is toward marijuana. One of the things which introduces a

complexity is the effect it has on their brother, Tyrone. Tyrone, as we mentioned above, lives nearby and is a frequent visitor to the house. He is mentally unstable, partially, it is believed, as a consequence of the horrors and atrocities he witnessed as a soldier in Vietnam. His condition is exacerbated by his use of "whack," which tends to render him incoherent with tendencies toward violence. On one occasion, Tyrone was arrested for smashing a row of windows while on "whack." Also, all of the sisters have at one time or another had the experience, on the street, at a club or party, as well as with Tyrone, of trying to deal with someone who was "whacked out." So while the sisters all maintain a consistently recreational view of marijuana in its effects on themselves, others and their community, their attitudes toward "whack" are not so uniformly symmetrical. They can enjoy and handle its effects but understand that others cannot. Among those who can not is their brother, and for him and for others who can not handle "whack," its effects can be devastating on them and annoying to others. It may be pointed out that while we have described this configuration of opinion and behavior as "asymmetrical," it is the same configuration of behavior and opinion that most Americans maintain toward alcohol.

At least two of the Freeman sisters have used cocaine when it was given to them at a party. They understand it is a purely recreational drug, both in its effects on them and on others. All four sisters would accept a gift of cocaine if it were offered, but its high cost absolutely prohibits their purchase of it.

To our knowledge only one of the sisters, the oldest, Geneva, 25, has ever used heroin, a drug they all call "boy." Geneva has snorted heroin a few times "for kicks" but does not appear to be developing a habit. All of the sisters know people who are or have been heroin addicts. The youngest sister, Brenda, is currently dating a man with a moderately heavy habit. He is employed and is the father of Brenda's child. To these personal experiences with heroin and individuals the sisters know who have become or been addicts may be added their exposure to the drug in the effects it has had on people who they do not know but recognize as addicts on the street. They generally regard such visibly addicted persons as nuisances insofar as they will block their way, cast a poor appearance or make salacious comments to them as they walk past them. Other addicts, more seriously in disrepair, strike them as human wrecks. They regard them with disgust.

Traffic in Stolen Property

On a regular basis, perhaps weekly, the Freemans buy stolen property. In general, when they do so their purchases are made in one of three ways. First, they may be offered an opportunity to purchase something through one of the male friends of one of the four daughters. One current friend is

a thief and a regular vendor of stolen goods, and other friends keep their eyes open for items which might interest one or another of the Freeman sisters. Some stolen goods are purchased from these men, while others, especially items of a personal nature, may be given to them as gifts.

The second situation in which the Freemans confront opportunities to buy stolen property arises when they are offered it by door-to-door sellers, some of whom they know as local residents or neighbors and others who are strangers selling door-to-door. When neighbors are the vendors, the transactions can take on a social visit atmosphere, much like that which Avon ladies often attempt to create. Many of these door-to-door sellers are men who have boosted what they have to sell themselves. Others are selling what their girl friends have stolen. This tendency for more door-to-door sellers to be men than women may reflect neighborhood connections and customary patterns of shoplifting.

Transactions of this sort can involve the sale and purchase of most anything, but clothing and common household products appear to be the most frequently tendered merchandise and the type of merchandise the Freemans are most willing to buy. During the field work period, the Freemans were observed to have purchased meat, perfume, linens, children's and adults' clothing, a watch and a curling iron from people selling door-to-door.

Generally, such merchandise is offered to the Freemans at one-third to one-half its normal retail price. Sometimes the Freemans are in a position to evaluate accurately the bargain they are being offered. Shoplifted merchandise, for example, will sometimes be tendered with the shop's price tags still in place. On other occasions, such as when they are buying name-brand merchandise or merchandise whose value they believe they can evaluate from experience (e.g., meat), they also are confident that they are getting a good deal. However, the Freemans are also well aware that what they purchase carries no guaranties or return privileges, and that there are scams and hustles which work by passing off inferior, imitation merchandise as if it were high priced stolen goods. This, they know, is not a problem with local neighborhood vendors but with strangers selling door-to-door who they know will not be seen again. The merchandise such strangers have to offer is thus examined very closely.

The third and final path by which stolen property sometimes travels into the Freeman household is different from the other two in that on it the Freeman sisters tend to be active consumers who search out stolen property bargains rather than passive purchasers who wait for it to be offered to them. In short, they shop. The Freeman sisters occasionally "hang out" in certain areas of the city where addicts congregate and thieves sell their wares.

It may also be said that with respect to the purchase of stolen property, although the Freeman's are but a small sample, the patterns of purchase through which they obtain it regularly say something about attitudes toward this crime in the community in which they live. Door-to-door vendors must make the assumption that to offer stolen property will not offend the vast majority of people who are approached, at least not enough to provoke them to "call the cops." Moreover, when one buys stolen property in one's neighborhood and especially when one buys from a neighborhood seller, one must assume that the purchase will carry little or no stigma, at least not enough to outweigh the benefits of the bargain. Door-to-door sellers in the Freemans' neighborhood make the first assumption safely, and the Freemans are quite willing to say that something they bought was "hot." Rather than carry a stigma in the Freemans' neighborhood, such a purchase is, especially if it is a very good deal, likely to generate a bit of envy on the part of the person who failed to take advantage of it.

Within the Freeman family it is, of course, understood that buying stolen property is against the law and that the property offered was originally taken from someone whom it belonged to. The Freeman sisters dismiss concern for the victim of the original theft by understanding him as a company or other, probably white, individual or institution who can afford the loss. And, insofar as what they buy is almost always new merchandise, they are probably correct in identifying the victim as an institution and its ownership as likely white.

Assault

In their day-to-day dealings with each other, with friends and acquaintances, and with their children, the Freeman sisters constantly flirt with violence. Fighting words, threats to harm, insults and flaunting of their capacities as fighters are part of their presentation of themselves to others, both inside and outside their house. This presentation of themselves as willing and able to fight signals others that they will not be pushed around, slighted or treated with disrespect, and that they will guard what they possess, including their reputations, with violent abandon.

At home, among themselves and with their children, fighting words and insults invariably punctuate claims to territory and a whole range of domestic obligations. In the Freeman household, a child who interrupts his mother's conversation will be told, "Get your ass 'otta here, boy! Can't you see I'm busy?" Likewise, one of the sisters who finds her make-up, jewelry or other personal belongings have been tampered with is likely to offer the open-ended declaration to the unknown culprit, "I'm gonna mess up the motherfucker whose been messin' with my motherfuckin' stuff." In day-to-day conflicts and

conversations, threats to "go up side" someone's head come often. Such words come easily to the Freeman sisters, and they do not appear to know or find appropriate other more controlled, less violent, or less passionate ways to express their displeasures.

On the street and in their neighborhood, the same tough talk and fighting demeanor serves to preserve the Freeman sisters' "reps" among those who know them and establish those same "tough" reps among those who do not. The Freeman sisters believe that their tough reps serve them well and even the slightest threat to them is likely to be straightened out in no uncertain terms. Of all four sisters, Doris is probably physically, and in terms of her rep, the toughest and most willing to react forcefully at first provocation. For example, once, while walking with Doris on a street near her neighborhood, a woman passed by who Doris recognized and who recognized Doris, but who had never spoken to her before. The woman, who was about the same age as Doris, said hello to her as she passed. Doris spun around, grabbed the woman around the neck and placed her in a helpless position. As Doris held her in this way, she told the woman she had no cause to speak to her now if she had no reason to do so before. Whereupon the woman apologized and Doris let her go.

The Freeman sisters' street reps save them from many unwanted entanglements on the street. People who know them only by their reps give them wide berth and their ability to generate a face of toughness deters others who do not. But such reps must be shored up occasionally if they are to continue to do the deterrent work for which they are created and maintained. On three occasions which we are aware of, the Freeman sisters have fought real fights during the period of our field work. None resulted in arrest; only one involved the police. However, about a year prior to our field work, Geneva got into a knife fight with another woman who miscarried as a consequence of it, and Geneva spent about a year in jail. She is currently on parole and very careful about getting into fights again. For reasons hard to determine, another woman in the neighborhood has been "bumping" Geneva as they pass one another on the street. Geneva has made efforts to avoid her; but, parole or no, she feels they may have to fight.

Thinking with the Freemans

Having said this much about the Freemans, their situation and their relationship to the four crimes above, we should like to suggest that they may be used as a model against which one may test some policy impacts in much the same way as design engineers test physical effects on small, mock-up models. As both engineers and policy makers know, things which work right in the lab and on a small scale often fail in the field. However, there is no reason to go into the

field, into production or plan to construct a full size vehicle, until the lab model suggests that a full-size, production vehicle has a hope of working. Our conclusions, using the Freeman's as our lab model, suggest that, short of a radical remanufacture of them and their situation, little or nothing can be done to change their relationship to the four crimes described above. The one crime about which something might be done is their purchase of illicitly sold alcohol. It probably would be possible to drive Skinney out of business, or at least force him to reduce his prices, by extending the hours which stores and shops could sell alcohol. Reducing licensing requirements for places which serve and sell alcohol and reducing license fees to a nominal level could put him back into business again, with the state collecting taxes on his trade.

Drugs, stolen property and assault all strike us as less amenable to change because the Freemans regard them more as solutions than problems. To do something about any of them would mean finding acceptable and workable alternatives which, all things considered, do not seem possible.

The other alternative, of course, is to radically change the Freemans' situation or do something which would force them to change it.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1 The larger project of which this research is a part was sponsored by Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Grant No. 80-NI-AX-0003 under the direction of Dr. Julius Debro, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

2 Edwin Sutherland, "The Professional Thief," Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

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William F. Whyte, "Street Corner Society," Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

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There are, of course, many other works in criminology, race and urban studies which employ a single case or a small number of cases to dramatize, clarify or elaborate at micro levels large scale social relationships. A fairly recent example which comes close to our aspirations with the Freemans is Susan Sheehan's, "A Welfare Mother," New York: New American Library, 1977.

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