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METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

OF THE

REACTIONS TO CRIME PROJECT

Edited by

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REACTIONS TO CRIME PROJECT

CENTER FOR URBAN AFFAIRS

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CHAPTER 1

AN ANALYTIC OVERVIEW OF THE REACTIONS

TO CRIME PROJECT

By

Albert Hunter

Introduction

What we know as scientists must always be couched in terms of how we came to know it. The reports that are now emerging from the Reactions to Crime Project must be interpreted in light of the research methods that produced those results. The purpose of this volume is to present an overview of the numerous methods and data sets that have gone into the production of the research presented in the previous volumes. Accordingly, this material will describe and analyze the process of research carried out in the Reactions to Crime Project from March 1976 to June 1980.

There are four central dimensions that characterize the Project; it is: (1) large scale, (2) inter-disciplinary, (3) multi-site, and (4) multi-method.

As will be described more fully below, this project employed many different sources of data and methods of analysis. This reflected, in part, the different disciplinary backgrounds brought to the project by its staff. The variety of research methods was also made necessary by the breadth of issues which the project sought to investigate. While survey methods are most appropriate for collecting data on individual perceptions of crime and attitudes about problems, other methods are better suited for producing detailed information about group dynamics and collective responses to crime; since we hoped to determine the effects of newspaper images of crime on individual fears and concerns, we turned to content analysis to obtain systematic data on the content of metropolitan newspapers.

The entire research project was complicated by the different levels of analysis, and the number of research sites. The research reported in

Volumes I through III focus on individuals, community organizations, and neighborhoods, respectively. At least one member of the research team combined individual- and neighborhood- level analysis (Baumer, 1980). Conducting the research in three different cities, and in several neighborhoods within each city produced additional problems. Chapter 4 of this report describes some of the strategies employed to obtain representative samples of telephone numbers in different neighborhoods in different cities. Other problems were encountered in trying to manage the collection of field data through participant observation. Chapter 2 describes some of these difficulties in more detail.

Finally, the large scale of the project, and the lengthy period of research, produced unique if not unanticipated problems. These were related to the variety of methods and data collection strategies used by different members of the research team, and to the ebb and flow of frustration and enthusiasm in the entire project. These difficulties will be addressed later in this chapter, and in the final chapter in this volume.

It has become commonly expected, if not obligatory, that contemporary social research should be self-reflective. This expectation extends beyond the need to assess the validity and reliability of specific methods to the fuller realization that the research process is a creative act, involving real people working within real constraints. Beyond the intrinsic mertis of analysing scientific research, and describing how these numerous sub-stantive results were generated, it is hoped that this discussion will provide critical insights for further research, such that others may learn from our experience.

Scale: Duration, Personnel, Funding

The project has officially run from 1975 to the middle of 1980. A five year plan is understandable perhaps with reference to a nation's economic and social goals, but this is an unusually long period for a single, more limited research project. The problems with a project of such duration include varying enthusiasm and morale. These are not divorced from the phases that research tends to follow regardless of scale, but may be exacerbated by increased duration.

The extremes of morale exist as a U-shaped function, highest at the beginning and end. At first, interest and interaction are heightened in defining and coordinating personal and collective research objectives. The first flush of success in getting a grant, staffing the project, and engaging in general intellectual debate -- the overall process of "setting up shop" -- are high points in the research process. The final period of analysis and write-up of findings similarly produces a burst of enthusiasm as years of work finally result in the products of academic currency -- more words on paper, names in print, new knowledge, and practical policies being advanced. The middle of a large scale project tends to involve more problems; debates turn to doubt, tolerance becomes testiness. The results are not yet in; the initial and slowly emerging structure of the research is questioned at the very crucial time when the data are being collected. This is the point at which prior decisions are being put into action. The results of these decisions are felt, at the time, to be the ultimate determinants of the worth or value of the entire project.

This is not to suggest that the initial and final periods are not without their unique problems, or that the middle period does not have

its positive and intrinsic rewards. Major problems in the early stages of a project include arguing over the epistemological content of the research, deciding what will be included, what excluded, and what will be considered relevant or irrelevant. At the final stage there is intense debate over the general political directions that policy recommendations may take. In the middle phase of data collection new methodological developments, ranging from technical refinements in telephone surveys to innovative and serendipitous strategies for field research, may produce a sense of progress and commitment. In the Reactions to Crime Project these included a sense of accomplishment in coordinating a large and diverse field staff. In developing the telephone survey project staff felt they were contributing to the technology of obtaining multiple samples of neighborhoods within cities.

Another aspect of a lengthy project concerns the polar issues of continuity and innovative change during the course of the research. The long duration meant that innovations could be adopted on a trial basis without fear that an imprudent decisions would cripple the research. In the field research a number of substantive issues and concommitant methodologies were planned and later abandoned. One of these was a comparative mapping of protective fences used by businesses along the major commercial strips in each neighborhood. This project was subsequently dropped, being too time consuming and of limited value. However, the concern with residents' cognitive mapping of dangerous and safe spots within the neighborhood did filter into later field research and to items on the survey instrument. Similarly, data from earlier city-level surveys compiled in the initial phases of the project (these are described in Chapter 6 of this volume) were not fully

exploited in secondary analyses as planned, but they did feed directly into the construction of items on our own survey. In short, the lengthy duration permitted a relatively anxiety-free experimental period, during which some ideas were abandoned while others filtered into the final research design.

The Reactions to Crime Project was also large-scale in terms of the number of people employed at any given time and throughout the duration of the project. The large numbers were possible because of the level of funding, and necessary because of the intrinsic design of the multi-method, multi-site research. The sheer numbers required a division of labor and organization that tended to shift through various phases of the research. For example, the requirements for field researchers and a field coordinator in each of three cities during the data collection phase produced a sharp increase in the number of personnel, and actual needs for new personnel once the research entered the data analysis stage.

It is obvious that such a large scale project was predicated upon sufficient funding. However, a number of aspects of the large-scale funding over the lengthy period of time affected the design and course of the research. A major factor specific to the RTC Project was that the federal funding agency was undergoing major review, criticism, and assessment by Congress and the Administration during this period. The ambiguities which this generated in the field resulted in a "staged products" approach—what might be termed a "salvage mentality." Were the research to be terminated at the end of any given fiscal year an attempt was made to anticipate products that would not mean the efforts to date were entirely wasted. Products in the academic mold meant manuscripts, articles, and monographs that would satisfy interior

goals, if not fulfill the overall objectives of both researchers and the funding agency.

There was a second aspect of the large-scale funding that emerged over the course of the research. This was a piggy-back expansion of the research, a form of "the rich getting richer." As new grant announcements or solicitations crossed the desks of researchers and administrators in the Project, new proposals were submitted that drew upon existing strengths and resources. The result has been the creation of allied projects linked to, though somewhat autonomous from, the RTC Project. These have included the Rape Project and the Community Crime Prevention Project. Both are described in Chapter 6 of this volume.

Large funding should not be interpreted as an unabashed good. There is no doubt that such funding does provide unique opportunities in research, and for that very reason it becomes difficult to make a cost/benefit comparative evaluation of one large scale research project versus ten smaller ones. The effect of large resources versus scarcity is not a determinant in and of itself of the quality of research. One might more fruitfully ask if the scale of funding resulted in unique contributions that would have been unattainable by aggregating a larger number of smaller scale projects. One may compare the nutritional efficacy of different crops within the constraints of soil, climate and other resources, but if a grapefruit is seen to have unique merits, then ten kumquats will not add up to a grapefruit, even though they may equal its nutritional value.

Inter-Disciplinary Research

Donald Campbell (an advisor to the RTC project) has defined a dilemma for research as the countervailing pressures between adherence to a

disciplinary division of labor versus cross-fertilization among dis-
ciplines focusing upon a joint problem of investigation. The efficiency
of specialization among mature disciplines is unquestioned in producing
scientific results. The dilemma becomes one of coordinating these
diverse findings across disciplines with their varying research
strategies, different foci of substantive interest, and distinct con-
ceptual jargons. The problem becomes particularly acute when an attempt
is made to focus upon a real world problem, where policy as well as
scientific outputs are expected.

The diversity of disciplines in the RTC Project is evidenced by
the research personnel from anthropology, political science, psychology,
and sociology. Geographers, historians, and journalists have also been
consulted. No simple analytical division or typology among these
personnel is possible. Some shared substantive interests while diverging
on methodological styles; others were commonly enamored of a given
method but disagreed on the substantive interests that should be pursued.
A balance was struck between the unique approaches, such that what was
for some the otherwise unexplained "black box of assumptions" became for
others the precise point for initial empirical investigation. The
intolerance of disciplinary boundaries were more often than not shattered
by personal ties, and/or methodological alliances.

Methodological cleavages were more intractable than differences on
substantive issues, primarily because in the early stages of the project
the diverse substantive disciplinary interests were talked through, and
a common set of issues emerged. These issues were nevertheless inter-
preted somewhat differently by practitioners of the various disciplines.
For example, the issue of control within one's social milieu was inter-

preted in terms of "attribution theory" by social psychologists; for sociologists this was an issue of informal social control among neighborhood residents, while for political scientists this related to police functioning and control by the state. Affinities on joint subprojects, most often initiated through a common substantive focus, led to a mutual methodological education among those involved. Similarly, there was a sharing of literature on reactions to crime across disciplines. The full nature of the interdisciplinary character of the research is evidenced in the dilemma of submission of papers to various journals. Some have been sent to journals that focus upon the issue of crime, others to disciplinary journals with more basic theoretical and methodological concerns.

By and large, few problems emerged from the interdisciplinary nature of the research. There was even an element of self-conscious celebration, having experienced an often verbalized but seldom realized ideal of participating in interdisciplinary research. This extended from the personal level of sharing different biographical experiences to the more intellectual sharing of disciplinary knowledge.

One should note as well that from the outset two other structural factors contributed to the interdisciplinary character of the research. These were: (1) the preexisting interdisciplinary organization of Northwestern University's Center for Urban Affairs, and (2) the specific interest of the funding agency in interdisciplinary research.

The interdisciplinary character of the Center is illustrated by a decade long history of such research. This history has meant two things. First, the Center strongly advocates that academic research into urban social problems should take precedent over a particular

discipline's theoretical perspective. Second, there is an informal set of social norms within the Center that support and encourage inter-disciplinary contact. The Center's support of such research often has to be waged in an arena of conflict and compromise with various academic departments and their claims to disciplinary integrity. Sufficient latitude must be provided for individuals to utilize their specific training and expertise within a general intellectual climate that does not mandate specific roles but encourages and supports, whenever possible, this frail but fruitful hybrid.

The interdisciplinary character of the RTC Project was also influenced by the initial proposal writers who believed that this would be a significant and unique selling point of the project to the funding agency. This was also a realistic assessment of what would be needed to complete such a project. The generality of the initial proposal meant, as well, that the evolving specification of particular problems could be worked out with a sufficient degree of freedom that would more fully integrate the varying interests of principal investigators from different disciplines.

Multi-Site

The third major defining characteristic of the Reactions to Crime Project is its multi-site focus. This results from the intersection of three concerns: (1) an explicitly comparative design, (2) the use of intensive participant observation field research, and (3) multiple levels of analysis. The use of comparative data is widely heralded in social science research, whether it be the psychologist's experimental and control groups, the cross-cultural comparative perspective of Max Weber or Ted Robert Gurr, or the field researcher's "discovery of

grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Keeping the comparative perspective in mind, urban neighborhoods seemed to be an appropriate and manageable primary unit of analysis. The question of levels of analysis was simply a further extension of the realization that just as variations in individuals' behavior are rendered more understandable when placed within an immediate social milieu, so is the variation in neighborhoods more readily understood when placed within an immediate structural context. Therefore the multi-site design was intimately linked to the fact that three levels of comparative analysis would be attempted: individuals, neighborhoods, and cities. The final design evolved into a comparison of selected neighborhoods and their residents in each of the three project cities.

A major problem with multi-site research centered upon coordination of the activities of field workers scattered in ten neighborhoods across three cities from coast to coast. Some of these problems were organizationally based; these will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 2. Briefly, the central dilemma was one of balancing the need for providing sufficient control and direction in order to produce comparable data from different sites on the one hand, and preserving the freedom needed by field workers to pursue the variety of behaviors and conditions in different sites on the other. A related problem emerged in designing items for the telephone survey. Design and sampling issues resulted from the multiple site scale of the project. These issues are examined in Chapter 4 of this volume.

In summary, the multi-site design of the research was well-grounded from an analytical perspective, but it created more serious problems in terms of organization and administration of the project than did other aspects of the scale of research.

Multiple Methods

The history of multiple methods research may be traced to Plato's parable of the shadows on the cave's wall. In contemporary terms reality is what we see, observe, or measure it to be. With different minds behind the eyes, from different vantage points, or with different research techniques reality's shadows may take on variable and changing forms much as rising smoke from the cave's fire appears as a will o' the wisp.

A more recent statement of this problem for social science research is to be found in Webb, et al.'s Unobtrusive Measures (1966) and in Norman Denzin's methodological work The Research Act (1970). Both of these exemplary works emphasize the desirability of obtaining multiple measures of the same concept. The "triangulation" of measurements implies that reality will only be partially determined by any given measurement technique. This is because each measurement technique is a combination of both some aspect of the reality and error from a variety of different sources. Therefore, by combining different measurements one heightens the probability of ascertaining which components of the measurements overlap, and which are due to the idiosyncratic error components of each particular technique.

Most of the discussion of multiple methods research to date has in fact been a discussion of the relatively narrow topic of multiple measurement. Measurement, however, is but one step or stage of the research process, a process which begins with a definition of the problem and ends with write-up and dissemination of results. Therefore, a more comprehensive approach to multiple method research, which this project pursued, would suggest that each stage of the research, should

be approached with a number of different perspectives. Not only does this provide for a greater confidence in research results, but it has a liberating influence in allowing the substantive problems to take precedence over the research method. As an ancient adage says, "if you give a child a hammer, then the world is for hammering." We are proposing a larger tool kit.

What one defines as problematic and the way in which one thinks about a problem are hopefully linked to the data that are to be gathered. Multiple methods allow one to think about a problem from a variety of perspectives and with different data sets. The same concept may be recast in different theoretical ways if different methods are utilized. For example, in the Reactions to Crime Project, the very central concept of "reaction" has been considered in terms of both attitudes (fear) and behavior (buying locks). Each of these concepts implies a different set of methods to measure them, but as well each implies a different body of theory and literature, one of which might have been overlooked had but one conceptualization of the problem been advanced. A multiple method perspective at this stage heightens the possibility of creative rejuggling of categories and concepts, producing a synthesis of what may previously have been a disparate set of findings and theories.

The population to which one wishes to generalize research results will often be dependent upon the method selected. Different methods allow different degrees of generalization. For example, one of the major strengths of survey research is the ability to generalize to a universe or population from which the sample in the survey was drawn. One of the limits of participant observation and field research is

precisely the fact that such generalization is more limited, even if a comparative analysis is adopted.

The researcher must constantly insure that data are gathered at the appropriate level or unit of analysis. For example, in the Reactions to Crime Project there are four distinct units of analysis: <u>individuals</u> studied by surveys, field interviews, and direct observation; <u>neighborhood</u> indicators are produced by aggregation of survey data, census data, interviews, and field observation; <u>groups, organizations and institutions</u> are studied by observation, interviews, and records or archives; <u>cities</u> may be studied using the above methods as well as official statistics and content analysis of media. The central point from the multiple method perspective is that different methods may be singularly more appropriate for different units of analysis. Therefore, with multiple methods one may provide an important contextual analysis by one method if one moves up, or a finer specification and elaboration of findings if one moves down to smaller units of analysis. Also, one may test whether or not propositions that relate concepts at one level of analysis (for example the individual's correlation of fear and behavior) are matched or corroborated at another level (the media's reporting of crime and of collective and official responses to it).

Measurement is concerned with selecting an appropriate set of instruments and methods in the collection of data. In analysis a multiple method perspective provides a variety of benefits. For example, in the Reactions to Crime Project the analysis of field notes was aided by the coding categories devised in the content analysis of the media, and the coding of open-ended survey items benefited from each of these in turn. Beyond the technical benefits of analysis, substantive mergers

and the interplay of findings are perhaps more rewarding. The Reactions to Crime Project has often utilized multiple methods for data analysis. In an early analysis of secondary survey data on "Dimensions of Fear," Baumer (1977) isolated four factors, two of which dealt with neighborhood dimensions. Lacking a clear rationale for keeping them distinct he combined them into a single factor. In a preliminary analysis of the field research notes Hunter (1978) reported that residents' sense of fear often rested not upon crime per se but incivilities of others and general signs of neighborhood deterioration which have been called "Symbols of Incivility." Baumer then returned to his analysis of dimensions of fear and found that, in fact, one of the factors represented these same "incivilities" such as the presence of drunks and adolescents hanging out on street corners. In short, having utilized different methods, the findings of one sensitized the researcher in the analysis of the other.

A major problem exists in the write-up and publication of research results from a multiple method perspective. This is related to the "normative" expectations and rather standard formats that exist for the reporting of research. As a crude generalization I would suggest that field research is generally presented in monograph length and form, in part owing to the richness of detail necessary to more fully develop the theoretical arguments and present the evidence. In contrast, the thirty page journal article lends itself more readily to the presentation of quantitative research with the section headings paralleling the "stages" of research. Given that standards and judges are likely to vary widely, it is often difficult to combine methods in the same research report and satisfy different audiences.

Within the Reactions to Crime Project the preliminary working papers reflect this same sharp dichotomy of separating the reporting of "soft" field research and the "hard" quantitative analysis of survey data. One should note, of course, that the form of the reporting of research is to large extent dependent upon its audience. Not only are there numerous audiences within the scholarly disciplines, but professionals, bureaucrats, policy makers, the media, and the public itself are all potential consumers of such research as well. The differential impact upon these varied audiences of research from different methods presented in different formats of reporting is an unexplored terrain. It is, however, a problem which the Reactions to Crime Project is only now beginning to confront.

Summary

Even the most cursory reading of the three substantive research volumes in the final report from the Reactions to Crime Project will illustrate that the various authors have shared methods and theoretical constructs in pursuing their own research interests. The field research forms the basis for most of the conclusions in Volume II, but the authors of Volumes I and III utilize this rich source of detailed information about community and organizational life in the project neighborhoods. Each of the three major reports draws upon the telephone surveys in the three cities and ten neighborhoods, although Volume I focuses upon the perceptions and behaviors of individuals in an urban setting. Volume V presents a detailed analysis of journalistic decision-making and the coverage of crime news in metropolitan newspapers, but the authors of Volume I examine the role of the media in

affecting fear of crime. Finally, virtually all researchers affiliated
with the project turned to the data on reported crime in the three
cities at one time or another, and most consulted prior surveys deal-
ing with crime and fear of crime.

The remaining chapters of this volume focus on the major sources
of data utilized by the Project. Chapter 2 describes the participant
observation phase of the project in ten urban neighborhoods. Chapter
3 presents brief profiles of the three cities and ten neighborhoods
in which the bulk of our research was conducted. These profiles are
primarily based on the field research, supplemented by some census data
and items from the telephone surveys. The telephone surveys are described
in detail in Chapter 4. This chapter includes discussions of within-
city sampling and general issues in survey methodology. A copy of the
survey instrument, and discussion of scales and scaling procedures are
included as appendices to this chapter. Chapter 5 presents a brief
description of the content analysis of metropolitan newspapers, and
includes a copy of the codebook used in this phase of the project.
Other sources of data used at various stages of the project are described
in Chapter 6. This chapter also presents brief descriptions of two
related research projects at the Center for Urban Affairs. Chapter 7
is a reflective summary of the Reactions to Crime Project, focusing on
the organizational, social, and political characteristics of this
large-scale project.

CHAPTER 2

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION METHODS

By

Michael G. Maxfield

Introduction: Overview of Reactions to Crime Project Field Research

> I had not accomplished what I set out to do, but this was
> only the first day. And, anyway, when I wrote up this
> experience that evening, I felt that it presented a fair-
> ly good picture of this young man and that most of the
> material was to the point. Tomorrow, I decided, I would
> go back to my original plan -- nothing had been lost.
> Tomorrow never came. (Liebow, 1967:238; describing his
> first day in the field)

The actual data collection of the Reactions to Crime Project began

with an extensive series of participant observation studies in several

neighborhoods in three cities. A number of different communities

were included in the initial phase of the field studies, but most in-

depth research was undertaken in three neighborhoods each in Phila-

delphia and San Francisco, and in four Chicago neighborhoods. Teams

of field workers and a field director operated in each city from

April 1976 through August 1977. The city directors maintained con-

tact with project headquarters at Northwestern in order to coordinate

activities in the field sites.

Research teams in each city employed a variety of methods to

observe, and to collect information about each of these neighborhoods.

Local knowledge about each area from resident scholars and community

leaders provided initial information about each site. Several dif-

ferent interview methods, ranging from notes about casual conversations

with acquaintances on the street, through more formal interviews with

systematically selected respondents and community leaders, were ex-

ploited to gain information. Special efforts were made to seek out

community leaders and other influential residents. Field workers also

attended meetings of local organizations and collected a series of

unobtrusive indicators relating to the physical and social character-

istics of the neighborhoods, demographic changes, patterns of street use, and more detailed information about local crime problems.

The initial goal was to define the boundaries of each neighborhood. This effort, described in more detail below, was begun by asking a variety of people what they considered their neighborhood boundaries to be. After defining neighborhood boundaries, detailed community profiles were developed including the following items:

- general problems in the neighborhood
- crime-related problems, general and specific
- mental maps of safe and dangerous areas
- identification of opinion leaders
- information about general and crime-specific community organizations
- assessment of relations with local police

Abbreviated versions of these community profiles are included as neighborhood ethnographies in Chapter 3 of this volume. After developing these initial profiles field workers attempted to assess longitudinal changes in these characteristics.

Field staff were instructed to pay particular attention to the specific crime issues most salient in each area, and to the activities of local community organizations. Regarding the former, field workers sought to identify crime issues as defined by local residents, and to determine which individual and group actors were involved in each issue. Information sought about community organizations included the following: geographical scope, specific activities, sources of funding, identification of leaders, size and composition of membership, affiliations with other groups, and interactions with police and other agencies.

These were the two principal foci of the participant observation phase of the project. The outcome of these and related field activities

is a vast collection of information which provides in-depth, street-level knowldege about neighborhood characteristics in three cities. The remainder of this chapter presents the general rationale for participant observation as a research method, describes the selection of the final ten neighborhoods in more detail, and outlines the general approach to the field research employed throughout the course of the project. Appendices to this chapter list the coding categories for indexing and cross-referencing the voluminous field notes which this activity produced, and present final reports from the field directors in two of the three cities.

Participant Observation as a Research Method

In their study of college students in a large midwestern university, Becker _et al_ define participant observation as:

> . . . observation conducted while participating, to a greater or lesser degree, in the lives of those studied. The participant observer follows those he studies through their daily round of life, seeing what they do, when, with whom and under what circumstances, and querying them about the meaning of their actions. In this way he builds up a body of field notes and interviews that come nearer than any other social science method to capturing patterns of collective action as they occur in real life. (1968: 13; emphasis added)

This is the research method employed in the initial phases of the Reactions to Crime Project. It is often used to examine social science questions about which little is known. The strengths of participant observation lie in the detailed knowledge which it provides of individuals and their social setting. Among the important weaknesses of this method may be problems with the validity and reliability of observations, and in a multi-site study such as the Reactions to Crime Project, comparability of the observations in different sites.

From the outset, the focus of this project has been the problem
of crime, together with individual and collective responses to crime,
in urban settings. As it developed, the participant observation phase
of the project came to concentrate on neighborhoods as units of analysis.
Field observations were undertaken to describe urban neighborhoods and
the individual city as contexts, and locality guided all subsequent data
collection and most of the analysis reported in Volumes II and III
of this Final Report.

Furthermore, as implied in the definition of participant obser-
vation by Becker et al cited above, this method is particularly well-
suited to examining collective action. Volume I and parts of Volume
II use data from the telephone surveys to describe the differences
between individuals who do and do not participate in community organi-
zations. In contrast, surveys are not the most appropriate method for
obtaining detailed information about the groups themselves. Since
the project has focused on neighborhood responses to crime, and neigh-
borhood based community organizations, participant observation with
neighborhoods as the primary unit of analysis was the research method
of choice.

Under the general label of "participant observation" are a variety
of possible data collection strategies, ranging from undirected un-
systematic observations to in-depth formal interviews, the latter
closely resembling survey methods in its use of a structured question-
naire. In the early stages of the RTC project there was greatest
support for the former mode of field research. This was primarily
because of the dearth of knowledge about neighborhood crime problems
and neighborhood-based responses to crime. Douglas (1976) describes

similar reasons why, in a study of drug-crisis treatment centers, he opted for direct observation of clinics rather than the use of questionnaire items. This relates to a fundamental weakness of survey methods in exploratory studies in that questionnaires can only measure concepts that have been clearly thought out and articulated in advance. In this context, the field research conducted by the Reactions to Crime Project was not only exploratory in seeking to gain information about crime as an urban and neighborhood problem, but was also helpful in designing questionnaire items for subsequent use in the telephone survey. More directly, the field research was used to guide queries about groups, and interpretation of survey questions that asked respondents to name organizations with which they were involved.

The field work did not concentrate on focused interviews, or standard "shopping lists" of information to be obtained from each neighborhood, but formal interviews and some uniform data gathering guidelines were sometimes used. One of the advantages of participant observation research is its flexibility in employing a variety of information-gathering devices, and being able to adapt to changing situations and the new knowledge which is gained from the research site. "Field method is more like an umbrella of activity beneath which any technique may be used for gaining the desired information, and for processes of thinking about this information." (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973:14). Becker (1958) stresses that field work is sequential, in which early observations inform subsequent field research. The state of relative ignorance about the phenomena under study is hopefully supplanted with new knowledge gained from early experiences in the field. Research methods are modified accordingly; unproductive

areas of inquiry are dropped; new directions are explored. In this sense, analysis of field work is being conducted while observation is still under way. Analysis of the field work in progress can change the direction of later observations.

Glaser (1965) has termed this approach to field work as the constant comparative method. This method lies between the two extremes of field research. The constant comparative method involves inductive hypothesis generation in the early stages of research, and the coding of field notes and hypothesis testing in later stages. There are four stages to the constant comparative method as outlined by Glaser, beginning with the comparative evaluation of field observations and ultimately producing a theory which may itself be subjected to further analysis at some later stage. This design guided the initial phases of the field work and selection of neighborhoods, and contributed to the coding and analysis of field observations and survey items alike.

In utilizing this method of research, the Reactions to Crime Project took advantage of its strengths and suffered from its weaknesses. Foremost among the former is the detailed knowledge of research sites which such a flexible design affords. This benefit is not costless; particularly in a multi-site study such as the RTC project, there are problems with the comparability of field observations across research sites.

The field observations were begun by developing field workers, primarily undergraduate and graduate students from various universities in the project cities, in the general areas selected for preliminary analysis. The two summaries of field work prepared by city directors in Chicago and Philadelphia which are included as appendices to this

chapter, describe the assignment of field workers to different areas in their respective cities in more detail.

At first, field workers were given only the most general guidance on what kinds of information their activities were expected to produce. City directors and the central project staff were involved in recruiting field workers and in describing the goals of the RTC project. The field staff was instructed to learn all they could about the problem of crime in their neighborhood. Among the information gathering devices employed were street observations of the social and physical characteristics of neighborhoods. The former consisted of informal activity surveys where the number and activities of various individuals observed in the neighborhood were noted. Descriptions of the physical characteristics of neighborhoods included a general assessment of the types and quality of residential and commercial structures, and more specific descriptions of particular blocks, dwelling units, commercial establishments, and other physical features of the areas. In most sites these activities were supplemented with "man-on-the-street" interviews with area residents.

Neighborhood collective responses to crime problems were of particular interest for the project, and much of the participant observation activity sought information on local groups. Field workers attended the meetings of neighborhood organizations, conducted formal and informal interviews with group leaders, and utilized other sources of information about group activities, membership, and organization. Early in the course of the project, senior research staff decided to restrict their attention to neighborhood-based groups. While this decision was consistent with the locality focus of the project as a whole, it naturally

restricts the kinds of generalizations which can be made about organized responses to crime problems. This problem is perhaps most acute in San Francisco where the city-wide SAFE project was initiated during our field work. Although field workers obtained information about Project SAFE in the RTC neighborhoods, little was learned about their city-wide activities.

In the Fall of 1976, at about the midpoint in the participant observation phase of the research, field manuals and various question-naires were developed by the central project staff in an effort to obtain some similar types of information about crime issues and group activities in the various neighborhoods. This reflects the sequential development of field research as described by Becker (1958) and Glaser (1965), by which information obtained in the early stages of field research informs subsequent analysis. As described in the city director summaries in appendices to this chapter, this activity met with mixed results. Having grown accustomed to the freedom which the participant observation method provides, field workers in some sites felt the development of field work manuals and similar instruments for information gathering constituted an imposition on their own activities in the field sites.

The principal product of the participant observation phase of the project is a very extensive set of field notes, some 10,000 pages for the 18 sites shown in Table 1. These notes were filed serially, and later coded and cross indexed for subsequent analysis.

As noted in the city director summaries, and in Chapter 7 of this volume, there was some level of uncertainty and anxiety among the field workers throughout the participant observation phase of the project.

Many were uncomfortable with the freedom and lack of direction on what kinds of activities they were to observe, and what kinds of information to record. Am I observing the right kinds of actions? Should I be somewhere else? Should I be talking to more people? Have I spent enough time talking to people on this block? Should I impose more structure on the types of questions I ask? Have I talked to the leaders of the most important organizations in the neighborhood? These and countless other questions troubled all field workers at some point. While these problems have characterized the best examples of participant observation research (cf, Whyte, 1955; Gans, 1967; Liebow, 1967), they seemed particularly acute in the Reactions to Crime Project. There are probably several reasons for this, including the unique and often intractable problems of this type of research in multiple sites, characteristics of some of the field staff themselves, and the general supervision of field activities.

The fact that the participant observation phase of the project was originally conceived as a multi-city, multi-neighborhood study created several problems from the beginning. The first and probably most obvious of these was related to the organization and administration of several field workers in three cities. Douglas (1976) describes the organizational problems of team field research as no different from those of other types of large-scale organizations engaged in entrepre-neurial activity. This is due to the inherently countervailing pressures for coordination of the research effort as a whole, and for independent activity and initiative on the part of individual entrepreneurs or field workers. Not surprisingly, the problems created by ambiguity in all participant observation research are especially troublesome for a multi-site study.

Another fundamental problem with multi-site field research is the comparability of observations and recorded data from different neighborhoods. This issue is itself exacerbated by the acknowledged strength of field work, the built-in provision to adapt the research to idiosyncratic variations in the site. The goal of participant observation studies is to obtain a detailed understanding of the research site. As implied above, this often requires changing research methods in midstream, and obtaining information on key individuals or groups which do not play important roles in other sites. This strength of the field research itself may reduce the extent to which observations in different sites can be compared. The strategy is to learn as much as possible about the field site, using whatever methods are deemed necessary, without regard for ensuring that one's own observations are directly comparable to the observations of other field workers in other sites.

This is the field worker's perspective. Field directors and analysts may have different perspectives. The outcome is that whatever comparative analysis is to be forthcoming must be the product of the analyst who sifts through the notes from all sites and compares the detailed observations contained therein. In other words, the analyst must treat the field notes produced from each site as detailed, though idiosyncratic information on each neighborhood. He must substitute the field notes for direct experience. Given this detailed information, the next task becomes one of comparing different sites, or using something like the constant comparative method in a cross-sectional rather than a longitudinal or sequential sense to develop an inductive theory of neighborhood as a locus for

action against crime. Whatever structure or uniform comparisons exist
are imposed post hoc by the analyst. This is obviously different from
the approach which says that the best way to do comparative analysis is
to adhere to rigid set of rules and procedures to ensure that observations
across units are comparable. Comparative qualitative research of this
type depends upon the thoroughness of field workers and the intellect
of the analyst to pull it all together using whatever methods of coding,
filing, and cross referencing are most useful.

The problem of making sense out of the field observations once they
are recorded is not restricted to large-scale, multi-site studies. The
authors of participant observation studies of a single site describe
the effort involved in making sense out of a voluminous collection of
field notes. The approach to this problem utilized in the Reactions to
Crime Project has been to develop a detailed coding scheme for each page
of field notes. These coding categories are presented in Appendix A,
below. Analysis of the field observations in other volumes of this
Report have drawn upon this coding scheme.

Given that there was some distance between the production and the
analysis of the field notes, the quality of the notes themselves becomes
very important. It appears from the comments of field directors in two
cities that the quality varied from field worker to field worker. This
produces further difficulties in assessing the comparability of the
notes from different sites.

Site Selection

Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco were selected because they
satisfy a variety of theoretical, geographical and practical concerns.

San Francisco is reported to have a high crime rate while its residents report generally low fear of crime. In addition to its being a far Western city, it was practical for our research team to work in because of our previous experience there, general knowledge of the city, and working relationships with personnel from Berkeley and Stanford Universities. Philadelphia has a low crime rate, but crime has been an important political issue. It is an Eastern city, and two members of the research team from Temple University have working relationships with and knowledge of many organizations and communities in the city. Chicago, besides being in the heartland of the nation is characterized by moderate levels of crime and fear. Members of our research team have working knowledge and relationships in many communities and organizations.

The criteria for selecting cities were relatively straightforward, and the delimitation of the boundaries of these three cities was itself unambiguous. Identifying neighborhoods was more problematic, and the boundaries of some areas were uncertain until development of the telephone survey instrument forced closure on the debate. This is reflected in the two city field director reports where one detects frustration with the lengthy process of neighborhood definition and site selection. This fundamental problem has troubled other researchers adopting the participant observation method to their research on urban neighborhoods. Whyte (1955) and Liebow (1967) describe their difficulties in identifying "Cornerville" and what was to become Tally's Corner.

Preliminary site selection was accomplished through visits of at least two researchers to each of the three cities. These visits included informal tours of neighborhoods guided by knowledgeable residents

in each city. A two-pronged approach was taken toward final site
selection, one utilizing census data, and the other a panel of "experts"
in each city.

Our selection of relevant criteria was guided by these general con-
siderations: (1) the major focus of the project revolves around the
complex interrelationships among information, community dynamics and
collective and individual responses to crime; (2) the primitive state
of knowledge in this field and our research interests require the case
study approach; (3) due to the limited number of areas which can be
studied, the criteria involved in site selection need to be limited in
number.

One of the major factors to be considered was the existence or non-
existence of a community crime prevention program or organization.
These organizations might differ markedly according to whether they were
initiated by "top-down money" (e.g., LEAA), by the police, whether they
were self-initiated or were already in existence but previously focused
on non-crime issues. Absence of such an organization doesn't necessarily
mean that there are no crime prevention activities in the area. There
might be apathy and anomie and therefore inaction, but there may also
be informal networks operating in such a way that there was no necessity
for a formal organization.

Although additional factors were thought to be relevant, it was
agreed that probably the most important source of variation within a
given city is the general social class of the residents.
Thus, census income data, and presence or absence of formal crime pre-
vention organizations were used as the basic criteria for selection.
Other demographic,organizational,and social data (especially race,

FIGURE 1

SITES SELECTED FOR FIELDWORK

	Lower/Working Class Crime Prevention Organization	Lower/Working Class No Crime Prevention Organization	Middle Class Crime Prevention Organization	Middle Class No Crime Prevention Organization
CHICAGO	*WOODLAWN – B+ *BACK OF THE YARDS – WO *WICKER PARK – M+	NORTH OF HOWARD – M+	*LINCOLN PARK – WO	NORWOOD PARK – WL
PHILADELPHIA	*LOGAN-OLNEY – MO KENSINGTON – WO	*WEST PHILADELPHIA – WO *S. PHILADELPHIA – B+	W. MT. AIRY – WO QUEEN VILLAGE – MO	FOX CHASE – WL
SAN FRANCISCO	BERNAL HEIGHTS – MO	*MISSION – MO FILLMORE – B+ HUNTER'S POINT – B+	*VISITACION VALLEY – M+	*SUNSET – WL

RACE
B = Black
W = White
M = Mixed

PERCEIVED CRIME
+ = High
0 = Neutral
L = Low

*Sites retained throughout fieldwork and telephone survey.

formal service agencies, local media and perceived crime) were secondary

criteria used to select the specific study areas from among census

tracts which qualified according to the initial criteria. These included,

for example, some areas where the residents were predominantly Black,

some where the residents were predominantly White, and a few where there

was a racial mix.

Because local history, folklore, recent events, and a host of

other information is not captured in census data, we employed additional

selection criteria. For example, not all areas were easily accessible,

or amenable to research. Therefore, we informed knowledgeable persons

in each city about our study and invited them to participate in an

advisory capacity during the process of final site selection.

Based upon the above criteria eighteen sites were selected for

more intensive fieldwork. Figure 1 presents a classification of these

neighborhoods. Almost twice as many potential sites within each city

were explored in initial fieldwork, for which we compiled preliminary

profiles.

Due to a variety of factors even these eighteen sites were ultimately

whittled down to the ten neighborhoods that became the focus of the

research. The factors involved in reducing the number of sites in-

cluded: the constraints of time, money, and personnel; problems in

access; incorrect initial characterization of neighborhoods that was

only realized after more intensive fieldwork; and duplication in types

of areas that on a cost/benefit basis were producing little new know-

ledge for the effort involved. Complete and systematic analysis of

both the field and survey data was carried out on these ten neighborhoods.

However, insights gained from field research conducted in the sites that

were dropped did filter into the ongoing data collection of the remaining ten sites.

APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF CODING CATEGORIES
FOR FIELD NOTES OF THE RTC PROJECT

Description of Coding Categories
FOR FIELD NOTES

I. Identification of Notes

1. Page number: The first digit of the number identifies the city, the second digit identifies the site.

   Meetings
2. Community organization, crime related meeting: A meeting within the site, held by a community organization, which has been called to discuss a particular crime problem.
3. Community organization, non-crime related meeting: A meeting within the site, held by a community organization, not called for the specific purpose of discussing a crime problem.
4. In community, non-community organization, crime related meeting: The responses anticipated here would be those meetings called by the police, alderman, schools, etc., to discuss a crime problem.
5. Not in community, crime related meeting: Same as above, except that the meeting was not held in the community site.

   Interviews
6. Community organizer: usually the organizer of a community group.
7. Community organization leader, active staff: Here will be entered interviews with leaders of community organizations, influential staff of organizations.
8. Community organization participant: self-explanatory.
9. Community resident, not in community organization: This will typically be an interview conducted with a resident informally on the street, in a store, etc.
10. Police: self-explanatory.
11. Local business person: self-explanatory.
12. Officials: This will be interviews with government officials, aldermen, school principals.
13. Other

14. Archival: Here will be coded pages which contain material copied from books, journals, copies of maps, historical data, census data, reports, brochures, etc.

15. Observation: This category will be used when a field worker walks through the site, observes in a restaurant, store, library, park, etc.

II. Content of Notes

16. Community-social: This category involves descriptions of social aspects of the area. It does not include purely physical descriptions of the area. It includes characterizations of the types of people who reside here, references to racial composition of the area, and other general characteristics of community thought to be relevant and not coded elsewhere.
17. Community housing/land values: This category involves references to property values, abandoned or deteriorating housing, efforts to upgrade housing or property, vacant lots, property taxes, the actions of financial institutions and insurance companies, redlining, land and housing speculation. Also included here will be all references to type and condition of housing in the area.

18. Community-political: This category refers to the relationship of the site, its organizations and residents, to the political organization of the city or to city politics. References to city politics in general should be coded under #29.

19. Community change: This category involves references to changes, physical or social, within an area. References to flight, residents leaving the area, go here.

Community crime
20. Reputation: This category involves references to the crime reputation of the community or to dangerous or troublesome areas in the community.
21. General: References to crime in general in the community ("Crime has increased all over this neighborhood."). Also code here items about crime not coded elsewhere appropriately.
22. Importance of crime issues: Any references to the importance the crime issue holds for those in the community.

Community organizations
23. Structure, history: This category is for the non-crime centered activities of all organizations. This includes those organizations which are usually primarily crime-centered, organizations that deal from time to time with crime problems, and all general focus community organizations. Here will be coded information about the structure, hierarchy, officers, membership, history, etc., of all organizations.
24. Activities of: This category involves the general activities of all organizations, the goals of these activities, actions taken (but not crime actions).
25. Evaluations of: This involves evaluations of the success or failure of an organization's activities, specific "success stories", discrepancies between what an organization claims to have accomplished and assessments of actual accomplishments.
26. Type of people who participate: Here will be coded any assessments about the type of person who participates, or does not participate, in an organization's activities in general or specific characterizations of an organization's participants.
27. Future use.
28. Future use.

29. City politics: This category involves references to the politics or politicians of the city, the political atmosphere, references to crime as it relates to city politics. Specific references to the relationship of a site to the politics of the city should be coded, however, under #18.

30. Institutions: This category involves information about social institutions. Most centrally it will include schools and churches. Other examples would be hospitals, Boy's Clubs, Boy or Girl Scouts within the local service area. Do not code mere lists of names or people associated with these however, (these may be archival in nature) only references of a more useful informational character.

Government services
31. General: This involves comments on, or descriptions of, services provided by local, state, or federal government to a site, the level of services provided.
32. Evaluation of quality of service: Here will be references to the quality or lack of these services.

Law Enforcement
33. Police patrolling/enforcement behavior: This category involves descriptions of general police patrolling or enforcement behavior, patterns of behavior. Do not include mere references to the presence of police car by the field worker.
34. Police-community relations/crime prevention services: What is wanted here are descriptions of activities engaged in by police on a community relations level or as part of their efforts at crime prevention. Examples would be periodic meetings held with police, police giving instructions on crime prevention techniques.
35. Police evaluations of collective crime programs/actions: This involves officers' assessments of the success, failure, or necessity for programs or actions taken collectively against a specific crime or an area crime problem in general.
36. General evaluations of police by citizens: self-explanatory.
37. Private police/security forces: References to activities or problems of private security guards, store security personnel, etc.
38. CRJ system, general descriptive: This category involves references to the operation or structure of the criminal justice system, the courts, judges, prisons, etc.
39. CRJ system, evaluations of: Evaluations of the effectiveness or non-effectiveness, legitimacy of, etc. all parts of the criminal justice system.
40. Future use

41. Media references: This involves the media as a source of information on crime, and comments on the media's treatment of crime and crime stories.

Crime identification
42. Specific crime: Here will be coded information about actual incidents and descriptive details.
43. Victim ID: Identification of the victim or victims of a specific crime.
44. Perpetrator ID: Identification of the perpetrator of the crime. Respondent reports of who the perpetrator was should be treated as fact, even if they are surmising the person was a "drug addict" or a racial characterization, without the interpretation of the field worker or codes.

45. Victimization experiences: This involves personal victimization only or household victimization, such as burglary or vandalism. References to victimization of other members of the household or acquaintances, belong under #42 & 43.

46. <u>Theory of crime</u>: This category involves identifying respondents conceptions about the nature of crime in their environment. The coding should identify statements which suggest the relationship between perpetrators and victims on social or economic factors, relationships between the criminal justice system or other institutions and the criminal environment.

47. <u>Consequences of crime</u>: This involves references to the costs of crime, what it does to a neighborhood or persons.

48. <u>Flow of information/interpersonal communications</u>: The way in which people communicate crime information and stories among themselves. It involves person to person communication, rumors, etc., go under #29 if by a political figure, #34 if by police, under #65 if by a group, etc.

49. <u>Non-site crime</u>: Characterizations of the criminal environment which extend clearly beyond the community area. Most common here might be characterizations of the criminal environment of the city, comments on the over all crime problem across the country or in other cities or neighborhoods.

50. <u>Civility</u>: This category involves those activities or issues which are related to the "crime problem" but which are objectively quite minor crimes. This includes such issues as alcohol, littering, congregating on corners, insults, life style conflicts, too much noise, etc. It does not include drug use, which will be coded by itself in #52.

51. Comments on home, business, or apartment building fires, the possibility or fact of arson, and the arson problem in general in the community.

52. <u>Drug disorders</u>: This category will include references to drug use, drug-related disorders, results of drug use, etc.

53. Dispute settling activities: This category involves the settling of a problem between two individuals or some institution or organization. Usually it will involve a single person being helped by an individual or group of individuals. Examples would be helping a senior citizen with a problem with a local contractor or bill collector, aiding a community citizen with a dispute with one of the utility services, helping get heat from a landlord, etc.

Youth
54. Attitudes toward youth: This category will include attitudes toward youth, since youth seem to be a major source of concern among citizens.
55. Youth behavior related to non-crime disorders: This involves descriptions of activities of youth which respondents report as being troublesome or about which they complain, or the field worker's observations about youth's "disorderly activities."
56. Gangs/attitudes toward gangs: This category involves both the description of activities and attitudes towards gangs: Whether the persons being described are gang members or not, what should be coded is respondents' perceptions that the persons or activities are gang-related.

Individual crime behavior

57. Protective behavior: This involves measures individuals take to protect themselves or their families, such as purchase of new locks, burglar bars, carrying a weapon, closing a store early, leaving lights on, learning self-defense, etc. When a respondent indicates that he/she takes no special measures, this lack of action should be coded as a behavior also.

58. Avoidance behavior: This category involves decisions about the use of the city and its streets. It involves staying in at night, avoiding certain areas, staying off public transportation, etc. Again, as indicated directly above, refusal to take any avoidance measures should also be coded.

59. Participation in informal action: This category involves descriptions of informal actions, such as calls to the police, letter writing, informal meeting with neighbors, watching neighbor's home, that are not part of a program of formal collective action.

60. General crime behavior: This category is meant to serve as a residual category for descriptions of individual actions which do not fit within the above categories.

61. Type of people who participate in collective or community action: This category is meant for descriptions of those people or types of people who participate in collective action. Also, coded here should be characterizations of those types of people who don't participate.

62. Future use.

63. Future use.

Collective crime behavior

64. Informal actions of groups of people or community organizations: This category involves informal actions only, taken by a group or by a group's representative. Examples are letter writing, pressuring a merchant to cooperate with police, agreement to burn outside light, etc.

65. Organized actions of community organizations: Here is where formal actions will be coded, programs or hearings or meetings described, actions planned or discussed.

66. Non-community group crime program: This category involves descriptions of activities or programs related to crime which are initiated by those other than community groups. Examples would be a beat-rep program, police-initiated crime prevention programs, school programs aimed at gang or youth group activities.

67. Evaluation of/attitudes toward collective crime behavior: This category involves respondents attitudes toward the actions taken against crime by an organization; or attitudes or evaluations of the program itself. Respondents may include ordinary citizens, organization members, police, officials, etc.

68. Future use.

69. Future use.

Individual psychological reactions

70. Fear of crime: This involves emotions expressing fear of crime or being a victim of crime.

71. Helplessness: All that is sought here are expressions by respondents of feelings or perceptions of helplessness to deter crime, protect oneself from it, change one's situation.

72. Other emotions toward crime: A residual category, for those reactions which do not fit directly above, such as anger, apathy, resignation, over-reactions.

73. Perceived risks to self: This category involves a respondent's assessment of the danger he or she faces concerning the crime problem or a crime issue. Characterizations regarding the risks or dangers to the neighborhood or community or others should be coded under #20; risks to society in general would go under #49.

74. Future use.

75. Future use.

APPENDIX B

BACKGROUND REPORT
ON FIELD WORK ACTIVITIES
IN PHILADELPHIA

REACTIONS TO CRIME PROJECT

Charles D. Watts

I. Biographical Sketches of Field Workers and Directors

At the first team meeting the two field directors and the six field workers discussed general strategies for doing field work. All agreed that the first few days in each site should be spent observing overall features, noting patterns of interaction, and engaging in general conversations with anybody willing to talk. It was decided to avoid raising the issue of crime unless the local resident brought it up.

During these first few weeks in the field the major purpose of the field notes was to gather sufficient information to compile a profile of each site. Since it had not been determined at that time (late May, 1976) exactly how many sites would be thoroughly worked in each city, our decision was to get as large a selection of sites as feasible. Then we would have sites representing different racial compositions, income levels, degrees of organizations to select from when final site selections were made. This would also facilitate the matching of sites in Philadelphia with those in Chicago and San Francisco.

Initial field work assignments were: Kensington, a white working class neighborhood with a rather visible umbrella type organization; South Philadelphia, a large racially mixed, and, at first, ill defined expanse of area south of center city Philadelphia; West Philadelphia, a large area of predominantly Black residents west of the Schuylkill River; Logan, an ethnically and racially mixed area of north-central Philadelphia; and Fox Chase, a small, white middle class neighborhood in the northeast section of the city. Full time field work continued in these sites for about three weeks to a month when community profiles were written for each.

By early June the field staff had grown to include two additional Black field workers, both were college students and one was a resident of West Philadelphia. They began field work in North Philadelphia, an all Black area immediately north and west of the Temple University campus.

By the time a meeting of the research council was held in Chicago in mid-July the following sites had been profiled: Fox Chase, Logan, Kensington, West Mt. Airy, West Philadelphia, East Mt. Airy, North Philadelphia, South Philadelphia, Manayunk, Queen Village, and Oxford Circle. From this group, Fox Chase, Kensington, West Philadelphia, South Philadelphia, Logan, West Mt. Airy, and Queen Village were selected by the research council in Evanston as the sites upon which intensive field work would be concentrated for the next year.

After site selections were made it was decided that each site should be covered by a single field worker. Throughout the summer the field work activities had been very unstructured. Field workers concentrated on getting to know the physical layouts of their sites and made some initial attempts at locating visible community leaders and organizations. It was discovered that most of the local organizations, whether crime related or not, had very few activities or meetings during the summer months.

During August the field work came pretty much to a standstill, due to changeover in field workers. Since we had decided to try to hire students as field workers during the school year, no further effort was made to hire new team members until the fall semester began in mid-September. For the month of September data collection fell to a near zero level. Only one field worker actually was in a site until the last of the month and he was having some difficulties, both philosophical and logistical, in collecting

the data. Around the middle of the month a mimeographed notice was posted

at various spots throughout the Temple and University of Pennsylvania campuses.

This notice gave a little information about the project and invited students

interested in working on it to call the field director. This notice resulted

in fifty to sixty applicants for the five part-time field work positions

that had been decided upon. In discussing staffing needs, the field di-

rectors could adequately cover the seven sites.

From the vantage point of September 26, 1976, all systems appeared to

be "go" for the collection of the field data. As it turned out, such was

not to be the case. The first problem appeared on the morning of September

27 when the first full meeting of the new team was held. Two members could

not attend due to class conflicts. Such conflicts plagued the team throughout

the fall. At no time was the entire team assembled for a general meeting.

At the first meeting site assignments were given, new team members were

briefed on note-taking procedures, and each new field worker was given a com-

munity profile of his or her site. All team members were to be in their sites

that afternoon and report periodically to the field director if problems or

questions arose. The next general meeting was scheduled for the following

Monday at 10 A.M.

Problems began cropping up immediately - one field worker could not locate

West Mt. Airy; one faced some initial anti-Hispanic prejudice in Kensington;

one approached his assignment with social worker zeal for nice, neatly

packaged solutions. Of the new team only one had no preconceptions and no

real problems. She plunged into unknown (to her) South Philadelphia and began

talking to anyone available. A quick review of the field notes for the entire

period from September to the following August will show that she, above all,

was pheonomenally successful.

By the second week in October, one field worker had to leave the project because of a heavy course load. The one field worker still had not been able to find West Mt. Airy. She was also heavily involved in her field placement assignment (a required part of her coursework) and after two weeks association with the project had been unable to do any field work - she was "not working out" and was dropped from the team. One field worker was transferred from Fox Chase to Kensington. He had received a field placement assignment at a community center in that site and was needed to take up where the other field worker had been unable to penetrate the wall of ethnic prejudice of Kensington.

The West Philadelphia field worker did well for a couple of weeks, but had to resign from the project to take a full time job. There were fewer and fewer field notes and contacts from two workers and by the middle of November it was evident to the field director that they were having difficulties maintaining their commitments to both the project and their responsibilities as students. Neither had produced any appreciable amount of field notes in several months and both were removed from the project payroll. A quote from the field director's bi-weekly report of November 15, 1976 sums up the situation: "It seems that part-time field workers, i.e. those spending twenty or fewer hours in the field each week have some difficulty maintaining a commitment to the project." This problem had, by the middle of November, reduced the team to three. The field notes from Kensington had been only a trickle from the beginning and by this time had virtually ceased to be forthcoming. He also occasionally spent time in Fox Chase but it was apparent by this time that his course load and student commitment seriously interfered with his time to do field work.

A major breakthrough occurred during November when the research council decided, after consultation with the field directors, to reduce the number of sites in each city to four. The sites retained in Philadelphia were: South Philadelphia, Logan, Fox Chase, and West Philadelphia. There had been constant field work in South Philadelphia since September. Fox Chase had received intermittent coverage through the fall. But West Philadelphia and Logan were left virtually untouched during that period. A succession of field workers had been unable to spend any appreciable amount of time in the sites and field notes for this period (September through November) had been few and far between. Along with the reduction in the number of sites, a decision was made to hire one full time field worker to spend forty hours per week in each site. The field director placed an ad in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin in late November and after interviewing more than thirty applicants hired two. One joined the project right after Thanksgiving and began working in Logan immediately.

The other, a black twenty-five year old female, was associated with the West Philadelphia Association at the time she joined the project. She was to receive her bachelor's degree in Human Services from Antioch College in January, 1977. She conducted two interviews during her brief stay with the project, but by mid-December persistent problems had severely limited her usefulness to the project. She was discontinued.

A new field worker joined the project after Christmas, she was a doctoral student in sociology at Temple. She began interviewing in Logan and West Philadelphia in January, 1977. Within a month she was devoting all of her field work time to West Philadelphia.

So with the new year came a new approach to the project. We now had three full time field workers in addition to the field director and were finally prepared to begin concentrating on each site forty hours per week. The team remained the same for the rest of the data collection period. With the stability and commitment made possible by a manageable number of sites and full time workers, data collection increased dramatically and real progress was made. The fall months had certainly been a learning experience in how not to run a research project. And the spring and summer of 1977 would show how a small group of dedicated full time workers could accomplish what part-time student workers were either unable or unwilling to do.

General Calendar of Fieldwork Progress

Site		1976								1977						
	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Fox Chase		CW			BC				IS,CW				IS		LK	
South Philadelphia	IS	EZ							IS							
Kensington		EC				BL BC **										
Logan		EZ			CR			DR				HG				
W. Mt. Airy			CW		CR **											
E. Mt. Airy			RW **													
Queen Village			CW		CW,GC		**									
West Philadelphia	RW,GC,PM			CW,GC	DCL,RW			EW				DR				
North Philadelphia			PM,GC **													
Oxford Circle			EC **													
Manayunk			LK **													

KEY

_____ Full time coverage

_ _ _ Part time coverage

** Dropped from project (Under month dropped)

Initials stand for field workers

II. Styles of Fieldwork

A. General Characteristics

Throughout the entire data collection process all field notes in Phila-
delphia were written and typed by each fieldworker. (With one notable ex-
ception - one could not type, so her notes were typed from her written
copies by a part-time typist hired for that purpose.) Most field workers
jotted brief notes during conversations with informants. When the interview
or meeting was over the fieldworker then wrote as nearly a verbatim report
as could be reconstructed. In some instances, i.e. when an informant was
very reluctant to talk if notes were being taken, the field worker used no
aids at all and then wrote the notes from memory later. This happened mostly
during the early months of field work (summer, 1976) and in dealing with
certain informants in the Logan site. No one in Fox Chase, South Philadelphia
or West Philadelphia objected to the field worker's taking notes during in-
dividual interviews or organizational meetings.

Only once, on an experimental basis, was a tape recorder used; and this
was not during a conversation with an informant. Early in the summer of 1976
one field worker tried dictating his field notes onto tape and then trans-
cribing them. He found this to be much more time consuming than writing the
notes and then typing them. No one else ever tried it.

At one time during the first summer an attempt was made to use a some-
what structured questionnaire. The form contained the names of various sections
of Philadelphia and asked respondents to rate the areas from 1 (very safe)
to 5 (very dangerous). Follow-up questions attempted to elicit information
about why the respondents had made these ratings and what they thought could
be done about solving the crime problem. Several hundred of these forms were

completed in the various sites but no analysis was ever done on them.

At the beginning of the field work all field workers, being somewhat unsure of themselves and their purpose, identified themselves as students working on a project at Temple University. If pressed, field workers would identify the purpose of the project in some very general way, i.e. 'finding out what people think are problems for their community," "what should be done about community problems or crime,' etc. Only in response to a direct question about the funding source would a field worker identify LEAA - and this happened only on half a dozen occasions. To ease any possible problems for field workers, when the team began interviewing, each was given a letter of identification typed on Temple University stationery to show skeptical respondents. The letter explained the project briefly and referred the reader to the field director if any problems or questions arose. Included were the field director's name, office and telephone numbers. Throughout the entire field work process these letters were needed in no more than a dozen instances and the field director received only one telephone call to verify the field worker's purpose.

In the beginning all field workers were primed about the need for total confidentiality and the assurances about it they could give to their respondents. An initial coding system was devised so that names of respondents were concerned about confidentiality. In fact, many, especially in South Philadelphia, wanted it known who they were and what they said. The only sites in which confidentiality was a persistent issue were Logan and in some rare instances West Philadelphia. It never really came up in Fox Chase or South Philadelphia.

B. Variations Among Field Workers

One field worker approached her site (South Philadelphia) by subway, got off and started talking! It worked miraculously. She speaks with a noticeable European accent and this seemed, in many cases, to be a real asset to her. She appears as a smiling, innocent, and very disarming person. As a result most people she approached poured out their life story to her. She had almost total access to organizations she had identified in her site and attended many meetings, both during the day and at night.

She spent an average of three or four days per week in her site for the entire year that she worked for the project. Undesirable weather conditions and a protracted transportation strike cramped her style occasionally but for the most part she was in South Philadelphia.

She identified scores of small organizations of various types. With very few exceptions she was on a familiar basis with at least the group's officers, usually also some of the members. She attended meetings regularly, went on field trips with some, and even joined several crime watch patrols with two CB radio clubs she contacted.

She had no problems in gathering data. She seemed to have achieved a rapport with her informants such that they shared with her whatever information she requested. She was asked for very few favors and she didn't really promise anybody anything. Occasionally she would help a group by editing a press release or letter. In some cases the only thing they asked was that she attend meetings, which she did gladly. She showed no personal tensions or difficulties in doing her job. She had perseverance and a commitment to doing what she was asked to do. As a result she collected a large volume of detailed field notes.

Another field worker approached his site (Logan) with some apprehension and caution. He had no real clear understanding of the project's purpose when he began work and had also been told of the difficulty earlier field workers had encountered in getting cooperation from some of the visible leaders in the area. About a week after joining the project he rented a small apartment in Logan and thus gave himself the legitimacy of being both a resident and a researcher interested in Logan. Since he lived in his site he spent most of his time from January to August, 1977 there.

After several days of getting acquainted with the area he began talking with shopkeepers, residents, and clergymen in Logan. Through these contacts he was able to piece together the basic frame of the communication network used by the Ad Hoc Committee. This organization was the most visible and active in the site and its leadership had been reluctant to cooperate with the project from the very beginning. By making discreet inquiries and patiently attempting and waiting to make personal contact with the director of the Ad Hoc Committee, he eventually (after about a month) succeeded in talking with him and obtaining his cooperation in the research.

After the coup with Ad Hoc he had virtually unlimited access to the various committees and subgroups which comprised this umbrella type organization. He attended senate meetings, committee meetings, and meetings of other semi-autonomous groups which were also represented in Ad Hoc. His data gathering problems were initial - once he had cracked Ad Hoc he had no further major problems.

In addition to working with the organization he also frequented a local tavern. This establishment was a hangout for local old timers and their offspring. From his conversations with people here he was able to construct

their version of what had happened to Logan and the role the Ad Hoc Committee had played in it. These people definitely saw things differently from the members of AHC and the balance of view that he was able to provide through his notes was a valuable addition to the data.

He assured all of his informants complete confidentiality. He developed an elaborate coding system to mask his respondents' identity. He did feel a certain tension about revealing this code to the research council and felt that any further field work in Logan should not be commenced without his knowledge and consultation. He also promised the leadership at AHC that any final reports or recommendations which resulted from the research would be made available to them.

The third field worker it was thought initially, would be operating at a serious disadvantage, i.e. being white in a predominantly black site (West Philadelphia.) The race issue surfaced overtly on only one occasion, but it is of course impossible to determine to what extent her whiteness affected her respondents' willingness to talk with her and to reveal certain types of information. She spent two or three days a week in West Philadelphia, talking with organization leaders and attending meetings. She did not conduct random interviews on the streets in her site, but restricted her activities to contacts at the organizational level. Nevertheless she was able to collect a considerable quantity of data on the type and level of neighborhood organization in West Philadelphia. She had no particular problems of access, other than as mentioned above, and was generally well received at the meetings she attended.

She was frequently asked about the usefulness of the project. She always responded to such questions in all honesty - that it was difficult to

predict exactly what results of the research could benefit the community. She assured all who questioned her that all interviews were confidential and that any reports or recommendations which resulted from the research would be made available to local residents and organizations. She also helped several of the groups in small ways while she worked in her site. She helped with the distribution of literature, made phone calls to remind members of meetings, and presented a talk on social institutions at the request of a youth halfway house.

She also felt uneasy about revealing the coding system she devised for her informants. She seemed to feel a personal responsibility for protecting these people from any possible embarrassment or reprisals they might suffer as a result of having talked with her. Any other tension she felt probably centered around the issue of just what was going to be done with the data, and how. With a sociologist's mind she seemed to be uncomfortable with the sometimes apparent lack of direction in the data collection process as well as the lack of any specifiable end product. These discomforts, however, did not interfere with her tenacity in collecting the data and continuing to make useful contacts in the site.

C. Nature of Field Work Supervision

The chief problem from the field director's viewpoint during the fall of 1976, as discussed in Section I, was instability among the field work staff. This was chiefly the result of 1)attempting to cover too many sites and 2) using students as part-time field workers. The budget was simply not adequate for full time field workers in seven sites and part-time field work is hardly better than no field work. In addition, students have too many other demands on their time to be able to spend adequate time in a site to do field work. There was only one full time worker during this period and the difference in both quality and quantity between her notes and those of the other field workers is obvious at a glance.

Communication between the field staff and the research council in Evanston was accomplished through written memoranda, telephone calls, bi-weekly reports from the field director, site visits by members of the research council, and general project staff meetings in Evanston. All served some useful purpose. Probably the most effective were visits from research council members. These gave the field workers an opportunity to 'show off' their sites and the work they were doing, as well as provide for one-to-one direct communication between the field staff and the research council. The general meetings in Evanston, one in June, 1976 and another in June, 1977, were stimulating and helped build momentum for doing the field work. Although no clear procedures for collecting the data or even exactly what data to collect emerged from these meetings, the stimulating discussions and exchange of ideas had a beneficial impact on the Philadelphia field staff.

The diversity of research interests among members of the research council had several effects on the field staff and their work. First of

all, it was sometimes difficult to decide which or how many of the suggested

avenues of exploration to pursue. But at the same time this diversity pro-

vided considerable flexibility for the field workers in their daily work.

They felt free to pursue people and events whose direct relevance to the

aims of the project was not always clear cut. Under other circumstances,

those of a narrowly defined research objective, much interesting and potentially

valuable data might have been missed.

Two field manuals, one outlining the content of community crime issues

papers, the other a guide for cataloguing community organizations, were

helpful in providing a general framework for collecting the necessary data.

The specific items called for in these manuals helped the field director

guide field workers in their work and provided reference points for evaluating

initial drafts for deficiencies. Feedback from the research council on the

crime issues papers was not as specific as it could have been but the questions

raised in regard to the papers did provide additional guidelines for further

field work.

Due to the relative isolation of the Philadelphia field office from

'command headquarters' in Evanston the team had great flexibility in de-

fining problems and developing research strategies. This worked to the ad-

vantage of the field director and workers in Philadelphia but may have

created problems for the research council in coordinating the collection of

equivalent data in the three cities.

The field team developed a very informal, almost casual pattern of group

interaction and communications. Team meetings were held once a week during

which the previous week's activities were discussed, notes collected for

copying and distribution, and plans for the coming week's field work were made.

Informal, unscheduled telephone conversations and meetings took place between
the field director and individual field workers whenever the need or op-
portunity arose. These generally revolved around devising a particular
approach to gaining access to an organization or deciding upon the most
efficient means of establishing or maintaining contact with an informant.
There was a real team spirit with no visible personality or other conflicts
and no sense of the field director as 'boss' and field workers as 'hired
hands.' By the time field work operations were terminated at the end of
August the entire team had developed feelings of friendship for one another
and a sense of accomplishment in having done a good job.

APPENDIX C

BACKGROUND REPORT
ON FIELDWORK IN THE CHICAGO
FIELD SITE OF THE RTC
PROJECT

David Reed

I. Biographical Sketch of the Fieldworkers:

The Chicago field site actually began operations before any work was done in the other two cities, but it also experienced more fluctuations in the definition and personnel of the research team than did the other areas. Profiling work began in Chicago sometime in the spring of 1976. With one exception, the staff at those early stages had entirely disappeared by the end of that year.

Styles of Fieldwork:

a. General characteristics.

The procedure followed for the recording of notes was uniform in one aspect - that the staff was continually pressured to make sure that all notes were finished within five days of the time when the field work was done. There were, of course, some exceptions to this, for at one time or another each of the field workers fell slightly behind this ideal schedule (actually, the recommendation was that the notes be written immediately following the observation - either the same or the next day). In one case, this situation seems to have come from a real interest in continuing to do the field work and finding that the notes were too difficult and time consuming. At one point, she was about 10 days and five observation sessions behind when we had a conversation which led to her use of tape. In general, when other field workers fell too far behind, it affected their entire performance and would prevent them from doing the observations and interviewing work as well. Not surprisingly, the most productive field workers generally had notes in within one day or possibly two. There seems to have been a universal consensus on the importance of this timing.

The bulk of the notes were typed from notes or memory. However, three of the field workers used tape recorders at different times and in different ways. One began using the tape early in the first summer - asserting that her typing was very slow and that if she was going to be productive with the time she had she would have to use the tape. Though it may have helped her productivity, her tapes were a constant source of conflict and strain. Another used a recorder for monitoring his interviews and then retyped the interview from the tapes. Though it was not the cause of his difficulties, the use of tape clearly did not help to solve his problems with field work. The most productive use of the tape format was made by one field worker. She had been having difficulty getting interviews typed and had a particularly articulate verbal style which lent itself to the tape format. By dictating her notes, she became a very productive member of the staff for the period just before the end of the field work.

The use of structured questions was a theme running through the entire process of the field work in Chicago. During the first summer of field work a couple of structured interview schedules (in topical rather than specific question form) were used on a trial basis. During the early fall, a slow-down took place in the field site in anticipation of a major introduction of structured questions. As the fall progressed, it became obvious that these were not forthcoming and the field work returned to its normal flow with a more open and individually determined format. There was a revision in expectations from one of interviewing the significant community actors on a series of fairly precisely defined issues to one of finding out in a more general sense what was happening within the community around the general issues and concerns with crime and security.

The identification issue was never a major problem in the Chicago site. Most of the field workers took a flexible approach to the issue and provided the briefest acceptable identification relying instead on communicating an impression of interest in what the respondents thought and felt. In some cases, more was asked, and the staff was then instructed to provide as little information as the respondent would be satisfied with and to abide by the limits of identification of the connection with LEAA as specified in project memos. In no case that I was aware of did a member of my staff get turned down for an interview because of a perception of it being a "bad" project. There was some resistance, however, to the entire idea of doing research - a resistance which seems to have been located within organizations. In Back of the Yards, this took the form of a delaying of meetings, less than complete information, etc. - all relatively subtle forms of resistance. In contrast, in Woodlawn, two expressed skepticism and made very heavy demands for reciprocity which seem to have been more of a diversionary tactic than anything to do with a need for manpower. During the summer the field workers were let sit for days at a time in a corner of the Victim-Witness Assistance Office where they had been asked to volunteer in return for access. (With skilled and dedicated field workers, this would have been an excellent situation, but in this case it was a total waste).

The confidentiality issue never gained the significance in Chicago that it did in San Francisco. To a substantial extent, that was because the staff viewed the project differently here - so that they could honestly say that not only would the general comments that were made be held in reasonable confidence, but that the entire research project would not threaten the confidentiality or activities of either individuals or organizations. In some cases where there was particularly sensitive material being discussed,

respondents occasionally asked for and received assurances of confidentiality, but unlike other sites there was no systematic effort made to disguise the identities of respondents with the exception of the few unique incidents suggested.

b. Variations among fieldworkers

I have already mentioned some general patterns of site coverage which affected the entire project staff - specifically the concentration of archival work during the early fall and the fact that until the site list was reduced there were a number of areas covered with substantially less than full time work. In addition to this, there were two major variations in the way that individual field workers covered the sites. The first was a breakdown of work around Christmas by one field worker and the fact that he never really developed the skill necessary - so that some of the notes taken are so devoid of real content as to be useless. The second area of major variation was in Wicker Park where for a substantial period there was only one field worker and that at the 10 hours per week level. In addition, there were major periods of time when for particular reasons she was not involved in the field for major periods of time. In general, I would expect that the average field contacts for which notes were written would be around three per week, though it might be slightly lower than that and in cases where particularly long and important interviews/contacts were made the write-up time would hold that to as few as one.

In general, access seems to be more clearly a matter of opportunity structures, the presence or absence of well developed networks and institutions within the community, etc. It is hard, for example, to compare Lincoln Park with Back of the Yards on this dimension. I would think that overall

the field worker in Back of the Yards probably had the most complete access.

In the same sense that confidentiality was not a major issue, I think that despite many respondent's interest in what they would be getting from the time they were donating the direct payoff was only rarely an issue of significance. Perhaps its most important manifestation was in the minds of the field workers - and there it seems to have been a greater issue where there was more that had been directly gleaned from a community area. At no time was there ever a productive discussion about how the worker's sense of responsibility to respondents could be resolved. It remained, I think, an unresolved issue.

Nature of Fieldwork Supervision:

1. Communication between field staffs and Evanston faculty.

a. A simple characterization of this situation is not possible. FLD will be aware of some of the situations which developed during the first summer when he and AH carried the responsibility for directing the Chicago field site. I would, I personally that is, feel comfortable in saying that for most of the time there seemed to be a situation of strain or misunderstanding or a vacuum which characterized the situation in Evanston. The first several months of the project were spent in "site selection" and "profiling". Once that was done, the field workers, and to a substantial extent myself, felt that there would be new direction to the field work from the active and productive Research Council. After much discussion with my staff, I agreed with the concensus that if we were to in fact use the promised "instruments," we should make some effort to protect the "naivete" of critical informants so that they would be appropriate subjects for the inquiry to follow

so shortly. Field workers were therefore engaged in the collection of observational data, background information, the developing of inobtrusive measurement ideas, and the developing of a system for coding field notes.

During this period, I was actively involved in the Research Council's deliberations for a number of hours a week. In my interaction with council members, I discussed the activities of the Chicago team and sought suggestions for different approaches to the issues we were exploring. Therefore, the "star chamber" nature of the decision and communication of it which occurred in early November suggests that some basic communication and interaction channels were completely missing.

The actual direct communications from Evanston to the sites were, as I recall them, singularly ineffective. Even after the huge amount of work that went into the "field manuals", the actual application of them to individual sites was particularly unsatisfactory. The details of the "manuals" are not fresh enough in my mind to allow specific comments, but I do recall the difficulty I had getting people to complete them at a time when they were begging for some kind of direction. I think they became so generalized in the process of gaining universal applicability that they never were really applicable to any individual site in the way intended.

I think that on occasion, there were quite effective communications in the memo format - most often effective when they articulated a particular idea from the field notes which might be followed if it should appear elsewhere.

The feedback from site visits was at least in my experience a bust -- that is to say that it tended to produce a sense of alienation and dissatisfaction rather than connectedness. I recall in particular, a visit to some of the Chicago sites late in the project where the office discussion for

a couple of days reflected a sense of dismay at what the field workers felt was an essential misunderstanding of and trivialization of the issues.

Perhaps the single most distinctive element of the Chicago field work was its proximity to the rest of the office staff. The impact of this was greater then probably than any one participant on the Evanston staff level would expect. Not only was there an awareness of the issues confronting the project, but in an essential way, the Chicago site became an easy focus for others "sense" of where the field work was. Specifically, during the fall, there was the issue of my involvement with the decisions of the research council and the direction of the field staff toward the anticipation of their outcomes and even what the possible form of those might be. In addition, for some time, the Chicago site became the focus for experimentation. During the summer, it was used to test some questionnaire material, in the fall it was spending substantial amounts of time in coding notes, un-obtrusive measures, etc. Probably more important even than that was the proximity to the administrative staff, and the sense of too frequent need for justification of time, money and effort expended.

In conversations with other site directors, it is clear that their in-dependence was a double-edged sword--for we in Chicago had at times (for better as well as for worse) a much better sense of what was going on in the project. As it turned out, it may well have been a net loss to our work, for as our orientation changed, I think we became more independent and more effective in our own work as the year progressed, but at the same time there was a tendency to overreactivity which built over time.

Degree of self initiation:

After an initial period of reservation, I think that the Chicago staff became almost totally independent in the pursuit of a definition of field work goals. Most of the work was done either by myself in one-to-one consultation with field workers or in our weekly staff meetings. At the weekly meetings, our general format was to hear reports from each of the field workers so that the rest of the staff could provide input. I felt that this format went a long way toward curing the inherent sense of isolation that tends to develop in a field work project like this. It stimulated both other field workers and myself into seeing larger patterns, and created a sense of the shared problems of the work we were all doing.

The staff developed some very close friendships over the period of a year or more that some of us were together. The continual change and flucuation in the staff make-up did little to blunt this effect (and it was distinctly positive) so long as a core of people remained. Perhaps the greatest loss in the personal realm, was the departure of one who had been a long-standing and close member of the team.

Initiatives did come from outside the staff. Occasionally, the deliberations of the Research Council would filter out in specific enough form to be put into practice. More commonly, there were occasions on a relatively regular basis where informant conversations would lead to ideas that could be developed. The other source of input was less congenial - occasionally, someone would have some idea which he wanted to see pursued and which he pushed through the field work office. As I recall this process, one issue was the arson investigation in Wicker Park which continued probably beyond its productive period as a result of this pressure.

The fieldwork was completed August 31, 1977. At that point, several steps were taken to prepare the field notes for analysis. Careful cataloging and documentation preceded the development of coding categories. Code definitions and procedures for insuring inter-coder reliability were also prepared. RTC staff consulted with experts in field data analysis (e.g. Howard S. Becker) to develop appropriate data retrieval techniques. Code categories and descriptions were finalized November 30, 1977.

CHAPTER 3

NEIGHBORHOOD ETHNOGRAPHIC

PROFILES

by

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with the assistance of:

Greta Salem

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Judy Lieberman

PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia is representative of the older U.S. cities on the Atlantic seaboard. As an older city it has experienced both the general forces of urban change over the nation's two hundred year history, and unique changes resulting from Philadelphia's pivotal role within that history.

The city that William Penn founded in 1681, and which his statue now looms over from the top of City Hall, has retained its pivotal role in the Nation's great historical division between North and South and its contemporary position as the keystone along the Bos-Wash corridor.

Its early and continuing seafaring role derives from its location at the confluence of the Delaware and Schulykill rivers. This economic base expanded with the rise of industry and the city's development as a governmental and financial center through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The immigrants that settled in cities of the Atlantic seaboard also swelled Philadelphia's population as they came seeking jobs in local industries. They settled around the various industrial sites creating the diverse ethnic neighborhoods that persist to the present day. The 1970 Census lists the predominant first and second generation foreign stock as Italian (5.3 percent), Russian (4.0 percent), Polish (2.4 percent) and Irish (2.0 percent).

As an older city Philadelphia has experienced the full cycle of growth, decline, and renewal. The central city population reached its peak in 1950 with slightly over two million people, and had declined to 1,815,808 by 1975. The eight county SMSA (5 in Pennsylvania and 3 in New Jersey) has continued to expand, however, climbing to about 5 million inhabitants by 1970. The Black population of the central city

Philadelphia
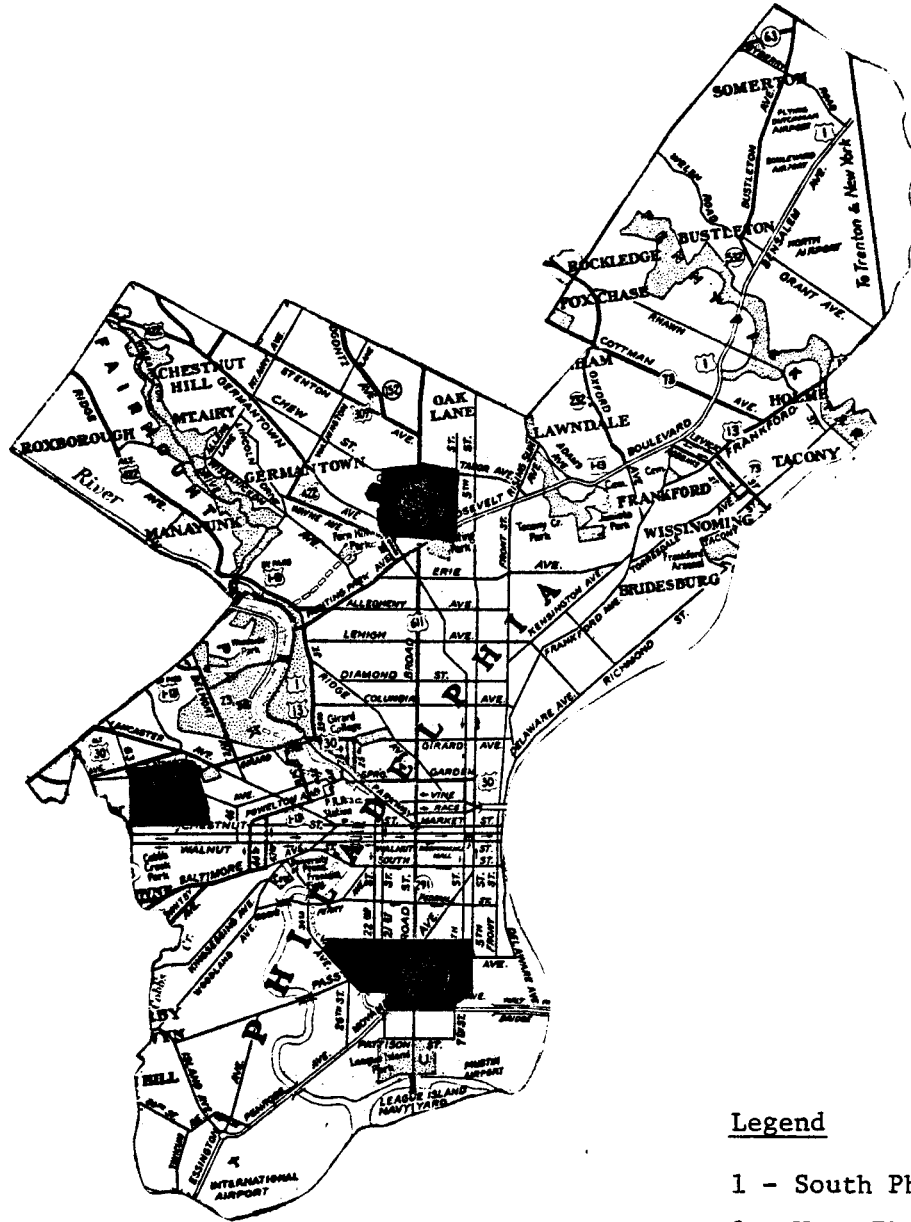
Legend

1 - South Philadelphia

2 - West Philadelphia

3 - Logan

has continued to increase, reaching 33.6 percent of the total in 1970.

Both population and manufacturing jobs have left the central city but employment in transportation, finance, service, and government have continued to increase due to Philadelphia's status as a regional center.

Political change has come in successive waves and was early linked to the reform political movement of the 1940's led by wealthy, established Democrats who displaced the Republican political machine. Inner city renewal focused upon Penn Center, the Independence Hall area, and the elite Society Hill area. More recently such renovation is spilling over into the adjacent Queen Village neighborhood. In the political life of Philadelphia the most dramatic recent developments have been the election of ex-Police Superintendent Rizzo as Mayor on a "law and order" platform; and a federal suit against the Philadelphia police on charges of harassment and brutality. In short, crime and its control have emerged as public, political issues in Philadelphia.
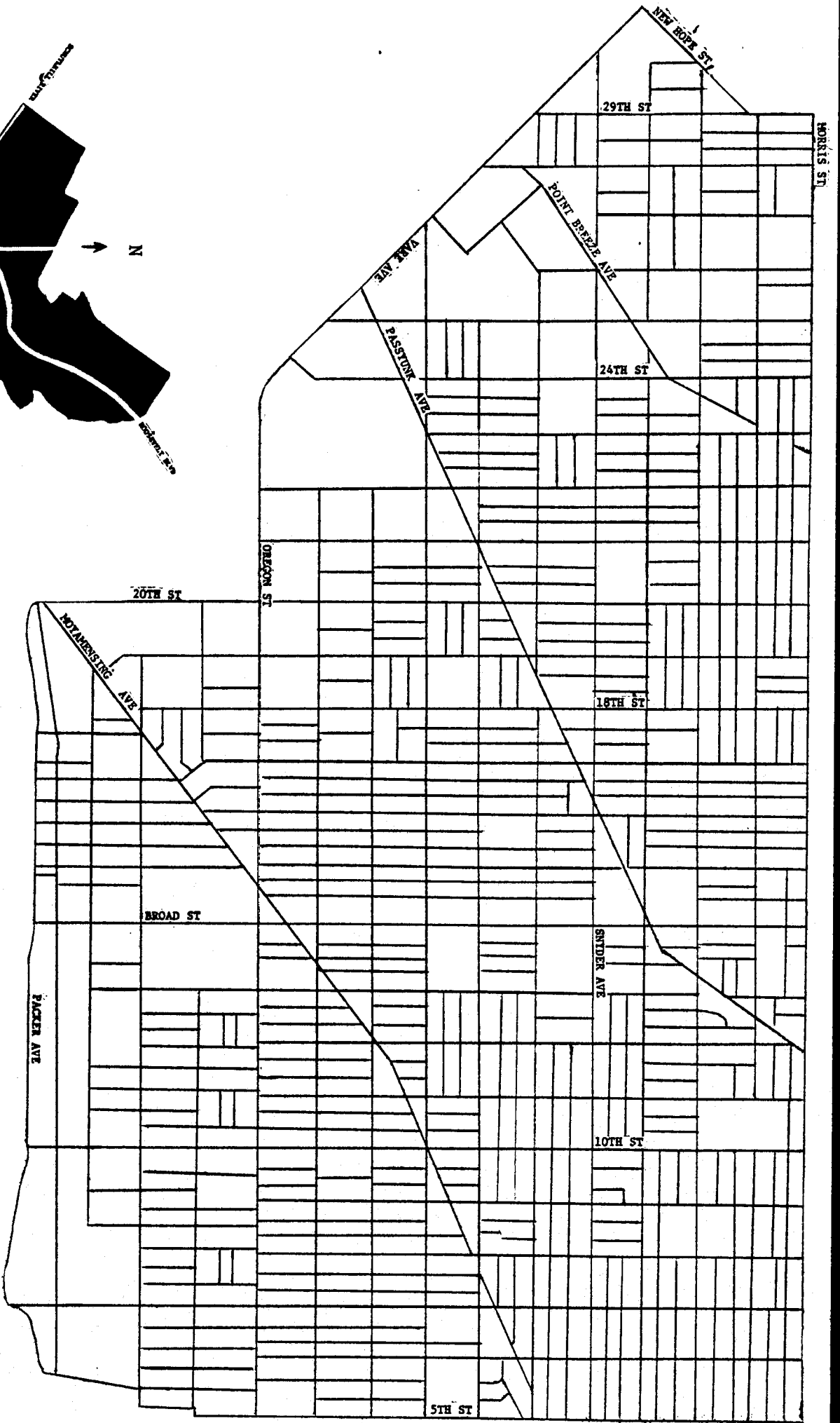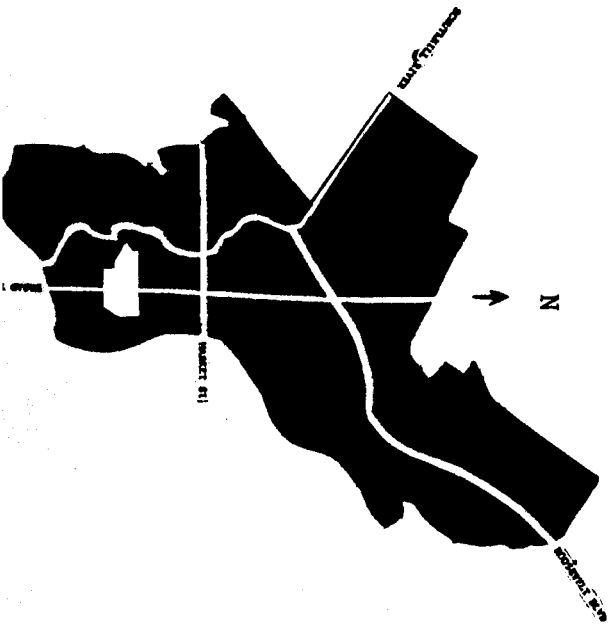
Philadelphia

SOUTH PHILADELPHIA

Demographic Profile

South Philadelphia

	South Philadelphia	Philadelphia
*Population 1970	105,141	1,949,996

Socioeconomic Status

	South Philadelphia	Philadelphia
Percent Family Income Over $20,000	11.0	13.9
Percent Family Income Under $10,000	29.9	27.2
Percent Unemployed	17.1	14.1
Percent With Education Beyond High.School	20.6	35.7
Percent Homeowners	69.0	55.0

Family, Life-Cycle Status

	South Philadelphia	Philadelphia
Percent Living in Single Family Homes	79.0	65.1
Percent With Children at Home	41.7	39.3
Mean Number of Children per Household	.85	.84
*Percent 11-20 Years Old	5.4	5.9
*Percent 61 Years or Older	12.7	14.8
Median Years of Residence	17.5	9.0
Percent Living in Area 5 Years or Less	23.9	35.6
Percent Living in Area 20 Years or More	42.3	25.8

Racial/Ethnic Status

	South Philadelphia	Philadelphia
Percent Black	18.7	37.5
Percent Spanish	1.4	2.8
Percent Native Born	94.2	94.3

*Unless otherwise indicated data are from the Reactions
to Crime Project Telephone Survey conducted in 1977. These
are considered "best estimates" of the demographics of the
area for the period of the research. Data with an asterisk
are from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

SOUTH PHILADELPHIA

South Philadelphia is a predominantly white, working class community. Italians are clearly dominant in the area, but other racial and ethnic groups are represented. Irish, Germans and Jews appear to be scattered throughout the white areas. Black residents, who constitute about sixteen percent of the area's population, are distributed in "checkerboard" pockets among the white neighborhoods. There is greater intra-site variation in the distribution of ethnic and racial groups than in the other Philadelphia sites. In the northeastern portion of the site there are block by block differences. This area, as a whole, suffers from urban decay. As one moves south and to the central portion of the site neatly kept row houses are the rule. Sidewalks are clean, even during a sanitation department slowdown. Religious figures adorn the window sills of many houses, and parochial schools are numerous.

The western portion of the site has three zones. The southern zone is dominated by Wilson Park, a predominantly Black public housing project. These projects have both high rise and two story apartments. Neither are well maintained. The adjacent Wilson Park forms a "no-man's land" where gang fights had in the past been frequent. To the north of the projects is another area characterized by the checkerboard pattern of the northeast.

Housing in this area is generally well maintained. As one moves to the northern border of Morris Street the area again begins to deteriorate. Two blocks north of the survey boundary are the Tasker Homes, a deteriorating low-rise public housing project occupied by primarily Black residents. Although outside the survey site, this project affects the perceptions of residents within the adjacent neighborhood.

Racial boundaries are rigidly drawn and form virtual battlelines which few residents dare to cross. Racial bigotry appears to be pervasive, and although most respondents consider South Philadelphia a basically safe area, neither whites nor Blacks feel safe in the others' territory. Black parents, for example, do not allow their children to participate in recreational activities in white sections of the community; white parents similarly restrain their children.

Racial conflict appears to be a much more serious problem in South Philadelphia than in Logan, the other multi-racial neighborhood in Philadelphia. Although Blacks constitute a distinct minority, they are scattered in enclaves throughout the area so that several groups have to confront the problem of living adjacent to a basically hostile population. This is reflected in the fears expressed by several respondents. One civic association president notes that he lives in a white enclave between the two Black housing projects, whereas Blacks see themselves surrounded by whites. These hostilities are reflected in rockthrowing incidents in both Black and white neighborhoods. Black kids throw rocks at buses transporting whites through their neighborhoods, and white kids return the favor. Several parents have requested police protection for their children who must go through hostile neighborhoods to get to school.

Although gangs are no longer considered a major problem, both white and Black gangs may still be found in the neighborhood. Many respondents

view them as benign street corner groups who stand on corners because there aren't enough places to go. Although the field data suggests that most residents consider them relatively harmless, the survey shows that some consider teenagers hanging out to be a big problem in the neighborhood.

There are, however, reports of Black and white confrontations between gangs. The major white gang in the area has been labeled the "closest thing to a teenage vigilante group that you can get." Their goal is to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods, and they appear to have the support of their parents and other community residents.

The residents in the white Italian neighborhoods form very close communities. People are clannish, and tend to be suspicious of strangers. Single family homes make up seventy-nine percent of the housing in the area. Almost seventy percent of the homes are owner occupied. South Philadelphia on the whole is characterized by a high level of community pride and mutual concern. "Here in South Philadelphia we take care of our own. We deal with our own problems." Neighboring is the expected mode of behavior. "We are like a family, not neighbors." "If something happens to me, the people who did it would have to fight the whole street." This is similar to Herbert Gans (1962) discussion of the pervasive "peer group culture" found in Boston's West End Italian community.

The level of informal surveillance and attentiveness to outsiders was illustrated when the fieldworker was questioned by two neighborhood men who had been observing her activities. This incident confirmed her feeling that "everyone is being watched in these narrow streets in South Philadelphia." It is not surprising then that many residents report no need for organized neighborhood patrols. "We don't need them. At any time you can find someone who is home and watching. That's enough."

The strong community ties keep people in the area. Nearly one-half of the population has lived in South Philadelphia twenty years or more. Even young people, who often move out of city neighborhoods, tend to remain. One respondent claimed that only two people out of his high school class have left the area. And frequently those who do return after a brief period of time. The mean length of adult residence is nineteen years and the median is over seventeen years; far greater than any of the other sites in this study.

Black residents in the area lack the support which a close-knit community provides. The Black enclaves are not as well maintained as the white areas. Deteriorated and abandoned housing is more common. In general residents claim that the city provides fewer maintenance services to Black communities. The public housing projects in particular present a stark contrast to the neatly kept white communities. There one typically finds abandoned and boarded up apartments, badly maintained exteriors and littered grounds. Blacks and whites alike perceive the projects as dangerous and undesirable.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATRIX

Several types of orgnizations are found in South Philadelphia. There are neighborhood and civic associations of various kinds, businessmen's groups, service agencies, and a self-help group for parents of drug abusers. The Health and Welfare Council's 1976 directory listed 49 organizations and our fieldwork uncovered eight additional ones which were not listed. However, it is difficult to estimate the actual number of groups which are viable at any given time. Over the life of the study, groups in South Philadelphia revealed a tendency to appear and then suddenly disappear. Groups responded to crises situations and then became dormant until another crisis arose. Existing groups split, and new ones were formed. Some efforts were made to unite some of the groups in an

umbrella organization, but this proved unsuccessful. Jealousy of their freedom and autonomy, unwillingness to share their resources, conflicting interests, racially based fears, suspicions and xenophobia led most groups to show little affinity for cooperative ventures. Although the groups in South Philadelphia are not as stable or viable as those in the other Philadelphia neighborhoods, there is adequate evidence of success to keep them going or at least re-emerging as the situation demands.

In South Philadelphia the predominant form of organization is the civic group, but in no case was crime the sole issue on the agenda of these groups. Crime was usually only one item on a long list of concerns and activities, and only became important where a recent incident or "crime wave" swept the neighborhood.

We did not find, in South Philadelphia, much evidence of block club activity. Indeed, only 2.4% of the survey respondents who reported being involved with a group were in block clubs. On the other hand, a local self-help ethic is reflected in activities like mutual surveillance. "We can take care of our own," is a frequent comment. This is illustrated by the comment of one woman who said, "the streets are as safe as you make them," as she displayed the knife she uses for protection.

Population stability, and the fact that such a large percentage of the neighborhood residents have lived in the area a long time, provides the informal source of support which block clubs in other neighborhoods frequently try to engender.

CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL ENVIRONMENT

South Philadelphia is, in general, considered to be a safe area by most local residents. When asked about the direction of neighborhood change, 73% felt their neighborhood was the same or better. Three-fourths

of survey respondents said they felt safe on their neighborhood streets
at night, a higher proportion than in any of our other sites. Moreover,
South Philadelphia residents have the lowest estimated risk of victimization
of any of our ten sites.

Despite their overall view of South Philadelphia as a safe neighborhood,
there are a number of crime and related issues which residents view as
being a big problem in the community. People in South Philadelphia most
frequently consider drugs a serious problem followed by teenagers hanging
out and street robbery. Vandalism, abandoned or burned out buildings,
burglary, and assault are less frequently cited as being a big problem.
Drug use, more than any other crime issue, is considered a big problem.
There are three aspects to the drug problem. First, there is the problem
of physical drug addiction. Second, there are the drug related crime
problems. And third, there is the exposure of young people in the
neighborhood to the drug culture and to pushers who sell drugs to the
young children.

Nearly all problems in South Philadelphia are attributed to youth,
and they are consistently identified as being on drugs. "Kids on dope"
are identified as the perpetrators of such crimes as muggings, robberies,
shoplifting and purse snatching. The mafia is usually named as running
the drug trade, and from interviews with long-term residents, it appears
that the mafia had been quite active in the neighborhood during the
earlier part of the century. Despite the great concern about drugs,
neighborhood residents were quite nonchalant about mafia involve-
ment.

After drugs, the issue which is most frequently cited as a
big problem in South Philadelphia was teenagers hanging out on the streets.
This may reflect the association between youth and drugs noted above, or

the existence of gangs. During interviews with the fieldworker, residents
often pointed out that while the problems of conflict between white
gangs has levelled off over the past years, there remains quite a bit of
Black/White gang conflict. Gangs were blamed for a number of serious
stabbing and shooting incidents.

The relationship between the police and residents of South Philadelphia
is rather complex. Among residents in general, the police are not parti-
cularly well respected. They complain that the police do not patrol, that
they are ineffective, that most officers make little effort to get to know
community residents, and that they are all on the take. This attitude
exists among the white residents but is even more prevalent among Blacks.

For most groups and organizations the relationship with the police
is also less than ideal. This is especially true among members of
Black civic groups who feel that their areas are not only being ignored
by the police, but that Blacks often are victims of police brutality.
The result is a breakdown in communications between the police and the
Black community. It appears that much crime goes unreported because
Blacks regard the police as outsiders and elect to take care of their
own problems. In this context, citizen's band radio clubs which patrol
the area feel they are performing a useful function and that their work
is appreciated by the police.

These problems are extant in all parts of South Philadelphia.
However, in the Black neighborhoods they are compounded by the wider
range of problems typical of urban decay, deteriorating housing, abandoned
buildings, and vacant lots. Plenty of these problems are particularly
evident in the public housing projects. Physical maintenance is poor;
the grounds are littered; windows are either borken or boarded up; and
elevators are frequently out of order. Although the project buildings

are more recently built than the houses in the surrounding area they
are in far worse condition. Physical decay is accompanied by social
malaise. "We have dope, prostitution, rape and car theft." Gang fights
and shootings within the projects are frequent.

Philadelphia

WEST PHILADELPHIA

Demographic Profile

West Philadelphia

	West Philadelphia	Philadelphia
*Population 1970	42,005	1,949,996

Socioeconomic Status

Percent Family Income Over $20,000	10.6	13.9
Percent Family Income Under $10,000	33.6	27.2
Percent Unemployed	17.8	14.1
Percent With Education Beyond High.School	29.6	35.7
Percent Homeowners	60.4	55.0

Family, Life-Cycle Status

Percent Living in Single Family Homes	73.3	65.1
Percent With Children at Home	42.5	39.3
Mean Number of Children per Household	.84	.84
*Percent 11-20 Years Old	10.0	5.9
*Percent 61 Years or Older	17.8	14.8
Median Years of Residence	10.2	9.0
Percent Living in Area 5 Years or Less	32.2	35.6
Percent Living in Area 20 Years or More	25.5	25.8

Racial/Ethnic Status

Percent Black	89.7	37.5
Percent Spanish	0.3	2.8
Percent Native Born	97.0	94.3

*Unless otherwise indicated data are from the Reactions
to Crime Project Telephone Survey conducted in 1977. These
are considered "best estimates" of the demographics of the
area for the period of the research. Data with an asterisk
are from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

WEST PHILADELPHIA

West Philadelphia is a predominantly Black community. It had been a Jewish neighborhood until the 1950's when the racial composition began to change. The Blacks who moved into the area in the 1950's were similar in socioeconomic status to white residents, but, when housing projects were built in the 1960's lower income Blacks began to move in. At present the total area is about eighty percent Black. One middle-aged pharmacist who had lived in the area his entire life, characterized West Philadelphia as a "typical middle class, politically active, predominantly Black community."

Although the population of West Philadelphia is not as stable as that in South Philadelphia, neither is it undergoing rapid change. The median length of residence is over ten years, second among our ten sites. A little over thirty-two percent of the population has lived in the area five years or less and a quarter of the residents have lived there over twenty years. Twenty-two percent of the population have no high school diploma. Over seventeen percent are unemployed and thirty-three percent have incomes under $10,000.

Almost three-fourths of the dwellings are single family homes, either detached or row houses. Sixty percent of these are owner occupied. Upkeep

of the housing varies, with some of the neighborhoods extremely well maintained and others less so. One does not get the impression, however, that the maintenance situation is as out of control as in many lower income neighborhoods. Residents complain about the scattered low-rise public housing projects, but the outside of the buildings seemed fairly well cared for.

Renters and project residents were identified as a source of neighborhood problems. Project residents are defined as "lower class" people with socially destructive habits of behavior. "When they put in those housing projects, they ruined West Philadelphia." Nobody can specify exactly what is wrong with project residents but, "they are a lower class of people and they bring their environment with them." "They are noisy." "They aren't mannerly." In this area, where sixty percent of the residents are homeowners, renters, in general, are not thought to be as concerned about the community as are homeowners. "They do less to improve the area and more to harm it." One respondent noted that she avoids a street with several rental units because she feels it is a dangerous area. Her neighborhood, where "everybody is a homeowner," is safe.

There are three major commercial areas where one finds primarily small retail businesses, banks, and take-out stands. Mom and pop grocery stores are located throughout the area and bars occupy many of the corner locations. In both the commercial and residential areas there are a number of vacant buildings and lots. A major problem in the area seems to be abandoned housing which serves as a symbol of the physical erosion of the community. Abandoned homes constitute the most pressing problem in this category. These breed rats, become fire traps, and serve as hangouts for potential criminals. Furthermore, because so much of the

housing in Philadelphia consists of attached row houses, the problems of abandoned houses are more likely to affect other dwelling units in the neighborhood.

The same kind of problem is posed by the vacant stores in the commercial areas of the neighborhood. These, along with the vacant lots, not only contribute to the actual deterioration of the area but serve as a symbol of neighborhood decay. Aggravated by these conditions is the problem of redlining which makes it difficult for lower income Blacks to borrow money to fix their homes or buy new ones.

Maintenance problems in the parks are attributed mainly to the area's youngsters who litter the grounds and abuse the facilities, and to the recreation department which commits inadequate resources to park maintenance. Other city bureaucracies are also cited for their inadequate services. Complaints range from the failure to collect garbage to schools which are seen as ineffective and uncaring.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATRIX

West Philadelphia has a high rate of organizational involvement, with twenty-five percent of the survey respondents reporting being involved with a community group. Although the level of involvement in community organizations is second only to Logan among our ten sites, the pattern of hierarchical relationships between the organizations is different. In three other communities with high levels of involvement in community groups--Logan, Visitacion Valley, and Woodlawn--there is a dominant community organization. However, in West Philadelphia, as in South Philadelphia, no dominant community organization exists. At least three umbrella type organizations have unsuccessfully attempted to unite the disparate groups. There appears to be a great deal of competition among the groups for city funds.

Most of the civic associations in the neighborhoods were organized

around the physical maintenance of the area. Virtually every neighborhood

organization and most of the block clubs cite housing and general street

maintenance as their primary concerns. One large umbrella group, the

Haddington Leadership Organization, supported by funds from the Redevel-

opment Authority, focuses primarily on housing rehabilitation and to a

lesser extent on commercial revitalization. The latter is a major concern

of the two business associations in the area. Other neighborhood organi-

zations, some of them successful, have worked to attract community

development money into their area.

West Philadelphia is highly organized at the grassroots level. Nearly

forty percent of the groups with which people report being involved were

block clubs. The Citizens Local Alliance for a Safer Philadelphia (CLASP),

which seeks to improve the criminal justice system and develop citizen

involvement in crime programs through the mechanism of training block club

organizers, was not active in our research site. Most of the block clubs

which we found in West Philadelphia, unlike CLASP's, were not principally

concerned with crime and were organized without CLASP's assistance.

CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL ENVIRONMENT

The majority of residents of West Philadelphia believe that although

crime is a problem in West Philadelphia, it is no worse than in other parts

of the city. Kids constitute the most frequently mentioned problem in the

interviews. More specific complaints focus on drinking, smoking dope on

the street corner, fighting, and trashing the parks. However, the mere

presence of a group of teenagers on a corner or on somebody's porch is

considered to be a matter of some concern. The assumption is that when

a bunch of kids hang around with nothing to do, they are probably plan-

ning such activity as purse snatching, vandalism, car theft or burglary.
These constitute the most prevalent crimes in the area, and they are
mostly committed by young people.

This concern over youth also reflects the gang problems of the early
1970's when gang wars were common. Currently gangs are not a major concern
but people still fear that they might rise again. One finds several
residents talking about "problem houses" or "problem families" on their
block. By these they mean homes inhabited by gang members which serve as
gathering places in the neighborhood. Most respondents feel that the
problems with youth are caused by children from fatherless homes. These
kids are most likely to get involved in drugs and then turn to crime to
support their habits.

A related problem frequently cited is the fear of retaliation by
neighborhood youths if their illicit activities are reported. Both the
police and neighborhood residents cite incidents where a crime was
committed, but neither the victim nor the witness were willing to report
or testify.

Despite these concerns, residents of West Philadelphia do not express
a great deal of fear of being out alone at night in their neighborhood.
Nearly seventy percent of the survey respondents reported feeling safe
at night.

Residents' relations with police were mixed. On the one hand were
complaints about police brutality, harassment, and inadequate responses
to calls for assistance. One group was formed specifically to monitor
police activities and pressure for improved police responses. Another
group focused on instances of police abuse. On the other hand, the
regularly held police community relations workshops responded to an
interest on the part of a newly appointed Black police captain who

is sensitive to complaints about harrassment.

> "I tell my men, especially with all the bad news
> the police are getting, I don't care if there
> are 180 people on a corner, don't bother with
> them unless we get a complaint."

This particular police community relations group differs from the others described in the field notes in other sites in that they do not concentrate on crime related issues. Their meetings, like those of most neighborhood organizations, focus on housing, education, redlining and the many other concerns confronting neighborhood residents. The captain notes that community groups come to him to get help or ask for information about places or people who can assist them. In this particular instance one finds a conscientious community relations police officer performing the linkage function frequently performed by elected officials and more recently by neighborhood groups.
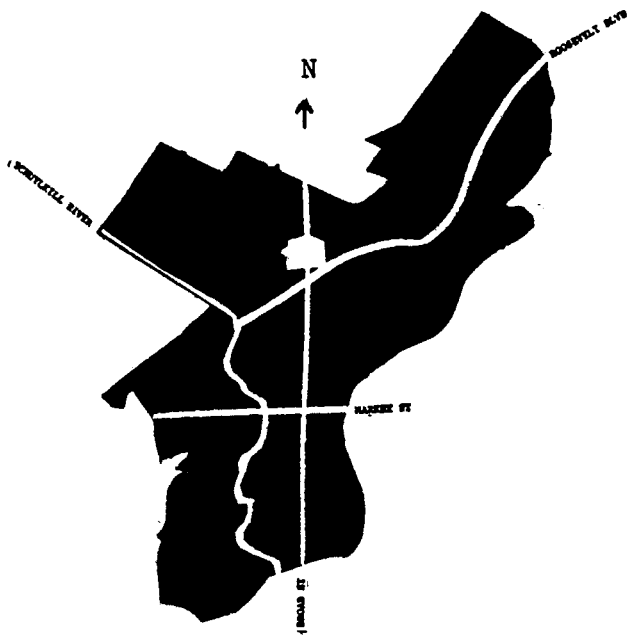
Philadelphia

LOGAN
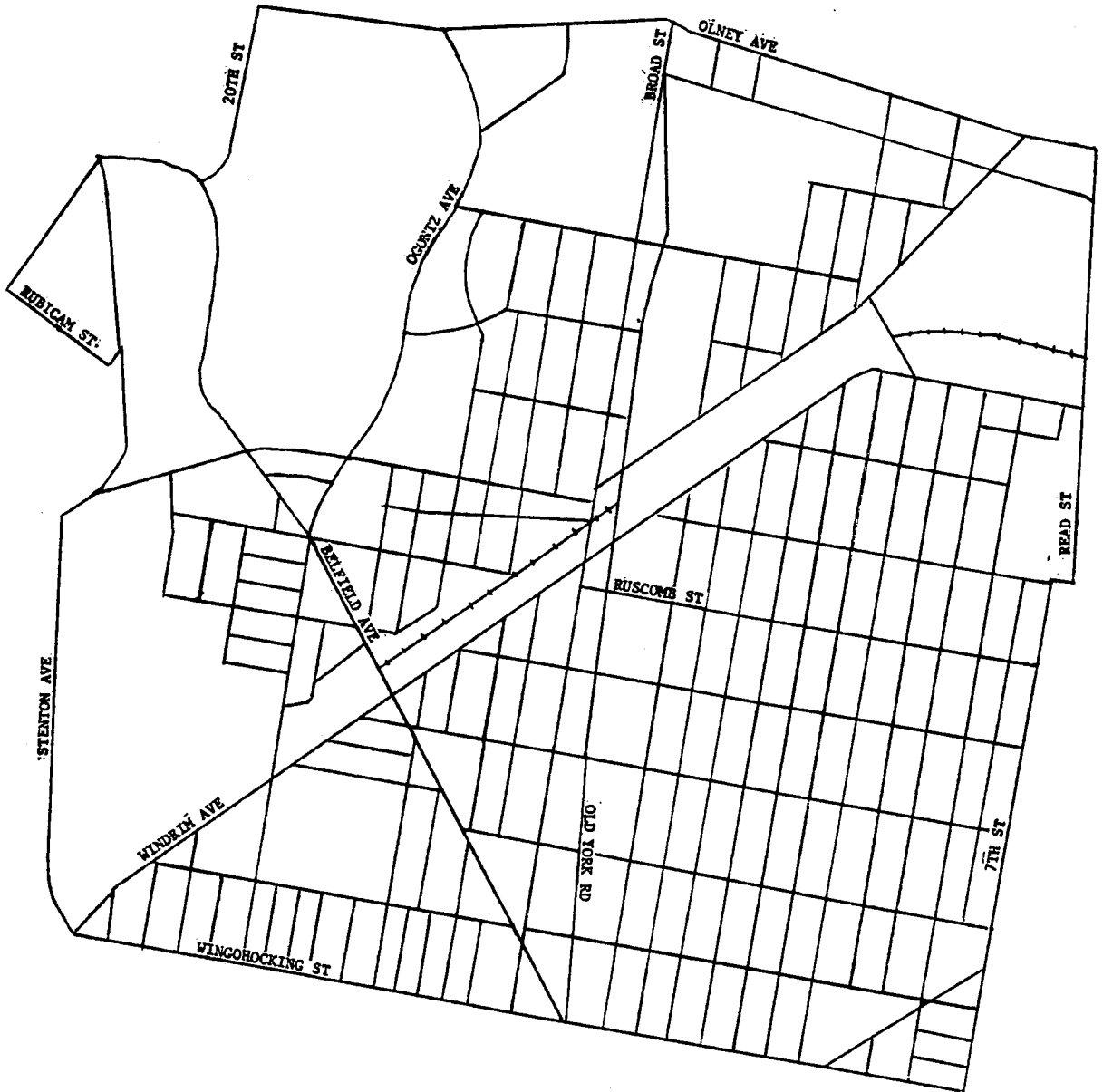
Demographic Profile

<u>Logan</u>

	Logan	Philadelphia
*Population 1970	52,494	1,949,996

<u>Socioeconomic Status</u>

	Logan	Philadelphia
Percent Family Income Over $20,000	7.7	13.9
Percent Family Income Under $10,000	35.0	27.2
Percent Unemployed	16.0	14.1
Percent With Education Beyond High School	30.0	35.7
Percent Homeowners	65.7	55.0

<u>Family, Life-Cycle Status</u>

	Logan	Philadelphia
Percent Living in Single Family Homes	73.7	65.1
Percent With Children at Home	56.2	39.3
Mean Number of Children per Household	1.27	.84
*Percent 11-20 Years Old	7.7	5.9
*Percent 61 Years or Older	7.7	14.8
Median Years of Residence	4.8	9.0
Percent Living in Area 5 Years or Less	55.3	35.6
Percent Living in Area 20 Years or More	8.7	25.8

<u>Racial/Ethnic Status</u>

	Logan	Philadelphia
Percent Black	56.8	37.5
Percent Spanish	3.8	2.8
Percent Native Born	89.9	94.3

*Unless otherwise indicated data are from the Reactions
to Crime Project Telephone Survey conducted in 1977. These
are considered "best estimates" of the demographics of the
area for the period of the research. Data with an asterisk
are from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

LOGAN

Like West Philadelphia, Logan has undergone rapid socioeconomic and
ethnic change. Until the mid-sixties, Logan was a predominantly Jewish
community of middle and upper income families. About that time there
was a large turnover in housing, and real estate speculators are blamed
for the exodus of the Jewish population from the area. Today the
community has a population which is approximately fifty percent Black,
the remaining fifty percent being a multi-ethnic mix of whites, Koreans,
Portuguese, Filipinos and Latinos. Few are long-term residents; fifty-
five percent of our telephone survey respondents had lived in the area
five years or less. This formerly middle-upper income community is now
much like the two other low income Philadelphia neighborhoods in our
study. Fourteen percent of the residents do not have a high school
diploma, sixteen percent are unemployed and thirty-five percent have
incomes under $10,000.

Although parts of Logan are predominately Black, other areas are
both racially and ethnically integrated. Racial tension, although not
as pervasive as in South Philadelphia, is present in Logan. Some white
respondents express animosity toward Blacks, but the majority of Logan
residents appear to be actively working to improve interracial relations.

Relations are particularly strained between the older white residents and the more recently arrived younger Blacks, and between Black and working class white teenagers. A former white gang member reported that the gangs were formed for protection when Blacks began to move in. Although gang fights appear to have abated, the existence of both Black and white gangs is a matter of some concern to neighborhood residents.

Most of the housing stock consists of older row houses. Some neighborhoods are pleasant well kept communities with tree-lined streets, while others suffer from large numbers of abandoned and deteriorated housing. Over seventy-three percent of the homes are single family and almost seventy percent of the residents are homeowners. The bulk of the multi-unit buildings contain seven or fewer units.

Logan has two major shopping districts, and the area's ethnic heterogeneity is reflected in its businesses. A medical complex, a baking concern, and a district office of the Bell Telephone company are the major employment centers in the community. Several others are nearby.

Logan lacks the close community ties of South Philadelphia residents. Instead one finds in Logan a rich organizational life which attempts to foster the same kind of community sentiment that flows naturally from the more stable population in South Philadelphia. Twenty-seven percent of Logan's residents report some community involvement.

Perceptions of the neighborhood vary and appear to be somewhat related to the respondent's organizational ties. There is universal agreement that things have changed in Logan. What used to be a very close community where the residents knew each other and could go out at all hours of the night has become a very heterogeneous neighborhood which many residents feel is unsafe. "This used to be a beautiful neighborhood. Now you can't go out of your house without being robbed."

Most people, one respondent claimed, live here because they have to, "but it's bad all over." Some residents attribute the neighborhood deterioration to the incursion of the Blacks. "We didn't have any problems here until the Blacks started to come. . . There wasn't any graffiti or roaches or rats. . . They brought them all with them. They don't know how to take care of anything."

Respondents with some organizational affiliation see a different side of the neighborhood. One block club captain characterizes the area as: "pretty decent for a mixed neighborhood. . . Neighbors watch out for each other." A co-founder of the largest community organization in the area notes, "we have a really beautiful community here. There's a beautiful relationship between different groups." And a letter to the editor which describes Logan as part of the urban renaissance talks of "quiet, serene tree-shaded streets, a sophisticated mix of residents, fantastic shopping and an abundance of parking."

ORGANIZATIONAL MATRIX

Logan has a strong, though young, community organization which dominates the organizational life of the community. The Ad Hoc Committee for Logan was formed specifically to deal with the myriad of problems created by the rapid racial and economic changes in the neighborhood. From the beginning, the Ad Hoc Committee strove for an integrated member-ship and leadership. For the past two years, its presidents and two-thirds of its officers have been Black. The Ad Hoc Committee is an umbrella group which has brought together most of the smaller church and community groups in Logan. Both the Logan Town Watch group and the Logan Businessmen's Association are formally affiliated with Ad Hoc.

The heart of the Committee's activity is block club organizing. As one organizer points out, "it became apparent to us in a large community

like Logan, that unless a small, unit by unit method was used, any attempt at organizing would be futile. It's worked for Logan, and the sum and substance of this method is organization by blocks and groups." The goal of the organization is to organize 130 blocks. Leaders claim to have organized approximately sixty clubs at the time of the fieldwork.

Through these block clubs, the Ad Hoc Committee addresses both the physical and social deterioration of the area. Membership is recruited through block clubs, thus providing the power base needed for applying pressure to city bureaucracies and other institutions. Block clubs also unite a seriously divided community. Organization members claim that racial integration has proceeded more smoothly in Logan than in any other Philadelphia community because the block clubs have managed to open up communications between previously hostile groups.

The Ad Hoc Committee, unlike the groups in South and West Philadelphia has been much more effective in widening its horizons by joining a citywide coalition of neighborhood groups with a national organization, the National Peoples Action Coalition. This has increased the sophistication of the membership, many of whom have gone to Washington to lobby for federal legislation and for response from federal bureaucracies.

The Logan Businessmen's Association is well known in the community and is responsible for several anti-crime activities. Another group, Save Our Neighborhood, was reported to have been active in the initial stages of organizing the Ad Hoc Committee but has since been dormant. The leader of this group said the Save Our Neighborhood group would only become active again if there was a particular issue to respond to.

The Logan Community Association is one of the few groups in Logan which shows some hostility towards the Ad Hoc Committee. This group is jealous of Ad Hoc's funding and feels that it should have more control, accountability, and funds. The group claims a membership of about sixty.

Some of the more populous ethnic groups, such as the Koreans and the Ukranians, have their own city-wide associations to which Logan residents belong. Both of these groups have their headquarters in Logan. The latter claim a very large membership and assert a great deal of independence, stating that they do not need the Ad Hoc Committee or any of the other community groups because they already feel a strong identification with each other.

CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL ENVIRONMENT

As in the other Philadelphia field sites, neighborhood youth were considered responsible for most of the crime, citing drug use as a contributing factor. Residents also frequently blamed parents for not controlling their children.

Respondents in our telephone survey mention street robbery, burglary and abandoned or burned out buildings as neighborhood problems. Police report that burglary and purse snatching are the most commonly committed crimes. Purse snatching was also considered to be a serious problem by residents, and special concern was often expressed for the elderly. However, sixty-nine percent of the survey respondents report feeling safe being out in their neighborhood at night.

Citizens and the police appeared to enjoy reasonably good relationships in Logan. Complaints against the police were primarily concerned with the small number of minority officers assigned to the Logan area. Also, because of the ethnic mix of the community, a real language problem existed for some of the minority groups. This was especially true for the Koreans. There was strong sentiment that there should be a Korean police officer assigned in Logan. Although the police agreed, and said they would gladly hire one, they pointed out that no candidates

had applied. The district police-community relations officer for Logan reported that he spent a few nights each week talking to different groups about protective measures and crime prevention techniques. He notes that these talks are especially directed to senior citizens.

Area businessmen reported excellent police community relations. Neither these relations, nor the existence of foot patrols seem to have alleviated their crime concerns. The buzzer systems used to control entry by most commercial establishments symbolize these fears.

CHICAGO

Chicago has been described by Senator Paul Douglas as the city with a Queen Anne front and a Mary Ann rear. Stretching along the beaches and shores of Lake Michigan, the city of the first skyscraper, and now the tallest, presents a dignified and renowned architectual front to the world. Behind this facade are the diverse ethnic neighborhoods of the city--more resembling small towns rather than parts of the nation's "second city."

Chicago's location at the point where a river, the prairie, and the Great Lakes meet, and its middle position between the established East and the growing West established the city as the hub of trading and transportation for the nation, a role it has maintained as the technology of transport shifted from water, to rail, to air.

The grid pattern of cities--first established with the founding of Philadelphia--was carried out methodically in Chicago where un-interrupted prairies permit streets to run straight for over twenty miles.

As with other older, industrial cities, Chicago has experienced growth, decline and rebirth in some areas--while its Loop has continued to grow and expand. The city reached a peak population in 1950 and declined to the 1975 population of 3,099,391. Coupled with this loss was the movement of manufacturing and industrial jobs from the city--symbolized most dramatically in Chicago by the demise of the Union Stockyards.

The diverse ethnic groups that have settled in Chicago's neighbor-hoods trace the continuing history of migration to this country, for the city's rapid growth and industrial expansion was simultaneous with the

Chicago
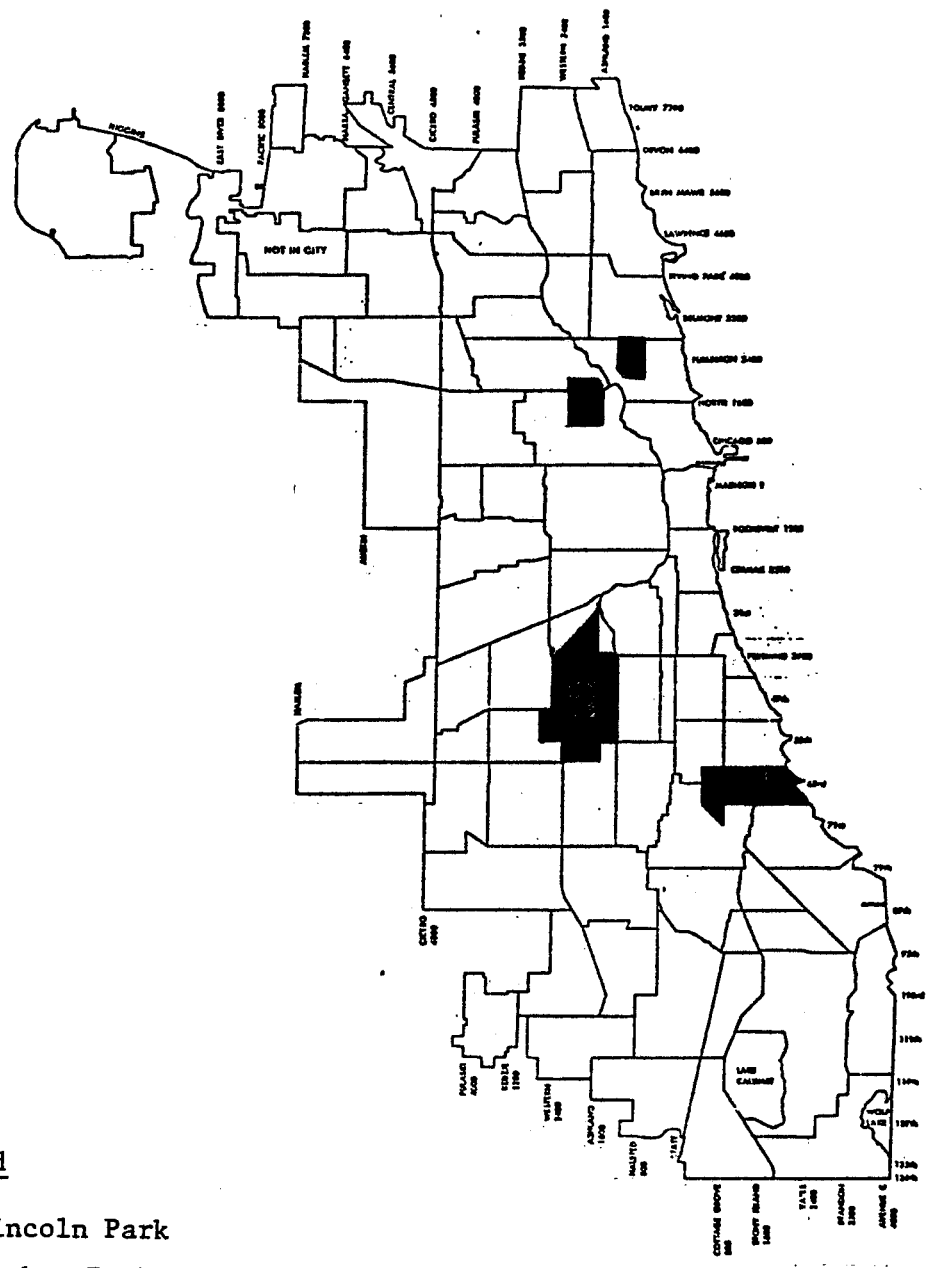
Legend

1 - Lincoln Park

2 - Wicker Park

3 - Woodlawn

4 - Back of the Yards

waves of immigration between the Civil War and World War I. The early immigration of Irish, Germans, and Poles has been joined most recently by large increases in Mexicans and Orientals. Furthermore, with its Mississippi River Valley link to the South, Chicago has been a northern magnet for whites from Appalachia and Blacks from the South.

The Black population has continued to increase in both the older, established south side ghetto and the rapidly expanding Black community on the west side from the fifties through the present. Blacks now comprise 39.6 percent of Chicago's population.

Chicago has long been known for its criminal history, a reputation firmly established by the organized crime of the Capone era of the twenties. However, crime has not emerged as a central political issue within recent years.

The commercial, financial and corporate growth in the central core of the city has meant a continuous expansion upward and outward. This expansion has led to the "gentrification" of a number of inner city neighborhoods, especially the Near North and Lincoln Park areas on the north side, and Hyde Park and Dearborn Park on the south side.

Private and public renewal of selected areas, coupled with the continuing expansion of the Loop, and the neglect of the neighborhoods was a prime issue in the mayoral campaign of Jane Byrne, the successor to Mayor Richard J. Daley's political machine. The centralization of power in Chicago's political machine, based upon the strong ethnic neighborhood structure of the city, was often cited as a reason for Chicago's reputation as "the city that works."

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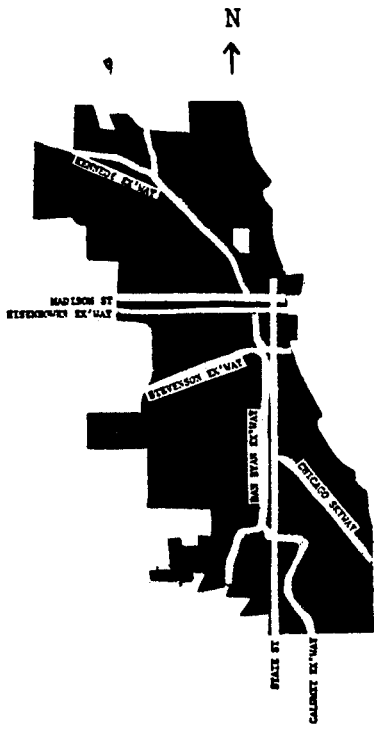
Chicago

LINCOLN PARK
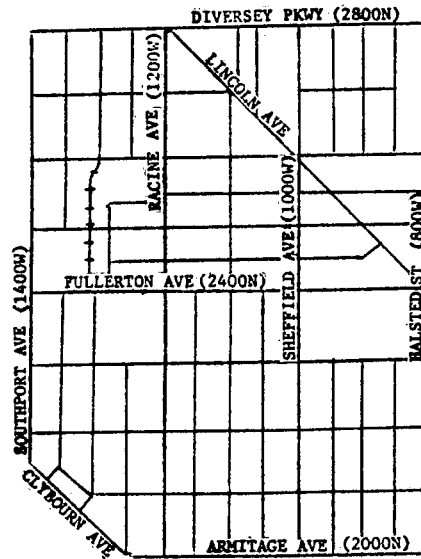
Demographic Profile

Lincoln Park

	Lincoln Park	Chicago
*Population 1970	21,329	3,369,359

Socioeconomic Status

Percent Family Income Over $20,000	29.3	22.5
Percent Family Income Under $10,000	22.6	24.0
Percent Unemployed	9.1	7.7
Percent With Education Beyond High School	60.4	44.5
Percent Homeowners	22.4	35.6

Family, Life-Cycle Status

Percent Living in Single Family Homes	10.2	30.2
Percent With Children at Home	30.0	41.7
Mean Number of Children per Household	.63	.93
*Percent 11-20 Years Old	4.0	5.6
*Percent 61 Years or Older	8.0	12.6
Median Years of Residence	4.2	5.5
Percent Living in Area 5 Years or Less	59.2	48.0
Percent Living in Area 20 Years or More	14.9	18.8

Racial/Ethnic Status

Percent Black	8.1	39.6
Percent Spanish	12.8	7.5
Percent Native Born	80.5	86.6

*Unless otherwise indicated data are from the Reactions
to Crime Project Telephone Survey conducted in 1977. These
are considered "best estimates" of the demographics of the
area for the period of the research. Data with an asterisk
are from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

LINCOLN PARK

Lincoln Park is a middle and upper income, predominantly white neighborhood. In the 1950's and 60's this area exhibited many of the problems characterizing several of the other neighborhoods examined in this study. Deteriorating housing, and a general decline due to conversion of dwelling units and deferred and minimal maintenance was typical. However, urban renewal transformed the neighborhood and rising rents forced lower income people to move out, or to the fringes of the area.

The two neighborhoods covered in the fieldwork are the two western areas of Wrightwood and Sheffield. Wrightwood, which lies in the northwest portion of Lincoln Park, is the more middle-class neighborhood of the two areas. Many older white residents work in the trades or middle management. Although most younger families left because of poor schools, a new group of young people similar in socioeconomic characteristics to the established older residents has been moving into the neighborhood. Most of the residential structures are two and three flats. There is very little new development and no vacant property in the area. Many Wrightwood residents own multiple properties in the neighborhood.

In the Wrightwood area the older residents know and take care of each other. "We are a close community. Kids know what to do and where to go if there is trouble," said one parent explaining the block parent program. One also finds the suspicion of strangers typical in close communities. "When we see strangers, we call each other to see who they are and if they have a right to be there."

Sheffield, immediately south of Wrightwood, has changed considerably in the last ten years. Extensive renovation and new housing has attracted a more affluent professional class. In 1975, Sheffield was designated a historic district and placed in the National Register of Historic Places. The area is primarily residential with commercial activity restricted to two major commercial strips. Most of the Sheffield buildings were build in the 1880's just after the Chicago Fire. The streets are lined with trees, and many of the buildings are decked with turrets gables and stone carvings.

Although the residents of Sheffield are not as watchful as in Wrightwood this area is also considered "a great place to live." The neighborhood is characterized as organized and strong. The people are friendly and congenial.

Residents of the area move frequently; the median length of residence is 4.2 years. The population in the two Lincoln Park neighborhoods is predominantly white with a little over twenty-nine percent earning over $20,000 per year in 1976. Nine percent of the residents have baccalaureate degrees, fifteen percent have done post graduate work, and nineteen percent have had some college education. Twenty-one percent of the respondents reported involvement in community activities. A little over twenty percent own their own homes. The Chicago planning department estimates that the whole of Lincoln Park has suffered a 2.6 percent population loss

between 1970-75. Only four percent of the population are between the ages of eleven and twenty. Although this is the lowest proportion of our ten sites it is not much lower than is found in the three city samples (5.6%, 5.3%, 5.9%).

Not surprisingly, the neighborhood is perceived as a desirable place to live. Older residents point to the improvements in the neighborhood in the last ten years since "the less responsible people have moved out and the more responsible people have moved in." The area is sometimes referred to as an "adult recreation area," and many residents openly express their desire to keep it that way.

Neighborhood maintenance issues were among the most frequently mentioned concerns. These include both minor eyesores and the inconveniences that make life less pleasant, and major problems which threaten the very character of the neighborhood. Unsightly junkyards, inadequate garbage collections, dog litter, and shortage of parking spaces caused by the multiplicity of large institutions fall into the first category. More important than these, however, are those situations which bring undesirable change into the area. Residents have made substantial financial investments for renovation and are, in general, highly concerned about property values. They are very sensitive to incursions that might threaten the status quo. Consequently they worry about zoning changes which might introduce undesirable establishments into the area, additional high rise apartment buildings, and rising rents which are forcing out small business establishments.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATRIX

To a greater extent than in any of the other sites, Lincoln Park has a clearly articulated three tier level of territorial community organizations.

The community wide Lincoln Park Conservation Association (LPCA) is an umbrella for seven neighborhood organizations. Two of these, the Sheffield Neighborhood Association and the Wrightwood Neighborhood Conservation Association, are from our target area. Nearly fourteen percent of the groups mentioned on our survey were block clubs. In addition there are several business, service, and crime specific organizations active in the area. Twenty-one percent of the survey respondents has been involved in neighborhood groups, sixth among our ten sites.

The LPCA began almost twenty-five years ago as a response to urban renewal and to Lincoln Park being designated a slum by the city. Its purpose was and is to conserve and protect the area and to advertise the advantages of city living. It has about 3,000 members, counting those who are members of all the seven organizations. The LPCA offers its members service support and follow-up on building and zoning complaints, information on recreation and social services, serves as a clearinghouse for questions about city services, offers aid in promoting worthwhile projects, and publishes a monthly newsletter. While not allowed to be politically involved because of its charter, LPCA does put pressure on and protest about issues considered vital to its members.

The Sheffield Neighbor's Association was characterized by the LPCA executive director as one of its most viable member organizations, chiefly because of its heterogeneous population in terms of age and income, and Sheffield's new status as a historic district. Typical issues with which it deals are the expansion of high rises, street congestion, and the dog nuisance problem. The SNA has been active in trying to organize block clubs.

The Wrightwood Neighbor's Conservation Association began in 1962 and was then primarily concerned with the enforcement of building codes. The

LPCA executive director says that because there is little renovation in Wrightwood, and no vacant land to attract developers, there are not as many issues around which WNCA can organize. However, the WNCA has committees on parks, neighborhood beautification, and schools. It has run a clean-up campaign (Operation Pride), obtained bulk refuse pick-up for the area, and developed a long-range plan for the Wrightwood Neighborhood.

A branch of the Kiwanis Club is active in Lincoln Park and there is a NOVA office in the area which is an outpost of the Urban Progress Center. The latter is a service organization with seven community representatives in the field to help people in dealing with Public Aid, Legal Aid, and other bureaucratic problems.

The Christopher House is a service organization which runs continuing programs in English, guitar, tutoring, GED, and counseling. It has also sponsored programs on drug abuse, swimming, basketball, and takes applications from youth for summer employment and Illinois State Scholarships. A crime specific group called Concerned Allied Neighbors is a subgroup of Christopher House.

A Chicago Youth Center, a privately financed center, also serves the area and is the only place mentioned in the field notes where youth would be able to come and congregate. However, the director states that until recently, no white children from the area ever used the facility. Most of its users come from outside the area and as of the summer of 1977, about 45% of the youth served were black, 45% Spanish and only 10% white.

CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL ENVIRONMENT

Crime was not a pervasive concern of the residents of Lincoln Park during the field period. When questioned about crime problems, residents

identified burglary as the most serious problem in the area. Our survey confirms that more people thought burglary was a big problem than any other crime related issue. Those interviewed cited daytime burglaries as the most prevelant since a great number of residents work during the day and their homes are left empty. Although Lincoln Park does have a higher reported burglary rate than the other three Chicago sites, our survey shows no substantial difference in the number of actual break-ins over the past two years in the four Chicago sites, and, in fact, Lincoln Park victimization rates are lower than or equal to the other sites.

People using drugs was cited as being a big problem in the neighborhood almost as frequently as was burglary. Other crime related concerns which are usually associated with youth were cited as being a big problem less frequently. However, among those who discussed neighborhood problems in the fieldnotes, youth related activities were one of the concerns most frequently mentioned. At a meeting of the Wrightwood Neighbor's Conservation Association, a police officer expressed his opinion that the biggest problem in the area was kids, and that the biggest problem with kids was that there is no place for them to go. Teenagers hang out in tot lots, drink in the parks, loiter in front of local businesses and deface property with graffiti. In particular we note the territorial markings of local street gangs.* Respondents also complained about noise from neighborhood bars, fighting, and local prostitutes.

Although Lincoln Park has the smallest number of youth of any of the other sites, youth related problems rank along with burglary and

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*Where graffiti in Chicago frequently involves gang names, graffiti in Philadelphia is generally the names of individuals. This may appear less threatening to residents.

robbery in the frequency with which they are cited as being a big problem. Lincoln Park area residents who were interviewed felt that the majority of the crime is committed by those between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. People seventeen to adult were less often cited as the perpetrators of most crimes. Latinos were mentioned as being involved in drug dealing and drug related crimes. The gangs in the area, primarily Latino gangs, are blamed for much of the drugs as well as burglary and rape. Blacks from the nearby Cabrini Green housing project appear to be feared by many residents, but few cite them as being responsible for crime in the area. One resident felt that people in Lincoln Park do not like to single out Blacks as the perpetrators of crime because they are concerned about creating a racial issue. Many of the residents who had been victimized did not think that they were likely to be victimized again because they had taken precautionary measures. Some feel crime is going down because the poorer people have been moving out of the community.

Chicago

WICKER PARK

(2000N) ARMITAGE AVE

NORTH AVE

MILWAUKEE AVE

ASHLAND AVE

(1600N)

DIVISION ST

WESTERN AVE

DAMEN AVE

(2400W)

(1000N) AUGUSTA BLVD
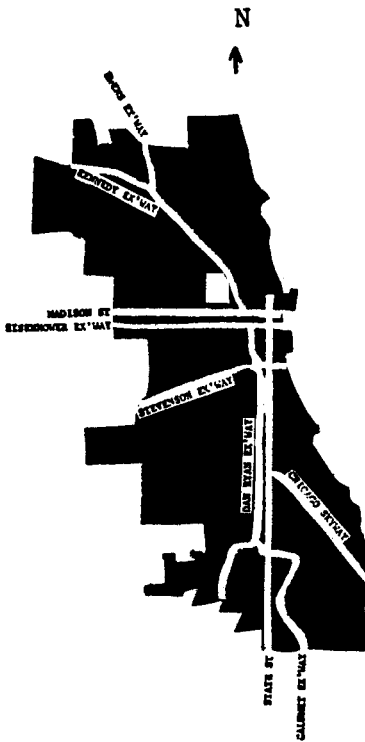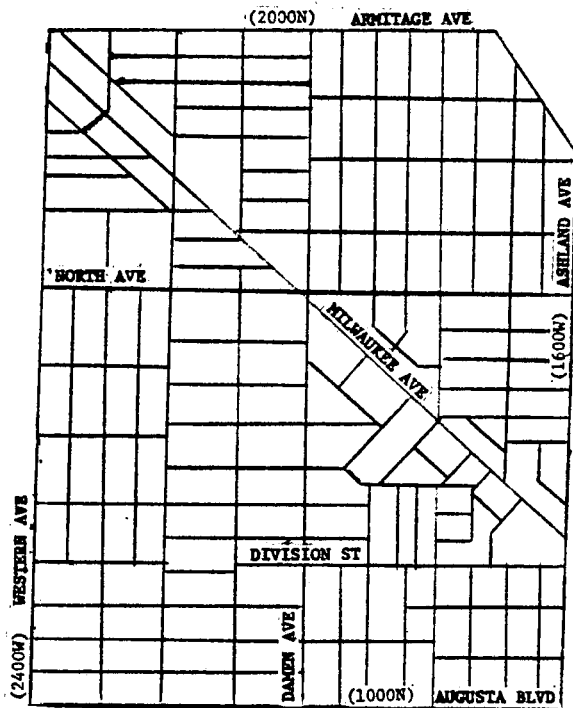
Demographic Profile

Wicker Park

	Wicker Park	Chicago
*Population 1970	43,081	3,369,359

Socioeconomic Status

	Wicker Park	Chicago
Percent Family Income Over $20,000	12.8	22.5
Percent Family Income Under $10,000	32.4	24.0
Percent Unemployed	14.4	7.7
Percent With Education Beyond High School	25.3	44.5
Percent Homeowners	35.0	35.6

Family, Life-Cycle Status

	Wicker Park	Chicago
Percent Living in Single Family Homes	26.1	30.2
Percent With Children at Home	53.6	41.7
Mean Number of Children per Household	1.28	.93
*Percent 11-20 Years Old	12.3	5.6
*Percent 61 Years or Older	8.0	12.6
Median Years of Residence	7.3	5.5
Percent Living in Area 5 Years or Less	41.6	48.0
Percent Living in Area 20 Years or More	18.7	18.8

Racial/Ethnic Status

	Wicker Park	Chicago
Percent Black	14.7	39.6
Percent Spanish	32.1	7.5
Percent Native Born	67.3	86.6

*Unless otherwise indicated data are from the Reactions to Crime Project Telephone Survey conducted in 1977. These are considered "best estimates" of the demographics of the area for the period of the research. Data with an asterisk are from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

WICKER PARK

Wicker Park is a small community lying in the near northwest side
of Chicago. Its population is predominantly lower working class with a
high proportion having incomes below the poverty level. Over fifty
percent of the residents are Black or Latino. The area and its residents
appear disorganized and powerless.

According to residents, Wicker Park was once more prosperous and
stable than it is today. Early in the century large stately homes were
built in North Wicker Park. The area was inhabited by German, Scandanavian,
Jewish, and Polish peoples. As time progressed, the Poles became dominant
and other Eastern European immigrant groups began to move into the area.
In the early 1960's a new and non-European immigrant group began to move
into the neighborhood—Latinos. Blacks are the most recent migrants.
Thus, as in a number of our other sites, Wicker Park has experienced
substantial ethnic change since the early 1960's.

Our telephone survey indicates that, at present, the area is about
thirty percent Latino, about two-thirds being Puerto Rican and one-third
Mexican. Residents, however, estimate the Hispanic population at between
forty and sixty percent. Fourteen percent of our survey respondents
were Black and eighteen percent were Polish. Wicker Park also has a

larger proportion of youth than any of our other sites. We estimate that over twelve percent of the population is between eleven and twenty years old. The median length of residence (7.3 years) is in the middle range of our ten sites. A little over forty percent of the population has lived in the area for five years or less. This reflects the most recent wave of new residents which began moving into the area in the early 1960's and has accelerated ever since.

The tight job market faced by the more recent immigrants contributes to the fourteen percent unemployment rate. Almost forty percent of the residents have no high school diploma and a little under six percent are college graduates. Thirty-five percent of the residents own their own homes. The Chicago Planning department estimates that the Humboldt Park area, which includes Wicker Park, has suffered a fourteen percent population loss between 1970 and 1975.

Most of the housing in the area is two and three story walk-ups, with the exception of two Chicago Housing Authority high rises for the elderly and an area known as Old Wicker Park where homes are being bought and renovated by young professionals. The northeast quadrant of Wicker Park appears to have remained predominantly Polish and is reasonably well maintained. The fieldworker visiting the area noted few people on the street and only one burned-out, boarded-up building. This contrasts with the rest of the area where such buildings are frequently found. The other neighborhoods within the locale reflect a greater ethnic mix than Old Wicker Park, with Blacks, whites and Latinos visible on the same blocks. Housing conditions are mixed. Many of the badly maintained buildings are owned by "slumlords" who live outside the community. Vacant lots dot the area. Many of these were previously the sites of housing destroyed by arson.

Adequate housing is difficult to find. Slumlords who refuse to maintain their buildings, high rents, and the continued threat of arson confront families, primarily minorities, attempting to settle there. One community leader estimates that over a thousand buildings have been destroyed in the past few years. Another points out that not more than twenty new units have been built in the last twenty years. In addition to the inadequate housing, community residents are confronted daily with large numbers of vacant lots, littered with garbage and weeds. Residents attempting to buy the lots adjacent to their homes frequently find that they cannot ascertain ownership. Those who have tried to fix up their homes find that mortgage money is not available to them.

Most residential areas are laced with small industrial sites. Milwaukee Avenue provides a focus for the community's retail business. There one finds clothing and furniture stores, as well as restaurants, bars, drug stores and a theater. Banks, offices, and light industry are often interspersed with residential neighborhoods. Many of the businesses are small, family operated storefronts and many of them keep their doors locked during working hours.

The inhospitable environment is not the sole concern of many Wicker Park residents. Heading the list of other major concerns are those related to basic survival needs. For a large group of residents in Wicker Park the major threat to their survival comes from unemployment and lack of education. There is a great deal of dissatisfaction with the public schools, perceived as failing to meet the needs of Latino youngsters.

This ethnic mix has produced severe inter-ethnic conflict. Nega-tive stereotypes are pervasive. The elderly white population is partic-

ularly hostile to the Puerto Ricans to whom they attribute neighborhood decay. Puerto Ricans are characterized as dirty and irresponsible. It is felt that many are transients with no interest in the community. White parents are frequently resentful of the school's bilingual programs and insist that Spanish-speaking parents are unwilling to participate in school affairs. Spanish-speaking families, however, feel that no effort is made to include them in those events where Spanish translation is not provided.

Puerto Ricans feel that they are the most disadvantaged and badly served group in the neighborhood. Minority programs, they argue, are geared to the needs of the smaller Black population. Conflict between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans is particularly severe, and neither group is very fond of the Cubans.

Ethnic conflict and hostility frequently erupts in violence. Recurring problems in one elementary school caused the imposition of a "closed campus" during lunch hour. This meant that kids would eat their lunch under the supervision of a teacher and would return immediately to classes rather than having some time in the schoolyard.

Political relations do not appear to be of any help in solving these problems. The consensus among area residents is that neither the whites nor the Latinos have any influence in City Hall.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATRIX

While many community organizations and social service groups can be found in Wicker Park, there is no single cohesive organization with which the entire community can identify. Community groups are either almost exclusively white or almost exclusively Latino. None is composed of an ethnic mixture which replicates the population of the neighborhood.

The concerns to which the white and Latino groups address themselves
are frequently different. Although there are a large number of community
groups in Wicker Park, they are less effective and involve a smaller
proportion of the community than in any other site. In Wicker Park only
eleven percent of our survey respondents report being involved with a
community group and only four percent report taking part in a group's
anti-crime activity.

The major community organization in the area, the Northwest Community
Organization (NCO), like the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council and
The Woodlawn Organization to be discussed below, traces its origin to the
activities of Saul Alinsky, the nationally known community organizer.
NCO was founded in 1961-2 by three priests and several residents as a
response to threats of urban renewal and condominium conversion. Wicker
Park is only a small part of the area in which NCO operates. NCO acts
as an umbrella group for a number of neighborhood organizations and
block clubs.

Although several of the officers are Latinos, the staff of NCO is
largely young white organizers who remain in the area for relatively
short periods of time. The organization has a paid staff of twelve who
do not necessarily live in the area. Block club organizing has been an
important strategy for the group but has not been overly successful in
the Wicker Park area. Only ten percent of the groups with which respondents
in our survey report being involved were block clubs. Unlike the other
two Alinsky organizations in our Chicago site, NCO assumes an adversary
relationship in most of its dealings with city agencies, adhering to the
traditional organizational techniques of confrontation. As part of a
large umbrella group NCO participated in securing the defeat of the
Chicago 21 plan, the city's urban renewal plan for the area. Fearful

that the area will become another Lincoln Park, i.e., rehabilitation, but not for the present residents, NCO leaders feel that "redevelopment has become a problem worse than what it's trying to solve." The message from the city to the residents seems to say: This will one day be a beautiful community, but it will no longer be yours.

The Wicker Park Neighborhood Council was formed before NCO and has since become affiliated with it. Like NCO, it has some Latino participation but is predominantly white in both membership and leadership. Also like NCO, it addresses issues that concern all the low income residents of the area. Their main activities concern building maintenance and rehabilitation, landlord-tenant relations, arson, and overall neighborhood development.

The Old Wicker Park Committee is dominated by young white professionals who work in downtown Chicago and are renovating the old mansions in one small part of the neighborhood. Members of the group are interested in transforming Wicker Park into a "fashionable" middle class community. Meetings are held every other week and are generally concerned with neighborhood maintenance issues. Interestingly, the Old Wicker Park Committee is not in the least concerned about the arson issue. And, indeed, they need not be since most residents describe the arson problem as "urban renewal by fire", which therefore affects only decaying areas.

The Latino organizations in the neighborhood are primarily service groups addressing the more immediate needs of the Latino community. The Allies for a Better Community (ABC) is an umbrella organization which, at the time of fieldwork, had existed for about six years as a multi-service social agency for the Wicker Park area. It attempts to deliver social services, recreation and education programs, employment services

and mental health support. Member organizations such as Casa Central, the Family Unity Center, and El Rincon offer job training programs, a variety of family services, legal aid, educational programs, drug rehabilitation, and help to those who cannot deal adequately with such city agencies as the Welfare Department.

A number of other Latino organizations were mentioned in the field-notes but little could be ascertained about these groups except that they attempt to aid and organize Puerto Ricans. One of these is the Puerto Rican Action Coalition which was formed as a direct response to riots in Humboldt Park during the spring of 1977. This is a coalition of a number of clubs and organizations which came together to present a united response to the riots. It is unclear what their goals had been or what they had been able to accomplish. Many community residents claim that the "leaders" who emerged after the riots were never heard of before and had done nothing for the Puerto Ricans but were seeking their own advancement and publicity. At least a half dozen other Latino organizations were noted but did not appear to be active.

Two organizations, Association House, a predominantly white settle-ment house which has one strong Latino leader on staff, and BUILD (Broader Involvement and Leadership Development) address the problems of youth and teenage gangs. While the former is a Wicker Park group, the latter covers five areas in Chicago. Association House offers the more traditional youth oriented programs--athletics, trips and some education. This group has worked to serve immigrants in their adjustments to American society since 1907. BUILD works to move gang leaders and members into more constructive activities. The organization uses street workers to elicit the participation of gang leaders who are then trained to take on leadership and staff positions in BUILD so that they can in turn

attract the participation of members of their gangs. This organization appears to have been successful with the participants they have attracted, but the overall impact on the level of gang activity in the community is difficult to ascertain.

The Local YMCA has programs for all youths in the area up to the age of seventeen. These programs involve typical recreation activities but also include clean-up efforts throughout the Wicker Park area. The YMCA also had a police referral program known as the Youth Offenders Program which they considered quite successful. With the creation of the Youth Services Bureau the YMCA discontinued its program.

The organizations in Wicker Park are addressing the same kinds of neighborhood maintenance issues as those in Lincoln Park, but the maintenance issues with which they must cope differ in both quality and quantity. Whereas Wicker Park groups are concerned with dilapidated buildings, slumlords, and vacant lots which they cannot control, the Lincoln Park organizations seek to improve park facilities and to keep establishments which attract undesirable clientele out of the area. Both groups are concerned about teens, but in Wicker Park gangs are far more numerous. The most important difference is that in Lincoln Park the organizations work to keep their areas as they are, while in Wicker Park groups work for changes which will not be implemented at the expense of the inhabitants currently residing there. Another difference between the two areas is that public officials who were invited to Wicker Park organization meetings often did not attend and frequently failed to even respond to the invitations.

White organizers admit that they are not particularly effective in dealing with Puerto Rican residents. Latino organizers, NCO leaders claim, are not available because they demand more money than the white

young liberals and they get so involved in community affairs that "they forget organizational maintenance issues." Latino and white leaders in the area agree that the Latino population is difficult to organize around the issues addressed by NCO. An NCO staff member who has worked to organize tenants in a dilapidated building, felt the "people have to be encouraged to take action. They won't work for themselves." And a Latino staff member of a private agency pointed out that there are no grassroots community organizations among the Latinos. "Programs rather than community organizations get things done."

CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL ENVIRONMENT

Compared to other sites in our study, a very large proportion of Wicker Park residents are concerned about these crime related issues. The proportion which thought that burglary was a big problem was higher than any site other than Visitacion Valley. Wicker Park residents have the highest mean estimate of risk of being a street crime victim, and are second only to Woodlawn in estimating the likelihood of rape or burglary victimization.

Throughout the fieldnotes crime is identified as a severe and pervasive problem in the area. Arson is by far the most frequently talked about concern of Wicker Park residents. The type of robbery most frequently discussed is purse snatching which particularly effects the elderly residents of the high rise buildings. Gangs, drug traffic, auto theft, and burglary are all considered to be serious problems.

Younger people find the community reasonably safe in the daytime when "everyone knows where they are supposed to be, but at night it's terrible, the gangs come out and there's a lot going on." The quality of life of the neighborhood was neatly summed up by a twelve year old who

said, "it feels just terrible to be walking alone around four o'clock in the afternoon." Wicker Park residents feel less safe than residents of any other site. Only 45% report feeling safe on the street at night.

The Wicker Park area is plagued with a great many probelms, but foremost among them is arson, and fear of arson pervades the area. The actual number of fires has proven almost impossible to document. Insurance records, which are more accurate than the Fire Marshall's records, remain confidential. The area in which Wicker Park is located has proportionately far more fires than any other area of its size in the city. Some residents estimate that in the past few years up to one thousand buildings have been lost to fires, vandalism, or condemnation. Most of the fires took place in abandoned or partially abandoned buildings on the verge of abandonment. However, the fires sometimes spread to buildings which were inhabited.

While the field data suggests that intense concern over crime in Wicker Park is generated by the fear of arson, several other crime problems are recognized by residents. Drugs are frequently considered a major problem. Division Street, and particularly its taverns, are repeatedly characterized as dangerous and as "hot spots" of drug dealing. It is said that people come up from the south side to deal on Division, and some residents say even the police are afraid to patrol the taverns.

Wicker Park is the only one of the Chicago field sites in which gang activities constituted a major problem. Much of the vandalism about which residents express concern may refer to turf identification markings of area gangs. The combination of ethnic conflict and large numbers of young people makes for an explosive situation. Local parks are defined as dangerous because gangs hang out there and drugs are used openly. Most residents who expressed their fears in the field

notes identified the perpertrators of crimes as male youths between the ages of thirteen and eighteen years old.

Purse snatching is always associated with youth and frequently with gang members. The elderly residents who live in the Chicago Housing Authority high rise buildings, in particular, express great concern and fear. These senior citizens are fearful of the youth who know when they get their social security checks and hang out and wait to intercept them on their way to the store. One building in particular was frequently cited as a place where the youth hang out and where stolen purses and wallets are often found discarded in the basement.

Relations between police and the community are often hostile. The police are seen as prejudiced against the Latino residents. Latinos accuse the officers of brutality, harassment, illegal searches and seizures, and selling or using confiscated drugs. There are complaints about the inadequate representation of Latino's among police, but Latinos on the force are reported to be as hostile to the Spanish speaking population as are the whites. Latino respondents point out that Latino policemen are generally paired with a white policeman. Consequently they treat Latinos harshly to show "that they can be tough on their own."

Police on the other hand have an equally dismal view of the population which they serve. They complain about the lack of citizen cooperation. Latino policemen feel pressured and used by their own people. "I would like to help them out with some of their problems, but they don't deserve it. They use you and then screw you."

A Police Neighborhood Relations Officer sees members of the NCO as opportunists who stir people up against the police and circulate rumors that the politicians, realtors and landlords are behind the arson in the area. "They are traitors to Chicago. . .They demand instead of

requesting respectfully." While the police consider members of the NCO as traitors, NCO members feel betrayed by the politicians and the city agencies. There are many area residents who do believe that real estate speculators and politicians are connected with the arson in the area, and that the city, unable to implement its original urban renewal plan, is conducting urban renewal by fire. There is the feeling that the entire system is corrupt, and that the establishment is interested in the land but not the people in Wicker Park.
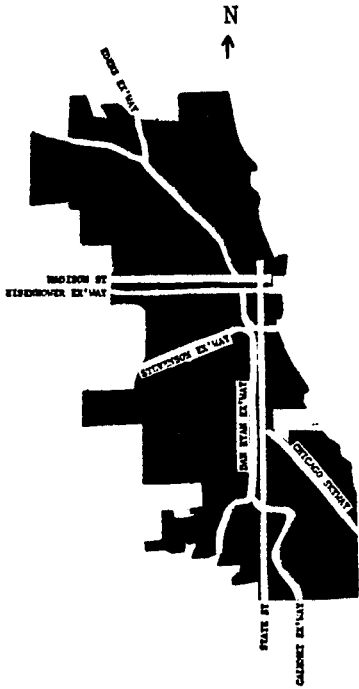
Chicago

WOODLAWN
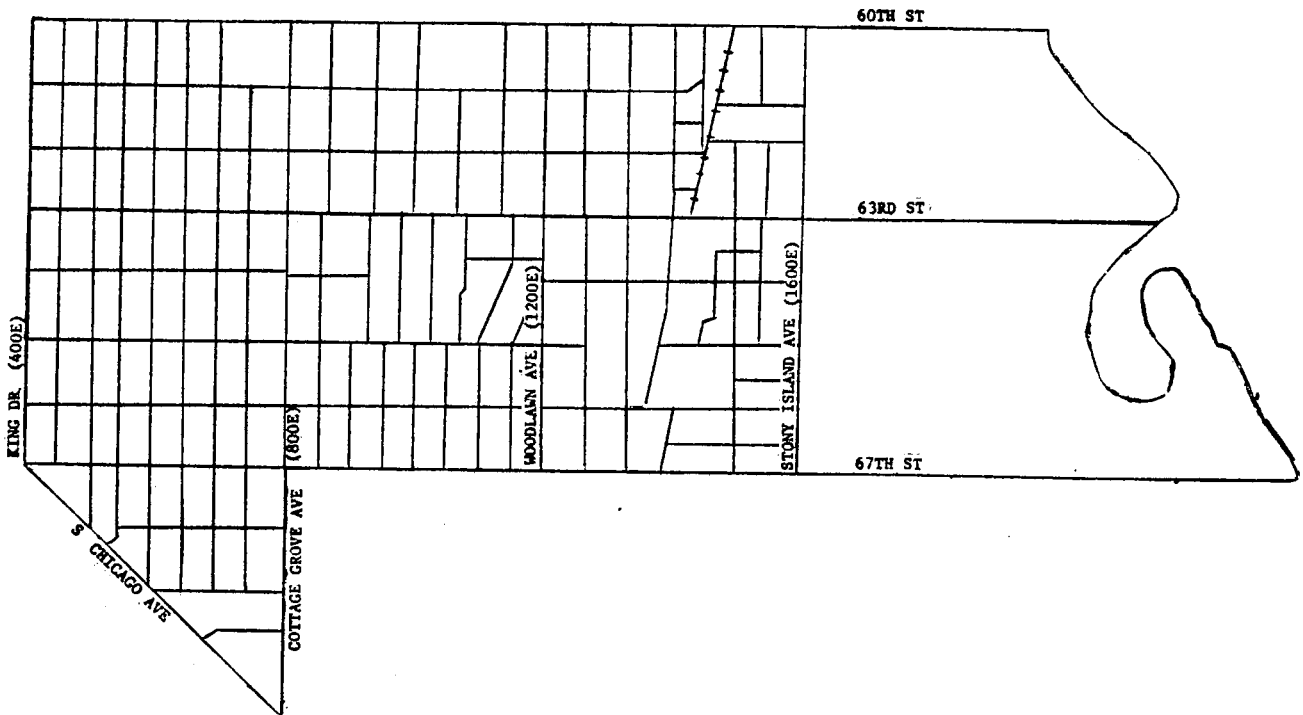
Demographic Profile

Woodlawn

	Woodlawn	Chicago
*Population 1970	53,814	3,369,359

Socioeconomic Status

Percent Family Income Over $20,000	16.4	22.5
Percent Family Income Under $10,000	29.2	24.0
Percent Unemployed	16.9	7.7
Percent With Education Beyond High School	32.6	44.5
Percent Homeowners	16.9	35.6

Family, Life-Cycle Status

Percent Living in Single Family Homes	12.9	30.2
Percent With Children at Home	37.1	41.7
Mean Number of Children per Household	.83	.93
*Percent 11-20 Years Old	6.0	5.6
*Percent 61 Years or Older	22.0	12.6
Median Years of Residence	8.9	5.5
Percent Living in Area 5 Years or Less	41.9	48.0
Percent Living in Area 20 Years or More	24.2	18.8

Racial/Ethnic Status

Percent Black	95.9	39.6
Percent Spanish	0.0	7.5
Percent Native Born	98.3	86.6

*Unless otherwise indicated data are from the Reactions to Crime Project Telephone Survey conducted in 1977. These are considered "best estimates" of the demographics of the area for the period of the research. Data with an asterisk are from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

WOODLAWN

The Woodlawn area lies in the southeast portion of Chicago and is bluntly described by many area residents as a "ghetto slum." Over ninety-five percent of the residents are Black. When discussing the problems they face, residents describe an image similar to that of Wicker Park. Unemployment is high, particularly among teenagers. Much of the area's housing is inadequate. Arson is no longer the problem that it was in the early 70's, but few of the buildings destroyed by fire have been replaced and unsightly vacant lots are scattered throughout this area. Although the Woodlawn residents do not share the language problems of Latinos in Wicker Park, they feel that the education offered in the public schools is irrelevant to their needs and view this as a major problem in the community.

The majority of buildings in the area are three and four story walkup apartment buildings. They are usually rundown and deteriorated in appearance. There is no public housing in the area, but two new complexes built and managed by The Woodlawn Organization provide housing for low and moderate income groups. Although this housing is in generally good condition, there have been some maintenance problems.

Residents of the area note the differences between West Woodlawn, where there are more elderly and some middle income residents, and East Woodlawn, where most of the problems exist. Even in East Woodlawn there are block by block differences. On several occasions the fieldworker described her travels through one block of littered vacant lots and boarded up abandoned buildings, followed by an adjacent block of well maintained twoflats with neat lawns. Single family dwellings usually make up less than a full block, generally covering only one side of the street. The pattern in Woodlawn is that every block has at least one, and usually several, vacant lots. Vacant lots in the better neighborhoods are usually cleaner and less offensive than in other neighborhoods where they are frequently strewn with litter, broken glass, abandoned cars, refrigerators, and the like.

The commercial areas such as 63rd Street under the shadow of the "El" tracks overhead, are a combination of vacant blocks alternating with strips of taverns and occasional stores. Many stores and businesses are boarded up. The few stores that are open are protected by heavy iron grates. An area of five blocks on the west end of 63rd Street contains numerous drug stores, markets, cleaners, barbers, and clothing stores. While this appears to be a commercially active area, the stores all have heavy grates and/or bullet-proof windows. Clothing stores cater to the flashy "Super Fly" look. Many stores in the area are accused of exploiting local residents.

Residents and organization staff members expressed the opinion that the city does not care about Woodlawn, and would be content to see the neighborhood deteriorate even further.

Throughout the field notes, the University of Chicago is cited by residents as a major problem in Woodlawn's battle for survival. Residents

strongly believe that the University is continually planning to expand

into the community, and is just waiting for the correct time to move.

They assert that it has already established a buffer zone by creating

dead end and one-way streets to keep Woodlawn residents out of the

University area. There is a persistent feeling among residents that

the city silently supports the University's plans for expansion.

Unemployment is a serious problem for the residents of Woodlawn.

Nearly seventeen percent of our survey respondents report being unem-

ployed. Of those residents who are employed, more than two-thirds are

classified in the blue collar or service occupations. The dearth of

business in the area has exacerbated high unemployment rates for youth

between 16 and 19 years of age.

Woodlawn has a relatively stable population with a median length of

residence of 8.9 years. Nineteen percent of the population have lived

in the area twenty years or more. Tenants make up the largest proportion

of area residents. Less than seventeen percent of the survey respondents

owned their homes. Over forty-one percent of the sample have no high

school diploma, thirty-three percent are high school graduates, and under

four percent have college degrees.

Despite the evidence of urban decay, some Woodlawn residents are

optimistic about their neighborhood. Some perceive the neighborhood as

a "desperate community," as a "dead end for young people," or as a

"jungle housing people who deal in drugs and violence." Many others

feel that the worst is over. Over thirty-eight percent of the survey

respondents felt the neighborhood was changing for the better, as compared

to only eighteen percent of the Wicker Park residents who felt this way.

Many residents feel that the neighborhood simply has too many assets in

its location and the amenities provided by transportation, the beach and

a large park, to be permanently disabled. The most optimistic response came from one resident who believed "that Woodlawn will be a highlight of the city in a few years." Others see lots of problems, but insist that the people who care will improve the area. An organizer for the Woodlawn Organization finds that "the feeling of hopelessness that used to plague the area is slowly disappearing. I think people who are living here really feel that there is a future in Woodlawn."

ORGANIZATIONAL MATRIX

Organizational life is dominated by The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), founded in 1960 by Saul Alinsky. Aside from the Back of the Yards Council, TWO is the oldest Alinsky organization studied. It was founded as a reaction to the deterioration of the area and to encroachment by the University of Chicago.

TWO is a well established organization that deals with a wide range of social and economic problems. Its goal is "the restructuring of Wood-lawn, physically, economically, and socially." The Northwest Community Organization, and TWO are both Alinsky organizations established in the 1960's, but they have taken very different directions. As we have seen, NCO has for the most part remained a struggling grassroots organization securing occasional victories through the use of Alinsky-style confrontation tactics. TWO, on the other hand, has set aside the adversary approach which characterized its earlier years, and devotes most of its energies to developing local economic institutions, and to assisting area residents in their dealings with city and federal agencies.

Over the years TWO has become the largest employer in the community, and established a neighborhood bureaucracy. It has developed its own housing projects and retail outlets. TWO provides many services which

are usually delivered by private or public agencies. During the field
work there were roughly 230 people on the TWO payroll. This does not in-
clude individuals who work for TWO but are paid by other agencies.

There is some controversy in the community about the direction that
TWO is taking. Both staff and outsiders claim that the emphasis on
economic development has forced attention away from the severe social
problem still plaguing the community. The president of both TWO and
its offspring, The Woodlawn Economic Development Corporation, argues that
the long range solution to social problems is in economic development.
The impact of this program is clearly visible. TWO has constructed and
now manages two housing developments, a supermarket, and a movie theater.
However its successes, both in its own development as an organization
and as an instrument of economic growth, have created some internal problems.
There appears to be a great deal of dissatisfaction among lower level staff
who feel that TWO executives are deriving excessive personal financial
benefits from their positions.

Beyond economic development TWO provides the Woodlawn community with
a wide variety of services. It offers a number of programs and counsel-
ing services for welfare recipients, senior citizens, the unemployed, and
those needing help with housing problems.

TWO serves as an umbrella for the organizational life of the Woodlawn
community. Most of the block clubs in East Woodlawn are affiliated with
TWO. Some of the West Woodlawn block clubs have chosen to affiliate with
TWO, but most are independent. The western area of Woodlawn was not as
seriously disrupted by the problems which plagued the area in the 1960's
and early 1970's.

Nearly thirty percent of the community groups mentioned on the
telephone survey were block clubs. In many areas the impact of block

club activities are clearly visible. One block club member illustrated the effectiveness of her club by getting the city to tear down an abandoned building. "When we want city or TWO assistance we present a united front and usually get what we want." Frequently clubs turn to TWO, rather than to the precinct captain or the Ward Committeeman for assistance with city services. Some block clubs sponsor social functions and some involve neighborhood youngsters in junior programs. Upgrading the community economically is the primary interest of TWO and upgrading the community aesthetically is the primary concern of the organized block clubs.

The West Woodlawn Women's Community Club is another important group in the area. This club has been in existence in Woodlawn for many years, and is both a social and service oriented organization. Although the group enjoyed active membership in the past, its leaders report a serious decline in activities because most members have grown old and few young women have joined. The Women's Club focuses primarily on the needs of younger children, and on some neighborhood maintenance. They have run tot lots, supplied safety guards at school crossings, and sponsored neighborhood clean up programs.

Church affiliation in Woodlawn is strong and many residents reported participating in social and service activities run by their churches.

CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL ENVIRONMENT

Although Woodlawn's reputation as an area troubled by crime finds support in a high reported crime rate, many of the residents believe that the problem is no more serious than in any other part of the city. Respondents point out that many of the problems which plagued the area in the sixties, such as gang warfare and arson, are no longer prevalent. Residents assert that there are few current problems with gangs. Most gang members, they feel, are either in jail, or have married and become

absorbed into the establishment. Youths interviewed in Woodlawn almost unanimously reported interest in "doing their own thing", rather than joining gangs. Arson, which had been an extremely serious problem, has diminished. Most of the businesses which had previously suffered fire damage never reopened and buildings were either left abandoned or razed. Thus, as one fireman explained, there are few fires today because everything that could be burnt down already has been torched.

People feel the neighborhood is getting better, but they do not yet feel that it is safe. Indeed, Woodlawn residents have the highest estimate of risk of being a burglary victim of any of the ten sites. Women residents of Woodlawn have a higher estimate of the risk of rape than women residents of any of the other sites. And residents of Woodlawn are second only to Wicker Park residents in their overall estimate of being the victim of a street crime. Moreover, fewer Woodlawn residents feel safe during the day than residents of any other site, and only in Wicker Park do fewer residents feel safe at night. Members of any age group interviewed agreed that the problems of street crimes were indeed serious. Many noted personal or indirect victimization experiences; muggings, robbery, and purse snatching were all frequently mentioned. The majority of those interviewed said that their block was safe while many others were not, or that if they ventured from their block they could expect trouble. The residents of the TWO housing projects consistently reported these and the surrounding areas as safe.

The incivility problems identified in Wicker Park are also prevalent in Woodlawn. Pimps, hustlers and dope pushers are objects of considerable concern. Much of the crime in the area is attributed to the heavy drug use found among the area's youngsters. Abandoned buildings, bars, and the general disorder attributed by some to inadequate city services characterize much of East Woodlawn.

Our survey shows that nearly thirty-six percent of Woodlawn respondents consider people using drugs a big problem. Close behind concern about drugs is their uneasiness about robbery. Nearly thirty-four percent felt that robbery was a big problem in the neighborhood. In only 2 sites, Wicker Park and Visitacion Valley, did more people consider robbery a big problem.

It is not surprising, with the memory of street gangs so close at hand, that teenagers hanging out would be one of the more frequently mentioned concerns. As in Lincoln Park and the Mission District, about twenty-six percent feel burglary is a big problem. With regard to vandalism, Woodlawn residents fall close to the median of the ten sites. As would be expected from the conditions which we have previously described, the proportion of residents who feel that abandoned or burned out buildings are a big problem is high when compared to the other sites. Only in Wicker Park do residents more frequently cite this problem.

Woodlawn residents share with Wicker Park many of the negative perceptions of the police, but there is a qualitative difference. The majority of responses reflect a wariness about the police, a feeling that in general they are ineffective and cannot do much about many of the problems which trouble residents.

Both Wicker Park and Woodlawn have been plagued in the past by arson. There have been fewer fires in Woodlawn over the past few years but residents claim this is only because there is not much left to burn.

Similar to people who live in Wicker Park, Woodlawn residents see their neighborhood as threatened by outside forces which are beyond their control. In Woodlawn the threat is the University of Chicago, while in Wicker Park it is the powerful real estate interests and urban renewal. In each case the result is the same--the dislocation of the present residents from their neighborhoods. In both neighborhoods Alinsky

style community organizations were begun in the 1960's specifically to

combat the impending land encroachment.

Chicago
BACK OF THE YARDS

N

ARCHER AVE

35TH ST

(2400W) WESTERN BLVD.

(3900S) PERSHING RD

(1600W) ASHLAND AVE

43RD ST

(1200W) RACINE AVE

47TH ST

DAMEN AVE

50TH ST

(1100W) ABERDEEN AVE

(2600W) CALIFORNIA AVE

(5500S) GARFIELD BLVD

59TH ST
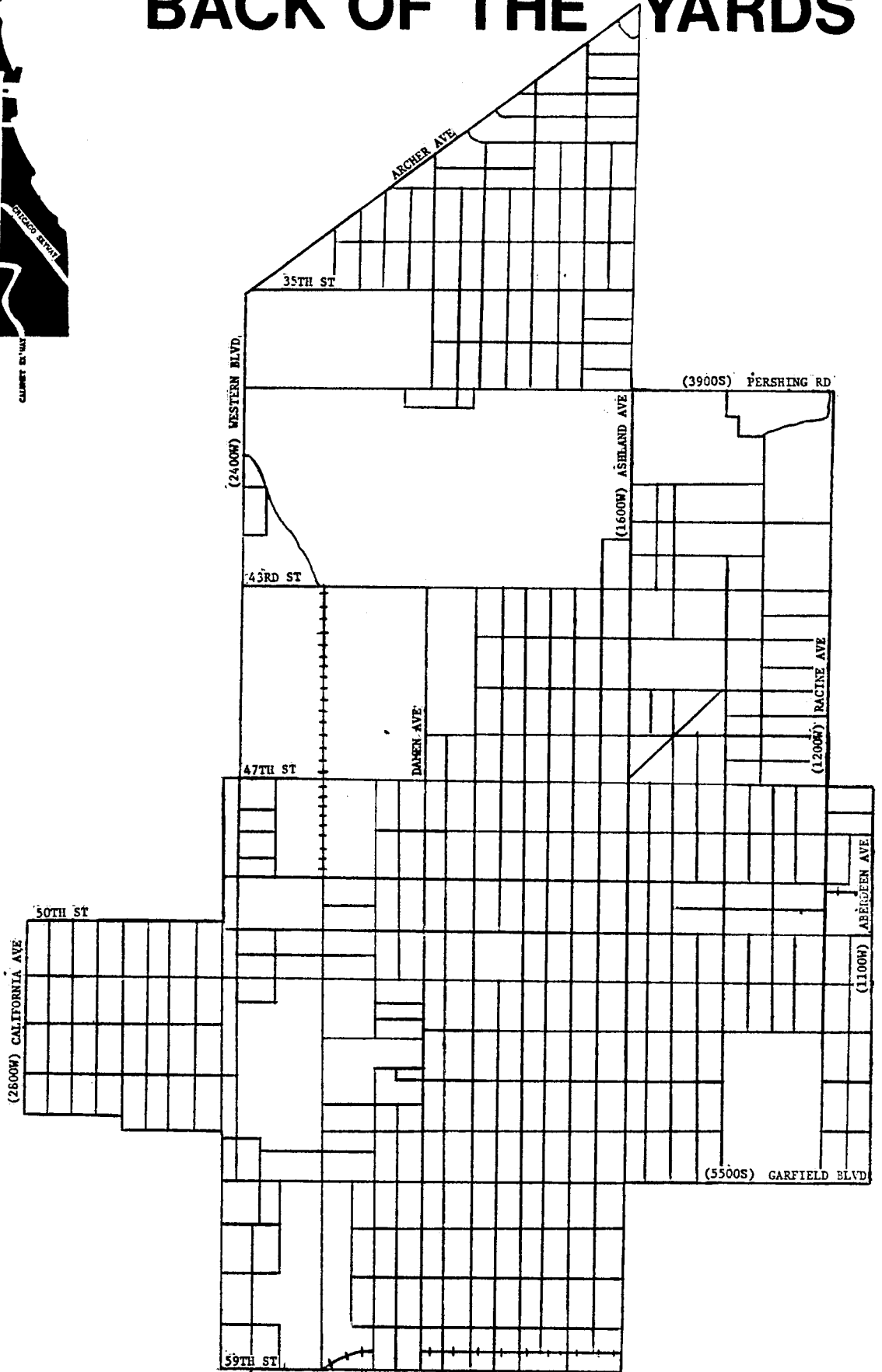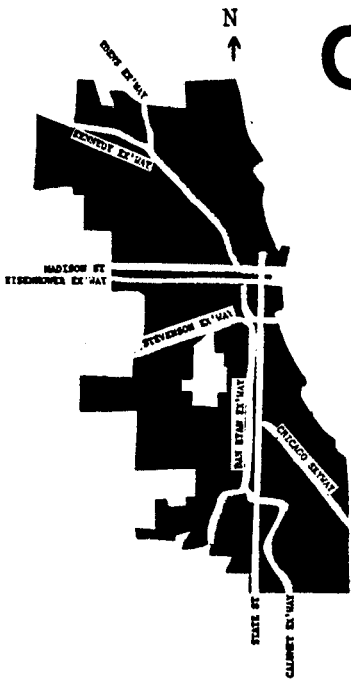
Demographic Profile

Back of the Yards

	Back of the Yards	Chicago
*Population 1970	64,761	3,369,359

Socioeconomic Status

	Back of the Yards	Chicago
Percent Family Income Over $20,000	14.8	22.5
Percent Family Income Under $10,000	19.6	24.0
Percent Unemployed	12.2	7.7
Percent With Education Beyond High School	22.8	44.5
Percent Homeowners	42.8	35.6

Family, Life-Cycle Status

	Back of the Yards	Chicago
Percent Living in Single Family Homes	37.6	30.2
Percent With Children at Home	56.2	41.7
Mean Number of Children per Household	1.30	.93
*Percent 11-20 Years Old	9.0	5.6
*Percent 61 Years or Older	12.0	12.6
Median Years of Residence	8.4	5.5
Percent Living in Area 5 Years or Less	36.5	48.0
Percent Living in Area 20 Years or More	25.8	18.8

Racial/Ethnic Status

	Back of the Yards	Chicago
Percent Black	21.0	39.6
Percent Spanish	16.6	7.5
Percent Native Born	83.2	86.6

*Unless otherwise indicated data are from the Reactions to Crime Project Telephone Survey conducted in 1977. These are considered "best estimates" of the demographics of the area for the period of the research. Data with an asterisk are from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

BACK OF THE YARDS

Back of the Yards is a community with large residential, commercial, and industrial areas southwest of the old Union Stockyards. Since the 19th century the Back of the Yards area has been the home of recent immigrants and first generation citizens working in the stockyards. Polish, Mexicans, Irish, Germans, Lithuanians, Ukranians, and others are all represented, with Mexicans being the most recent immigrants to the area. For most Mexicans, Back of the Yards is the second area of settlement, attracting the more established working class who can afford to leave the nearby Pilsen neighborhood which serves as the entry point for many Mexican immigrants to Chicago. Over the past ten years Blacks have moved into the area south of Garfield Boulevard.

As this background would suggest, the present population is ethnically quite diverse. About forty-five percent of area residents are of European background. The Polish are the largest of these, accounting for about twenty-two percent of the population. Nineteen percent of the population is Black, and seventeen percent Hispanic. Unlike Wicker Park, most Hispanics in Back of the Yards are Mexicans rather than Puerto Ricans.

There is at least as much ethnic diversity in this area as in Wicker Park, but the level of ethnic conflict appears to be lower. The

Mexican residents are for the most part similar in socioeconomic status to the local white population and have been reasonably well integrated into the community. However interviews indicate a need for more services oriented to Mexican needs. A related problem is reflected in the policy of the neighborhood newspaper whose editor does not run stories oriented to Latino community interests. This policy, he stated, was instituted in response to complaints from whites in the community who objected to news coverage directed at the interests of minority residents in the Back of the Yards.

The Black population moving into the area is considered a greater threat. Respondents living in areas where black residents are settling report a good deal of tension and fear. Although other minority groups have been more or less integrated into the community the Black immigration has produced some measure of white flight.

The influx of Hispanic and black families has occurred over the past ten years, and Back of the Yards is not a community undergoing rapid change. Though ethnically mixed, the population is relatively stable. Back of the Yards has the highest mean length of residence in the neighborhood, 14 years, of any of the Chicago sites. Over twenty-two percent of survey respondents have lived in the area more than twenty years.

The residents are primarily working class with a little over twenty percent in the higher income bracket (over $20,000) and another twenty-four percent earning under $10,000. Twelve percent of the population is unemployed. The Back of the Yards area has the highest percentage of home owners (42%) among the Chicago sites. Thirty-four percent of the respondents have not completed their high school education, forty-one percent are high school graduates and five percent have college degrees.

Housing in Back of the Yards is mixed. Single family homes, two story walk ups and a few four story apartment buildings are found in all

neighborhoods, but there are no high rise buildings and no public housing units. A few vacant lots are scattered throughout residential developments. Homes in the area are old but usually well maintained. Most of sidewalks and streets are clean and in good condition. About half of the buildings are owner-occupied and many of the rental properties are owned by residents in the area. A number of single family homes were built in the mid to late 1950's, but there has been little new residential construction since then.

Black residents live primarily in the south and southwestern portion of the area. Buildings here are in greater decay than in the northerly sections. The area south of Garfield Blvd. is dotted with abandoned and boarded up homes and some burned out buildings.

Service industries are scattered throughout the area and the general residential character of the neighborhood is dotted with commercial strips. Major businesses include a large department store, several chain food stores, and a few banks. There are also a number of smaller neighborhood groceries, meat markets, and clothing stores. Although the Stockyards were closed in 1959, a few industrial concerns maintain officers and buildings in the old stockyards area. Despite redevelopment plans most of the stockyard land remains vacant. Trucking and railroad shipping have become more prominent industries in the area since the closing of the stockyards, but most of the area residents appear to be employed outside the community.

Interviews in the Back of the Yards area reveal general satisfaction with the neighborhood on the part of elderly and middle aged residents. Many view the neighborhood as a kind of protected enclave. "We're a little pocket here protected from a lot of problems because we're cut off from the city by the expressway, factories and government buildings." The neighborhood is frequently compared to a small town. People are

proud of the neighborhood. Groups of teenagers with nothing to do are seldom found hanging out on street corners. Consequently, even the elderly feel comfortable and safe.

Another factor which distinguishes the Back of the Yards from most of the other neighborhoods in this study is the perception that the area has not changed. "We're still basically an immigrant community with good kids and strict and caring parents." When asked about the direction of neighborhood change on the survey, over fifty-four percent replied that the area had remained the same. This was substantially higher than any other Chicago site, and it appears that this stability is quite comforting to many of the area residents.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATRIX

Over forty years old, the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council (BOYC) is known for its strength and longevity by community organizers throughout the country. The Council was founded in the 1930's by Union Leaders, a prominent Chicago Bishop, and Saul Alinsky to meet the needs of the low income stockyard workers. It since has become the dominant institution in the community. During the 1930's the area residents were faced with problems of inadequate salaries and poor working conditions in the stockyards, dilapidated and overcrowded housing, high crime and juvenile delinquency, and ethnic conflict. These problems are similar in many respects to those which today are facing the residents of Woodlawn and Wicker Park.

The Council and the Union, together with the support of the Catholic Church, were able to overcome ethnic hostilities, and to persuade people to work together for the common good. Hostility and suspicion were over-come by the need to work together against a common enemy, the Packinghouses

that dominated the neighborhood. An early battle with the Democratic Organization ended in a Council victory. Since then relationships between the Council and the political establishment in the city have been close and cooperative.

The Back of the Yards Council has the most political clout of any organization studied. The Council has excellent relations with all public and private institutions relevant to the community. This includes not only the political organization and city agencies, but also the economic, educational, and commercial institutions which serve the area. Residents in the Back of the Yards do not suffer from a lack of commercial establishments; they do not have problems getting mortgage loans for home improvement; police and fire department services are there when they need them. Most important, the Back of the Yards Council has access to the information needed to cope with the problems in the neighborhood. One need only compare the dilapidated buildings in Wicker Park and Woodlawn with the well kept buildings in Back of the Yards. The Council has a file which indicates the owner of every house in the area. When there are code violations the property owner is contacted. If there is no response, complaints are filed with the city. Neighborhood residents traditionally contact the Council, rather than city agencies, when building violations are noted. The Council is on good terms with other city bureaucracies. For example, a problem with electrical fires was dealt with by arranging for the fire department to conduct fire inspections. Residents were promised that they would not be cited for code violations.

Virtually every organization in the area is associated with the Council. However, the level of involvement in community organizational life is not particularly high. Twnety percent of the survey respondents reported being involved in a community group. This is the ranked sixth

among our ten sites. Moreover, most of those who are _actively_ involved, i.e., attend meetings, are the older members of the community. At one meeting, for example, of the approximately two hundred fifty people in attendance, almost all were senior citizens. There were no young people in attendance, no Blacks, and few Latinos. Speakers discussed services for the elderly, free meal programs, and assistance in filling out income tax forms. The executive director spoke about a march to the local podiatric college where senior citizens would have their feet checked for free. One park superintendent estimated that about eighty percent of the Council's programs were for senior citizens.

CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL ENVIRONMENT

The Back of the Yards Council itself has made a direct effort to downplay the crime situation in the community. One of the clearest indications of this approach is the policy of the Council's weekly newspaper, the _Back of the Yards Journal_, to exclude stories about crime from its pages. The newspaper strives to present a positive and upbeat view of the community and of the Council. The editor believes that crime stories do more to create fear than to add to people's information about crime. By keeping the area's news positive the editor feels fears are allayed and the stability of the area is promoted. This policy raised criticism from both Council members and other area residents. Some believed that alerting residents to locations where crimes had occurred, particularly purse snatching and robbery, would provide a valuable service to neighborhood residents by making them aware of areas to be avoided.

The actual rate of reported crime in the area is low. For the crimes of burglary, robbery, assault, and rape, Back of the Yards has the lowest reported rates of the four Chicago sites. Crime is not seen to be a major

problem by residents of the community. The most frequently mentioned concerns are vandalism, shop lifting, and drug use. Although there is some mention of gang activities, it does not appear to be a major concern for neighborhood residents. Similarly, the survey results show that teenagers hanging out, vandalism, and people using drugs are the crime related issues most frequently cited by respondents as being a big problem in the neighborhood. Virtually all criminal acitivity in the neighborhood is attributed to young people and to outsiders. Shoplifting, for example, is believed to be perpetrated by neighborhood teenagers, though the executive director feels they are outsiders.

Both the field data and the survey data show that there is comparatively little fear of crime in Back of the Yards. Those that did express fears generally cited Blacks as the perpetrators of most crimes. Parks in the Black areas were singled out as particularly dangerous.

The relations between the police and the Back of the Yards Council are excellent. Police are highly visible in the area, with frequent car patrols, and foot patrols in some shopping areas. Police are requested to check in at least daily with area businesses, and the Council's executive director exerts pressure on those police officers who do not comply. The police and the Council have cooperated in sponsoring a number of programs.

The relationship between the Council and the security guards of the major department store in the community are not so amiable. Specifically, there is strong disagreement about how much discretion should be left to the guards. Security guards hesitate to call police for petty thefts or first offenses. The executive director however, wants every case referred to the Council or to the police.

SAN FRANCISCO

San Francisco's physical position as Hand's End on the Bay was
critical in its history and is central in its current image. It is
a meeting of land and water, East and West, as symbolized by the span
of the Golden Gate. The initial attraction of the city--Gold, the bay
and shipping, the railroad--brought European and Asian immigrants, as
well as American settlers pushing West.

The ethnic composition of the city reflects the early European
immigrants with concentrations of Italians, Germans, and Irish. But
the largest immigrant group by far is the Chinese, spread throughout
the city but predominantly concentrated in San Francisco's famous
Chinatown. There is also a substantial concentration of Japanese in
Japantown a few blocks east of Fillmore Street.

Blacks constituted a very small minority before World War II,
but an increasing number arrived over the next thirty years, and by
1970 11.9 percent of San Francisco's population was Black. They are
concentrated in the Fillmore District and the massive Hunter's Point
public housing projects.

The Mission District houses San Francisco's second largest im-
migrant population--Latinos--principally from Mexico. It is fitting
that this area is now Spanish, once again, for its famed Mission
Dolores reflects the Spanish-Mexican historical origins of the city.

Most industry is concentrated in other cities of the Bay Area
(Oakland, Richmond) while San Francisco looms as the major commercial,
financial, and corporate center of the area.

Politically and socially San Francisco is well-known for its rather
open and tolerant life style--what some have termed a "culture of civility."

San Francisco

Legend

1 - Mission

2 - Visitacion Valley

3 - Sunset

It is a center of both traditional and avant-garde culture, the latter concentrated in Haight-Ashbury and covering the "beat" through the "flower children" eras.

Politically San Francisco is more wide-open, and interest groups have more access to decision-making than in either Philadelphia or Chicago. There is a strong tradition of non-partisan political activism in the city. Social problems are readily translated into political issues. During the past few years crime became a political issue, ranging from the routine demands for law and order, to more bizarre and nationally notorious kidnappings, mass killings, and murders of leading politicians.

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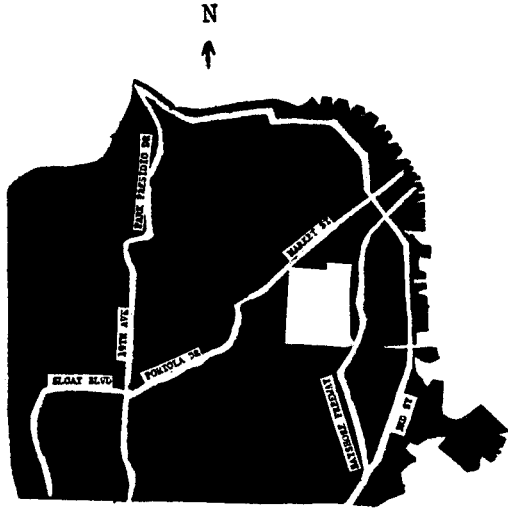
San Francisco

MISSION
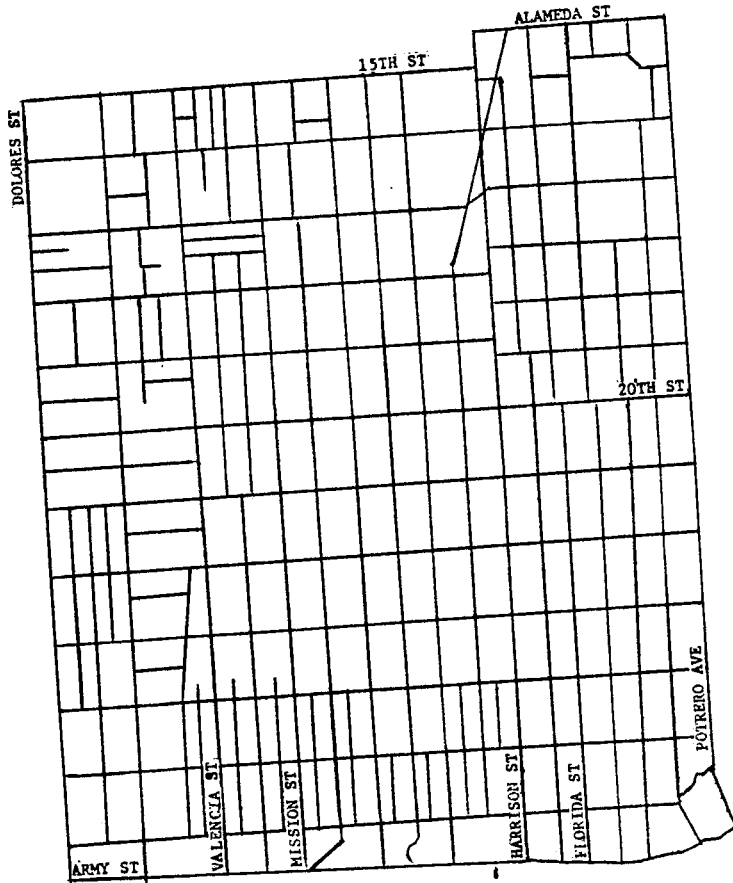
Demographic Profile

Mission

	Mission	San Francisco
*Population 1970	51,870	715,674

Socioeconomic Status

	Mission	San Francisco
Percent Family Income Over $20,000	14.1	26.8
Percent Family Income Under $10,000	34.4	23.9
Percent Unemployed	14.7	4.9
Percent With Education Beyond High.School	56.9	70.4
Percent Homeowners	17.5	32.5

Family, Life-Cycle Status

	Mission	San Francisco
Percent Living in Single Family Homes	23.7	36.5
Percent With Children at Home	28.3	23.2
Mean Number of Children per Household	.56	.40
*Percent 11-20 Years Old	6.9	5.3
*Percent 61 Years or Older	8.3	12.2
Median Years of Residence	2.8	3.5
Percent Living in Area 5 Years or Less	62.8	52.5
Percent Living in Area 20 Years or More	15.3	15.9

Racial/Ethnic Status

	Mission	San Francisco
Percent Black	8.9	11.9
Percent Spanish	17.2	5.3
Percent Native Born	75.2	82.5

*Unless otherwise indicated data are from the Reactions
to Crime Project Telephone Survey conducted in 1977. These
are considered "best estimates" of the demographics of the
area for the period of the research. Data with an asterisk
are from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

MISSION

The Mission District is a rapidly changing, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic community. Some residents feel the area is a run-down slum troubled by low income and high unemployment of residents. Others feel the Mission is like a small town where people get together to help each other. The Mission District is one of few areas in the central part of the city which was unaffected by the San Francisco fire of 1906. At that time the Mission was a hub of activity. The intersection of 16th Street and Mission, which lies in the heart of the "Mission Miracle Mile," was at one time the third busiest intersection in the entire city.

Until the second World War the Mission District was made up of predominately white residents, but since that time there has been a gradual influx of various Asian and South American groups. According to the 1975 figures of the Mission Planning Council, the area is approximately fifty percent Hispanic (Mexicans, South Americans, Nicaraguans, and San Salvadorians), an increase of ten percent from the 1970 census figures. The remainder of the area residents are predominately white, though there are also a large number of Filipinos, American Indians, Samoans, and Blacks.

There has been a large turnover in the population in the Mission District in the past few years. The median length of residence is only 2.8 years. This is much lower than that of any of our other sites. Sixty-three percent have lived there five years or less and thirty-three percent have lived in the area only one year. It appears, from our field data, that many of these most recent in-migrations are young professionals and gays.

A large proportion of the residents of the Mission fall into the lower economic strata. In general, unemployment and poverty are major social problems in the neighborhood. The economic difficulties of area residents are reflected in the fourteen percent unemployment rate and in the high proportion of residents (35%) who earn less than $10,000 per year. Fourteen percent earn over $20,000 per year.

Housing in the Mission is primarily converted flats in old Victorian homes, apartments in old buildings, and single family dwellings. These housing types are intermingled throughout the district. Only 17.5% of Mission residents are homeowners, which is a lower proportion of residents than in any of the other San Francisco sites. Of all ten sites only Woodlawn (16.9%) is lower. Increasingly, young whites are moving into parts of the Mission and renovating older buildings. This increases the value of these older buildings and eventually causes on overall rise in the price of rentals in the area. Rising rental costs are a source of resentment toward these newer residents by the long term lower income residents. A further consequence of this renovation is a pattern of streets alternating between those with deteriorating buildings and those on which the older Victorian homes have been restored. There are two public housing projects in Mission. One houses predominantly Blacks; in fact most of the Black residents of Mission live there. The other project houses mostly Latino, Filipinos, Samoans, and Asians.

A number of factors have interacted with this population change to produce the present conditions extant in the Mission District. One of the most pervasive of these forces has been the construction of the Bay Area Rapid Transit System (BART). The construction of BART has had a devastating effect on local businesses. Torn up streets produced sharp declines in retail sales and eventually a large number of local businesses closed. Almost half of the businesses on Mission Street have changed hands within the past five years. Many of the new stores convey a seedy character to the street, which worries business people and residents alike. Undesirable businesses such as pawn shops, adult book stores, pornographic theaters, and transient hotels are a source of concern because of the clientele which they are thought to attract into the neighborhood.

Mission's white population, especially the young professionals who have been renovating their homes, favor redevelopment and the general upgrading of the area. Merchants also support moves for increased investment and renovation. Latinos, however, cannot cope with the rising rents and property values. They see this upgrading as an effort to displace them and change the character of their neighborhood. Redevelopment is perceived as part of a plan by the white establishment which is insensitive to the needs of minorities. Although these issues create conflict between whites and Latinos, it was sometimes noted by area residents and community leaders that there is greater tension and competition between the various Latino groups.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATRIX

The Mission District has a large number of community groups, but a low level of individual involvement in collective activities. Only

fifteen percent of Mission residents report having been involved with a
community group. Furthermore, the large number of community and service
organizations is fragmented, and groups rarely sustain cooperative efforts.
Individual organizations tend to be highly sensitive to infringements on
their own autonomy. There is no community organization which can legiti-
mately be said to represent the entire Mission District. At one time the
Mission Coalition (MC) was an umbrella organization for over 200 member
organizations. Although there are still over 120 organizations listed
as members in the coalition, it is no longer a major force. Indeed, there
is some evidence to suggest that many of these member organizations are
themselves not viable.

Community leaders believe there are too many organizations, and
that this makes concerted actions more difficult. Moreover, most groups
are organized along ethnic lines and efforts to bring these groups
together in the Mission Coalition appear to have failed primarily because
they were not able to establish an alliance between whites and Latinos.
The infusion of federal grants-in-aid into the area further intensified
the conflict as each group sought allocation of the funds for its per-
ceived needs. One activist priest blamed the federal money for the dis-
solution of a fragile coalition. One outcome of group fragmentation is
that there is a great deal of political infighting between organization
leaders for a piece of the action and for city recognition.

Not only are there strained relations between organizations, but
also apparently in the vertical relationships between the block clubs
and their umbrella organization, the Mission Planning Council. In
brief, the Mission Planning Council (MPC) wants to give the block clubs
their autonomy. The clubs, on the other hand, want equal representation
on all boards of the MPC. This is interpreted by one influential community

leader as a result of the block club leaders being drawn into "power games" within the MPC.

Compared to the other sites in our study there is a lower rate of involvement in territorial organizations, such as community organizations and block clubs, and a higher rate of involvement in service organizations and nonpartisan political groups. Only two percent of groups mentioned by involved respondents were block clubs. The mean rate at which block clubs were mentioned across all thirteen samples is thirteen percent. In contrast, nearly fifteen percent of the groups mentioned by survey respondents were service organizations. Nonpartisan political groups accounted for over twelve percent of those of the groups mentioned. Over fourteen percent of the groups mentioned were involved with youth oriented activities.

The white population is particularly concerned about neighborhood maintenance issues. They are involved primarily in local area improvement clubs, and in the Mission Planning Council which seeks to further the development of block clubs. These groups frequently work in conjunction with the local merchants associations in an effort to upgrade the area by pressuring home and store owners to improve the physical maintenance of their properties. They also attempt to exclude what are deemed to be establishments detrimental to the quality of life in the neighborhood. Blocks with well kept renovated houses and newly planted trees were visible results of concerted block club efforts.

The Latino population is served primarily by a variety of service organizations committed to dealing with the deep seated socioeconomic and cultural problems confronting Mission's Latinos. Issues addressed include drug abuse, immigration problems, welfare and food stamp distribution, job referrals, and English as a second language. These organizations,

more than those of the white community, are committed to dealing with problems facing the young people in the area. In general the orientations of these agencies differ markedly from that of the block and neighborhood improvement clubs. Rather than focusing on physical maintenance and area improvement where success is clearly visible, they are for the most part providing temporary relief from distress caused by forces which they are powerless to control.

There is an active merchants association in the Mission district as well as several functional rather than territorial based groups. Operation Upgrade was a group which worked with the Mission Merchants Association on the overall improvement of the area. This group is credited with driving out several businesses which were thought to bring criminal elements into the community.

CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL ENVIRONMENT

Although most residents of the Mission assert that they feel safe, many show a great concern over crime issues. According to the police, burglaries are the major problem in the Mission. The police captain as well as community organizers point out that Mission has the highest rate of drug arrests and violent crimes in San Francisco. Still others feel that family fights rank with burglary as the two major problems confronting residents. Secondary to these are purse snatching, shoplifting, gambling, prostitution, and arson in the north Mission.

About twenty percent of survey respondents felt that teenagers hanging out and street robbery are a big problem in the neighborhood. Stranger assault, abandoned or burned out buildings, and sexual assault are much less frequently considered to be a big problem in the Mission than are the other crime related issues. Less than ten percent feel that

assault is a big problem in the Mission. Only eight percent of the residents feel that abandoned or burned out buildings are a problem. Indeed, this does not seem to be a large issue in any of the San Francisco sites. As elsewhere, sexual assault is less frequently considered to be a big problem than the other crime related issues.

Although crime does not appear to be a major concern of most area residents, neither can the Mission district be considered a low crime, low fear neighborhood. With regard to all issues, there seems to be a moderate level of concern and a moderate estimate of risk. Mission residents rank fourth among the ten sites in their feelings of safety during the day and fourth on safety during the night.

As in other neighborhoods most of the crime problem in Mission is blamed on youth, but there is wider variation in the perception of the perpetrators than is generally found in the other sites. Residents believe that derelicts, drunks, old people, poor people, transients, crazy people, and even the police are suspects. Vandalism and purse-snatching are almost universally thought to be committed by youth. Black youths from both within and outside the area are held responsible for a large portion of the purse-snatching, particularly involving elderly victims. Cultural norms and values among Mexicans which engender a respect for the elderly are frequently cited by residents as the reason that Mexican youths do not commit crimes against the elderly.

Youth are also the focus of two civility issues. First there is often friction between Latino youth playing congo drums in Dolores Park and people living in homes adjoining the park. Second, people frequently report concern over youths "hanging out" on street corners, though they admit that these are not gangs in the true sense of the word. Nevertheless,

people are leery of walking past groups of youth on the street and residents frequently report that the youth harass women.

Another civility issue of importance to both residents and merchants alike, is the presence of large numbers of drunks on the streets. Most agree that winos do not commit major crimes, but they find the drunks' habits of urinating or sleeping (often at the same time) in doorways detrimental to the image of the community. Drunks are drawn to the neighborhood by the presence of an Alcoholic Center, and inexpensive transient hotels. Residents link these hotels with crime, pointing out that transient hotels by their very nature attract bums, drug addicts, and ex-cons. The latter, some assert, are told at the prison gate that they can find cheap housing in the Mission District. Pornographic theaters and adult book stores are all linked to crime in some residents' views because they tend to bring the wrong "element" into the community.

Attitudes towards the police are split along ethnic lines. Minority community members and organization leaders feel a strong animosity towards the police. As in Wicker Park, Mission residents complain of police harassment and brutality. Moreover, they argue that when the police are called they take so long to show up that there is little use in calling them in the first place. Several of the community groups suggest that residents call them rather than the police in cases of theft, drug use, or if something appears suspicious. This attitude is consistent with their emphasis on the socioeconomic causes of crime which, they believe, are a problem the police do not address.

Most whites interviewed by the fieldworker were somewhat more sympathetic towards the police. They found response time to be generally reasonable, they did not find the police unnecessarily brutal, and they recognized that there are limits to police effectiveness. All groups

agreed that the police could be more visible and should spend more time

walking beats than in patrol cars. They felt that if police got to

know members of the community it would lead to greater mutual respect.
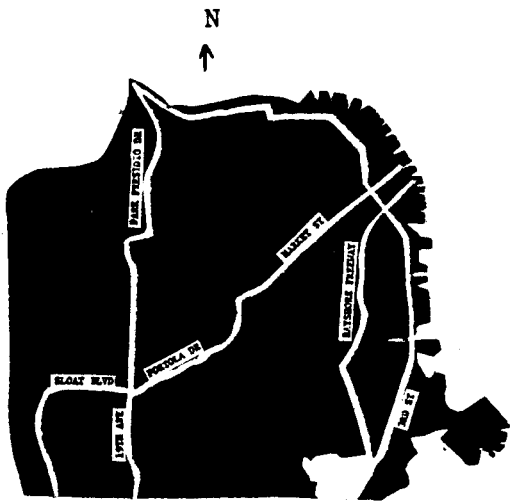
San Francisco

VISITACION VALLEY
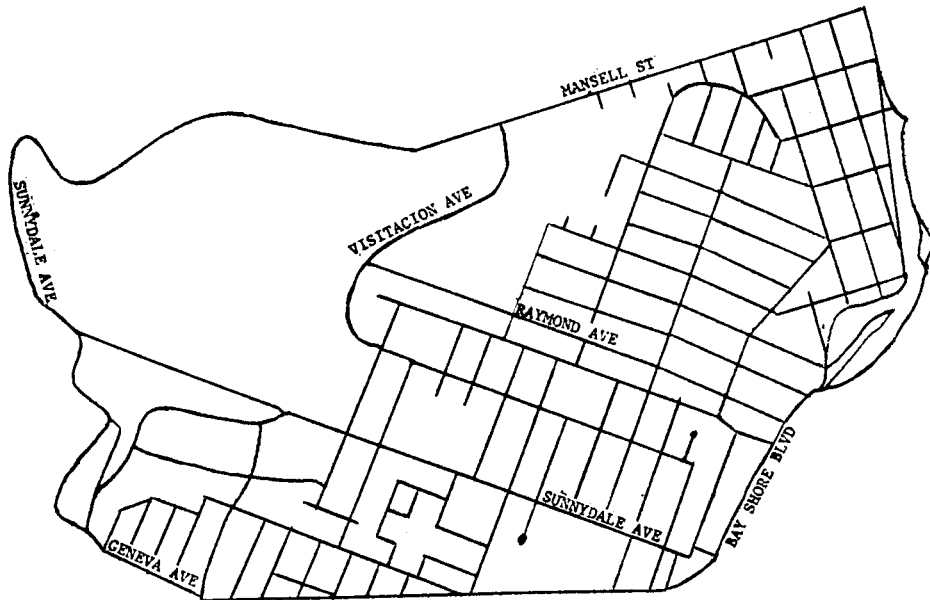
Demographic Profile

Visitacion Valley

	Visitacion Valley	San Francisco
*Population 1970	12,083	715,674

Socioeconomic Status

Percent Family Income Over $20,000	25.7	26.8
Percent Family Income Under $10,000	20.5	23.9
Percent Unemployed	9.2	4.9
Percent With Education Beyond High School	38.0	70.4
Percent Homeowners	67.0	32.5

Family, Life-Cycle Status

Percent Living in Single Family Homes	80.6	36.5
Percent With Children at Home	45.3	23.2
Mean Number of Children per Household	.96	.40
*Percent 11-20 Years Old	10.5	5.3
*Percent 61 Years or Older	14.3	12.2
Median Years of Residence	9.5	3.5
Percent Living in Area 5 Years or Less	31.9	52.5
Percent Living in Area 20 Years or More	25.7	15.9

Racial/Ethnic Status

Percent Black	27.1	11.9
Percent Spanish	11.3	5.3
Percent Native Born	82.4	82.5

*Unless otherwise indicated data are from the Reactions to Crime Project Telephone Survey conducted in 1977. These are considered "best estimates" of the demographics of the area for the period of the research. Data with an asterisk are from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

VISITACION VALLEY

During World War II there was much industrial growth in San Francisco and many workers who were attracted to the new jobs from throughout the United States settled in Visitacion Valley. Many of those who came to the Valley were first generation immigrants. At about the same time the Sunnydale public housing projects were constructed. These projects were originally white, but there was a dramatic in-migration of Blacks beginning about 1950. Although racial integration came early to the Valley, it was much later before Blacks began moving into the more costly housing in the area. Descriptions of the early relations between racial and ethnic groups give the impression that they were amiable.

Like Mission, Visitacion Valley is at present noted for its ethnic and racial diversity. About twenty-seven percent of the population is Black, ten percent are Latino, predominantly Mexican, five percent Asian, ten percent Irish, and ten percent Italian. With the exception of the predominantly Black public housing projects, the residential area within Visitacion Valley appears to be ethnically and racially integrated. Many of the people with whom the fieldworker spoke commented on how nice Visitacion Valley was because it was so well ethnically integrated.

Housing in Visitacion Valley consists of three large complexes and an area of small single family houses. About Sixty-seven percent of the homes in the area are owner occupied. Many of these homes are situated on well kept streets, and only the bars on the windows and doors give some indication of the high level of concern about crime in Visitacion Valley.

The three housing complexes found in the area are the Geneva Terraces, the Towers, and Sunnydale public housing. Built in 1941, Sunnydale experiences the usual problems of public housing, crime, female dominated households, and little organized ability to deal with internal problems. The Towers, which opened in 1965, were originally planned as luxury high-rise apartments. However, the contractor went bankrupt and the Towers were developed for middle and lower income families. Probably because lower income people could better afford the rents at the Sunnydale public housing, the Towers were never adequately filled. Both Sunnydale and the Towers complexes are badly maintained and exhibit visible signs of deterioration: graffiti, boarded up and broken windows, littered streets and sidewalks. Adjoining the Towers is the Geneva Terrace condominium townhouse project which also had originally been built for a middle-income professional clientele. The Geneva Terrace home owners have experienced little appreciation on their property values, apparently because of their close proximity to the Towers and Sunnydale.

Visitacion Valley is a relatively stable community with a median length of residence of 9.5 years which is third among our ten sites. Only ten percent of Visitacion Valley residents have lived there two years or less as compared to thirty-one percent of Sunset residents and forty-eight percent of Mission residents. Fully one-fourth of the residents in the Valley have lived there for twenty years or more.

Most residents of Visitacion Valley are working people, with a few professionals and some on public aid. There is a lower unemployment rate than in Mission (9.5%) and a smaller proportion of college graduates than in either Mission or Sunset. Twenty-five percent earn over twenty thousand dollars per year which is nearly twice the proportion found in Mission and just below that of Sunset. Fewer earn under ten thousand than in either of the other two San Francisco sites.

The largest area industry is a lock manufacturing company which has been in operation since 1926. At one time the company employed an estimated 500 to 1,000 area residents. Later, the company began employing skilled labor from outside the Valley and eventually production at the site was cut back. Only a couple of hundred Valley residents currently work in the plant. During its peak years the company was an economic and political force to be dealt with by community organizations in the Valley and in recent years it has lent financial support to some of the activities of local groups. There has been some concern over the projected departure of the company, and the expected adverse effect on nearby commercial establishments. There appears to be no major institution providing jobs for residents in the area other than the lock company.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATRIX

Visitacion Valley residents have a history of organizational involvement. The Visitacion Valley Improvement Association (VVIA) was one of the dominant organizations in the Valley, averaging seventy people per meeting. Older residents recall going in large groups to city hall to make their demands known to public officials. They were reportedly responsible for having a new school built. When the Towers were being planned the architect came to a VVIA meeting in an effort to get the project approved. At present, the VVIA functions primarily as a social club for the older

white residents, although it provides an opportunity structure within which to mount collective responses to crime. In contrast to its earlier years the Association generally relies on the political connections of its long established leaders and particularly its long time president. The VVIA has two committees, one which is concerned with crime. This is headed by an ex-cop who reads crime statistics at meetings in an attempt to motivate people to act. He claims that his statistics show that 97% of the crimes are committed by Blacks. His focus has been to reduce crime by cracking down on criminals.

The Visitacion Valley Community Center (VVCC) is also a long-standing organization in the community. The center provides activities for residents of all ages. The VVCC is an incorporated non-profit organization funded primarily by United Way, and by contributions received from the lock company. It is presided over by an advisory board whose members are active in a number of the other community groups in the area.

The Sunnydale Community Center is a satellite of the VVCC and seems to have achieved a degree of legitimacy within the projects. The Center's funding and personnel are channeled through the larger groups, which has the non-profit status to receive funds. Other attempts to organize in the Sunnydale housing project have been unsuccessful.

The third long-standing group is the Merchants' Association. Twenty-five of the forty merchants in the Valley belong to the association, including the heads of the influential lock company. This group is tied to the other two through its leadership.

These three long-standing community groups are closely tied together through the multiple membership of particular individuals in the different groups. The president of the VVIA is also the president of the Merchants' Association, and serves as president of the board of the VVCC. Whatever

his motivations, this individual has devoted much of his time and
energy to the service of the Valley. He styles himself the "mayor of
Visitacion Valley" and in an article in the San Francisco Examiner he
was referred to as the "unofficial mayor" whose chief tactic is "a well
placed phone call." The Vice President of VVIA is also the President
of a smaller local improvement association, and was active in the newer
organization, the All People's Coalition (APC). The secretary of VVIA
is also on the board of the VVCC and has been able to bridge the gap
and work with the newer organizations.

There are a number of smaller neighborhood improvement associations.
Forty-four percent of the groups with which people were involved were
territorial community organizations. This is a larger proportion than
in any site other than Lincoln Park. Only 4.4% of the organizations
were block clubs, but this is a larger proportion than in the other
San Francisco sites. A smaller proportion of the groups were service
or social groups in comparison to the other areas. In contrast, 11%
of the groups mentioned were community centers, which is a higher
proportion than is found in any other site.

CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL ENVIRONMENT

Visitacion Valley is the only one of the ten sites where crime
appears to be the major problem confronting area residents. This
neighborhood has the highest reported crime rate of all ten sites. This
is supported by the survey data in which Visitacion Valley respondents
were among the highest in their concern about crime.

Robbery and burglary together stand out as the most frequently
mentioned concerns on the telephone survey. Visitacion Valley ranks
highest in the proportion of residents who know a robbery victim in the

neighborhood (43%). Nearly thirty-three percent of the respondents reported that burglary is a big problem in the area. There is substantially less concern about vandalism, people using illegal drugs, and teenagers, with between 20% and 22% feeling that these are big problems in the neighborhood. Given the nature of these concerns, it is not surprising that Valley residents do not feel particularly safe on their streets. Visitacion Valley residents rank third, behind Wicker Park and Woodlawn, in their feelings of neighborhood safety.

Our field data confirm these findings. Nearly every respondent that the fieldworker interviewed had a story to tell about someone in the neighborhood who had been victimized; more frequently than in most sites the informants themselves had been victimized. Some caution is needed, however, because fieldworkers in this site tended to interview respondents at meetings, rather than people on the street. On the other hand, 42% of the survey respondents knew robbery victims, and, since burglary is generally the more common crime, it is likely that a very high proportion of residents know victims of one sort of crime or another.

Crime appears to be present in all parts of the Valley, but it is most heavily concentrated in the commercial district and around the three major housing complexes. The residents of the Terraces were asked to indicate which Terrace homes had been burglarized. Almost every home was marked. The bars and safety devices on these townhouses serve as visible symbols of the crime problem. Terrace residents also consistently reported that their cars were often vandalized. Most Terrace residents who were interviewed said that they did not use their carports because they feared being attacked in them. The low income tenants of the Towers expressed the same concerns plus the additional

difficulties frequently found in low income housing. One resident summed up the concerns of most: "The whole of the Towers is a hazard. There is no security, no maintenance, no repairs. Residents daily confront robberies, prostitution, burglaries, dope dealers and people who party all night."

Three additional trouble spots were frequently noted. The first is the corner of Sunnydale and Hahn, which is located next to the Sunnydale project, where crimes of all kinds are reported. Second is a supermarket where purse-snatching and robberies constituted a serious problem, especially for the elderly. Third, the parks and playgrounds in the area are problems for the local residents. They complain about "undesirables" hanging around the playground and perceive the park as basically unsafe. As in the other San Francisco sites, harassment and assault on the Municipal buses is considered a problem for the residents of this neighborhood.

The perpetrators of crime are most frequently thought to come from the low income housing complexes. Residents of the Terraces accuse the residents of the adjacent Towers, and to a lesser degree the residents of Sunnydale. Residents of the Towers, in turn, most frequently place the blame on the residents of Sunnydale. Blacks, and Black youth in particular, are often thought to be the perpetrators of crime in the area. There is general agreement that the crime is not committed by professionals but rather by persons, particularly kids, from the neighborhood. The security guards in the project are feared by some who believe that it is often they who commit the crimes.

Organizers and residents alike feel that the causes of crime in their community are drugs, a lack of alternatives for youth, such as jobs or other types of activities, and poor education. Some mention

that juveniles receive the wrong kind of attention from the police and
other agents of the criminal justice system. However, the most wide-
spread attitude is that parents are at fault in not providing proper
control or adequate guidance for their children.

The relations between the police and the community appeared to be
ambivalent. Although there was some frustration, there was also under-
standing and rapport. The two beat cops were strongly and frequently
praised and well liked by area residents and they, in turn, respected
the people and liked working in the area. Many concerned residents have
the opinion that the beat cop "is like every cop should be. He knows
the neighborhood." This officer himself articulated a philosophy
which explained his popularity. "I'm into community oriented
policing . . . the suppression of criminal activity, not the arrest
and incarceration of people."

The police in the Valley, for their part, attempted to present
themselves and their capabilities as realistically as possible. During
their numerous appearances at block club meetings and in interviews
they stressed their limited ability to affect the crime problem and
the need for the people to realize that they must help themselves.
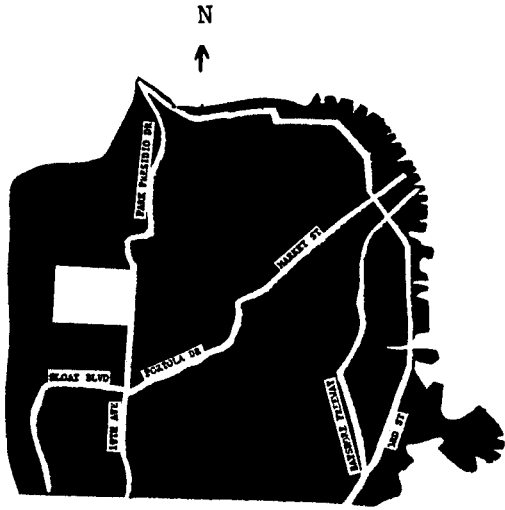
San Francisco

SUNSET
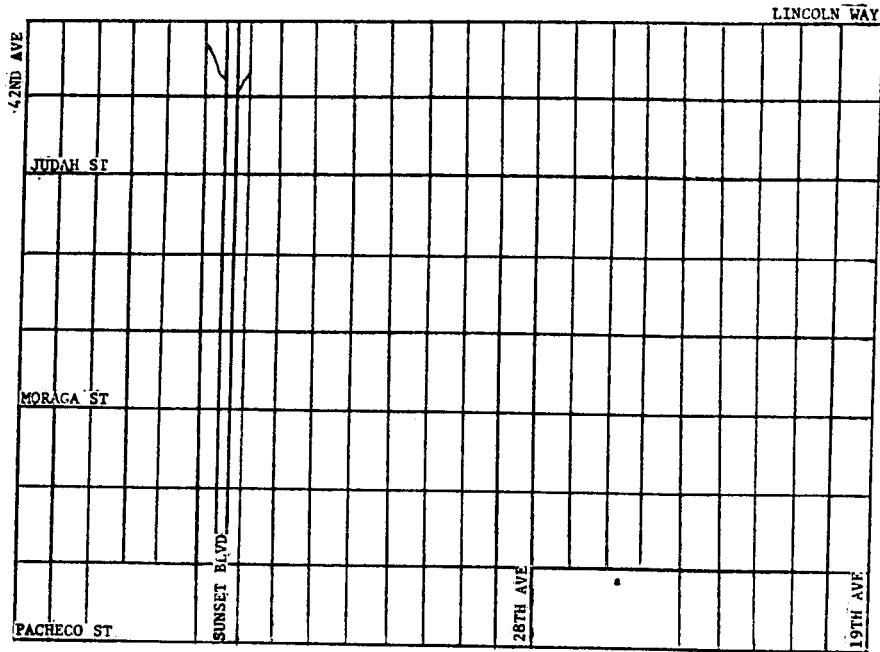
Demographic Profile

<u>Sunset</u>

	Sunset	San Francisco
*Population 1970	41,700	715,674

Socioeconomic Status

	Sunset	San Francisco
Percent Family Income Over $20,000	28.8	26.8
Percent Family Income Under $10,000	20.9	23.9
Percent Unemployed	7.5	4.9
Percent With Education Beyond High School	60.2	70.4
Percent Homeowners	53.1	32.5

Family, Life-Cycle Status

	Sunset	San Francisco
Percent Living in Single Family Homes	67.9	36.5
Percent With Children at Home	26.2	23.2
Mean Number of Children per Household	.46	.40
*Percent 11-20 Years Old	7.8	5.3
*Percent 61 Years or Older	17.6	12.2
Median Years of Residence	7.4	3.5
Percent Living in Area 5 Years or Less	42.9	52.5
Percent Living in Area 20 Years or More	26.6	15.9

Racial/Ethnic Status

	Sunset	San Francisco
Percent Black	2.8	11.9
Percent Spanish	2.6	5.3
Percent Native Born	75.9	82.5

*Unless otherwise indicated data are from the Reactions to Crime Project Telephone Survey conducted in 1977. These are considered "best estimates" of the demographics of the area for the period of the research. Data with an asterisk are from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

SUNSET

The Sunset District is a relatively isolated area in the Western portion of San Francisco. It is bordered on the north by Golden Gate Park, on the west by the Pacific Ocean, and on the east by the Twin Peaks. To the south is the Parkside District which shares several organizations in common with Sunset. Sunset has long been known as a middle class white conservative neighborhood which residents and police alike describe as having relatively few social problems, including the lowest crime rate in San Francisco.

Although the majority of Sunset residents believe the area is not changing, either for better or for worse, there is evidence to suggest that the stable white community is undergoing some change. This is a result of the population movements which began in the late 1960's. This has not only modified the racial composition but has also introduced an increasing number of children into this neighborhood which has been known for its high proportion of elderly residents. The median length of residence in Sunset, 7.4 years, has been affected by these changes. Forty-two percent of Sunset residents have lived in the area five years or less and twenty percent have lived there only one year or less.

The apparent ethnic change is more far reaching than these residential figures might suggest. A busing program has brought Black and Latino children into area schools. One Junior High School official reported the ethnic composition of the school as a mix of white, Spanish, Black, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino students. Although the area has a large proportion of Chinese residents, there do not appear to be ethnic enclaves. Rather the ethnic populations are intermixed throughout the area.

The changes in ethnic composition are even more varied when one examines the commercial areas. There are some changes in the types of new businesses. These changes are for the most part unwelcome. One area businessman noted that the merchants make a community. "If they are good then so is the community." What is considered "good" in Sunset are the small stores whose owners are committed to the neighborhood. Some of these have been replaced recently by large savings and loan companies and chain stores such as Kentucky Fried Chicken which are considered undesirable and a threat to the character of the neighborhood.

Housing in the area is divided between single family dwellings (67%) and two story flats. These housing types are mixed throughout the area, but there tend to be more single family houses as one gets closer to the ocean. More than half (53%) of the homes are owner occupied, and most are generally well maintained. There are no high rise buildings or public housing complexes.

There is a lower unemployment rate and a somewhat higher income level in Sunset than in the other San Francisco sites. Twenty-eight percent earn over $20,000. A somewhat smaller proportion, twenty-one percent, earn under $10,000, and less than eight percent (7.5%) are unemployed.

The most frequently mentioned problems in Sunset are a number of environmental concerns. At the time of the fieldwork an impending sewer construction project was an important issue in the community. Relatively minor concerns were speeding traffic, illegal parking (especially on the sidewalks), the presence of used car and repair lots on the streets, and dog litter. There was, in addition, concern about beach erosion and the protection of open spaces in the community. Secondary to these issues were concerns about crime.

Sunset appears to suffer from its positive image. Because it is a middle-class community with a low reported crime rate, city agencies do not see it as a high-need area for the provision of public services. One hears complaints from residents about inadequate police protection, bus service, recreation, and a shortage of community development funds. Most of the respondents felt that they were not getting a fair return for their tax dollar.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATRIX

The level of involvement in neighborhood groups in the Sunset is similar to that found in Mission. In both sites, fifteen percent of the survey respondents reported involvement in a community group. There is no community organization in the Sunset which serves as an umbrella organization for citizen groups. Only 1.4% of all the organizations mentioned on the telephone survey in Sunset were block clubs. This is the lowest proportion found in any of our sites. Thus, in terms of the three-tiered structure of territorial organizations of block clubs, neighborhood, and community-wide groups, organizations in Sunset are concentrated at the neighborhood level. In the Sunset there are a number of neighborhood improvement and issue-oriented organizations.

One of the strongest of these is the Sunset Parkside Education Action Committee (SPEAK) which has a broader base than a single neighborhood.

The Sunset District has a number of improvement clubs which have a long history of community activity. The Sunset Improvement Club (SIC) was organized in 1909 by 135 participants who came together to protect their neighborhood. At present they are involved with such things as zoning and municipal bus problems. Most members are senior citizens and do not attend the monthly meetings. Members attend the meetings of the Police Community Relations group and try to "adjudicate" complaints in the neighborhood.

The Sunset Heights Association of Responsible People (SHARP) is an improvement club funded solely from memberships. The organization has a volunteer staff of six, and a board of directors which is elected once a year. To qualify for membership one must be a property owner or the proprietor of a local business. Meetings generally attract 40-50 people depending upon the issues. In general, the club is concerned with issues such as building and zoning, traffic problems, garbage, and safety on the streets at night.

Other groups, such as the Parkside District Improvement Club and the Inner Sunset Action Committee, were active on the periphery of our field site. The Parkside District Improvement Club has been around for about 50 years and has a membership of 250 to 300 people. At meetings they usually hear from the PCR group and talk about general improvement concerns. Crime has been a smoldering issue at meetings over the past 10-12 years. The Inner Sunset Action Committee (ISAC) also deals with improvement issues. They have responded to an increase in crime by having police speak to the group on crime prevention.

Each of the 4 main shopping streets, Irving, Judah, Taraval, and Noreiga, has its own merchants' association. These associations usually meet once a month. The primary issue at merchants association meetings is crime. The president of the Irving Street Merchants' Association emphasizes that the important issues for this association are crime, juvenile delinquency and the decline of the small "mom and pop" stores in the face of growing banks and large chain stores.

The strongest and most broadly based of Sunset community organizations is the Sunset Parkside Education Action Committee. In the years since its formation in 1968, the concerns of SPEAK have developed in three areas: (1) education, (2) physical conditions of the area, and (3) social concerns such as crime, safety, and health. SPEAK maintains liaisons with the merchants' association, and the names of the directors of SPEAK are often themselves associated with other area organizations. SPEAK has also been instrumental in providing an opportunity structure within which several issue-specific groups were established.

Energy is a youth services center which was begun in 1970 by citizens in the Sunset, most of whom were active in SPEAK. They originally had an LEAA grant for three years as a delinquency prevention project housed in a church. They are currently funded by the Mayor's office, Youth Services Bureau, local banks, CETA, and others. Although serving primarily the Sunset and Richmond Districts, kids come to Energy from all over the city.

Finally, there is a Retired Seniors Volunteer Program (RSVP) in the Sunset which seeks to place seniors in agencies to make use of their talents.

CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL ENVIRONMENT

The Sunset is acknowledged to have the lowest crime rate in the city of San Francisco and is generally felt, by both the police and citizens, to be a quiet area. In terms of reported crime Sunset has the lowest rates for assault and sexual assault. Few Sunset residents feel abandoned buildings are a big problem in their neighborhood.

Despite the low crime rates, about 52 percent of residents reported talking about crime in the past two weeks. Although we do not know what sort of crimes these individuals were talking about, we do know that a smaller proportion of the Sunset residents than residents in any other site report knowing a robbery victim in the neighborhood. The Police officers who were interviewed report burglary as the main problem while the merchants on Irving Street note that almost every merchant on the street has been robbed at least once.

In a poll of its membership conducted by SPEAK, the most frequent answer to queries about problems in the area was "crime and security on the streets" followed by "helping teenagers and adults to use their time better," and "burglary and vandalism." Some explanation may lie in the physical environment. The streets of the Sunset evoke feelings of desolation and isolation. They are not well lit, and are empty at night. The fieldworker noted during an evening walk that "the area seemed abandoned and we felt that if something were to happen, no one would help." Many houses are protected by heavy gates across the main entrance. The $300 cost of these gates represented a substantial financial investment. One neighborhood merchant and resident reported that "One neighbor gets a gate and everyone else on the block gets scared and gets one too." Thus, anti-crime devices may serve as signs of neighborhood crime problems to both residents and non-residents

alike. It is possible that the isolated streets, as well as these indicators may increase unease while on the street at night.

There is much talk about crime in Sunset but very few people know victims. Our field data provides some information about crime concerns and common topics that were spontaneously brought up with the fieldworker. The main crime related topics of conversation of Sunset residents are vandalism and alcoholism among youth. The low concern for vandalism reported on the survey may reflect the fact that despite its frequency, it is not a very threatening crime.

Ethnic tension is more visible and more frequently articulated by the area's young people, both in interviews and in white power graffiti. Although there is disagreement about whether or not there are gangs in Sunset, there are what one respondent defined as "ethnic groups with natural leaders" which are responsible for fighting and violence in the area. The most populous minority, the Chinese, are seldom blamed for the crime problems in the area.

A number of people in the Sunset also express fear for the safety of their children in and around the schools. Extortion of money by older children and physical threats are both mentioned as contributory. The principal of St. Ignatius, a Catholic Boys High School, reports that between twelve and fourteen percent of their students are non-Catholics. He believes that the parents of these boys send them to St. Ignatius because they are afraid to allow them to attend public schools.

The vast majority of those who were interviewed expressed the opinion that most of the crime and all of the vandalism is caused by youth from the neighborhood. Most of them were identified as being white. Less frequently, people identified the perpetrators of the

crimes as being outsiders, particularly those bused to schools in the area.

Some residents blame what they perceive as an increasing crime rate on the isolated and hostile nature of the community and the ineffective leadership and organization. A real need is felt by some for the community to organize, especially with regard to developing greater political power. Sunset residents have been characterized as isolated and individualistic, and in response, many feel that people need to get to know their neighbors in order to reduce crime. Another reason cited for the perceived increase in crime is the growing proportion of renters living in the area. The movement from a family to a singles' and renters' community worries some residents.

There is much complaint about the lack of police protection in the Sunset District. The central issues are insufficient patrolling and poor response time. Concern is also expressed about traffic problems and the need for motorcycle police in the area. Business people and residents alike agree that there is a need for increased police patrolling. Merchants have argued that what they really need is a beat cop in the business area and a full time anti-burglary team. Patrolling is considered particularly deficient between the hours of 8 and 11 p.m. when residents feel the police should be keeping watch on the kids hanging out. Others argue that police patrolling in the Sunset is far better than average.

Many residents feel that the police just do not respond quickly enough when called. According to the chairperson of one community organization, because of poor response people have stopped calling the police. The head of the Police Community Relations (PCR) group notes that there is no problem with response to major crimes, only to everyday

policing. People also critize the criminal justice system for allowing those who are arrested to be out on the streets within a few hours or days. These two factors have promoted a "why bother" attitude among some Sunset residents.

Most people feel that the fault lies with the system: a) the Sunset is the largest police district and they are understaffed, b) there are fewer police in Sunset than there were ten years before because they all work downtown, c) they should not hire women police, and d) with the lack of funding and less personnel, they must set priorities. Sunset residents distinguish between attitudes towards police personnel and attitudes towards the system. In Sunset we find that the complaints, though frequent, are of a different nature than the accusations of police brutality and harassment common in the Mission District or Wicker Park.

CHAPTER 4

THE CENTER FOR URBAN AFFAIRS

RANDOM DIGIT DIALING TELEPHONE SURVEY

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THE CENTER FOR URBAN AFFAIRS RANDOM DIGIT DIALING TELEPHONE SURVEY

A. THE PURPOSE OF THE SURVEY

This survey was conducted by the Center for Urban Affairs at Northwestern University, to gather information for two investigations of the impact of crime on the lives of city dwellers. Both research projects are concerned particularly about how individuals attempt to reduce their chances of victimization by changing their behavior, and how neighbors organized to fight crime and reduce the fear of crime. The Reactions to Crime Project ("RTC Project") is interested in the impact of crime and neighborhood conditions on these concerns, while the Rape Project is concerned specifically with sexual assault and its consequences for the lives of women. Both investigations are funded by the federal government, and the results of the survey will be included in reports to the relevant agencies about these problems. The Reactions to Crime Project is supported by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, while the Rape Project is a program of the National Center for the Prevention and Control of Rape, a sub-division of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Northwestern's crime projects are multi-year efforts aimed at understanding how residents of urban communities cope with crime and consequences. The design and content of this survey reflected that concern. A major component of the RTC Project's effort is a study of collective responses to crime--how individuals band together to deal with crime problems. Both projects were interested in individual responses to crime (e.g., property marking, the installation of locks and bars) and the impact of fear of crime on day-to-day behavior (e.g., shopping, recreational patterns). This led to the inclusion of a number of questions in the survey calling for self-reports

of behavior. We wanted to know how people get their ideas about crime, so we asked who they talk to and what they watch on television and read in the newspapers. Because we were interested in the neighborhood as a locus of action, we asked a number of questions about events and conditions in our respondent's home areas. There were several questions about their relationship to their neighbors, and who they know and visit around their homes. The survey questionnaire included a number of questions measuring our respondent's perceptions of the extent of crime in their communities, whether they knew someone who had been a victim, and what they had done to reduce their own chances of being victimized. Finally, there were a number of specific questions about sexual assault, some of which were asked only of women.

The information collected in the survey is complemented by the notes of field observers who were stationed in the same areas in the year preceding the survey. They talked to community residents and leaders, and canvassed local organizations about anti-crime activities in their assigned neighborhoods. We also have been collecting and content-analyzing city and community newspapers which reach residents of these neighborhoods and cities. Together, these data should give us a broad picture of the impact of crime in these communities.

B. SURVEY METHODOLOGY-GENERAL CONCERNS

The sampling frame and sampling procedures employed in this survey were shaped by cost considerations and the substantive focus of the survey. While the projects share a lively interest in criminal victimization and the demographic correlates of individual victimization, these were not foci

of this survey. This was dictated in part by the relatively infrequent incidence of serious personal victimization, the only form of criminal predation which appeared—at the time we designed the survey—to have any substantial attitudinal or behavioral impact (Skogan, 1977). The victimization surveys conducted by the Census Bureau indicate that perhaps three percent of the residents 16 years of age and older of large central cities fall victim to robbery during the course of a year, and methodological research indicates that attempts to gather data over a longer recall period are fraught with difficulty. Thus, only survey samples of the magnitude employed by the Census Bureau (over 21,000 respondents per city) can gather reliable data on such events.

However, all evidence indicated that most attitudinal and behavioral responses to crime were much more normally distributed in the population. In the five large cities surveyed by the Bureau early in 1974, 52 percent of their residents indicated that they felt "very safe" or "reasonably safe" while alone on the streets in their neighborhoods at night, while 48 percent did not. Almost the same proportion reported that they had changed their behavior "because of crime." Sample surveys are most efficiently employed to gather data on conditions of high prevalence or events of frequent incidence, and the fear of crime and actions taken to reduce the risk of victimization appeared to meet those criteria. The only exception to this expectation lay in the area of collective responses to crime. Previous research in Chicago (O'Neil, 1977) indicated that participation in anti-crime organizations is relatively infrequent.

From the beginning the RTC Project has emphasized the neighborhood basis of individual and (especially) collective action. Thus, we needed to field a survey study of individual perceptions and actions which placed respondents

within a known neighborhood nexis. Within each of the three cities under investigation--San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Chicago--the Project gathered extensive data on three or four neighborhoods. The sampling frame for the survey thus had to produce respondents who lived within the boundaries of those areas. Those boundaries were determined by the perceptions of area residents interviewed during the fieldwork phase of the project, and were not drawn to match any convenient, pre-existing geographical sub-units. Further, because we wished to use the survey data to characterize those neighborhoods, we had to gather data on large samples of respondents in each area. Finally, the neighborhoods themselves were chosen on the basis of their characteristic class and racial status, their crime rate, and upon the apparent level of organizational activity there: they are in no way representative of the cities in which they were located, or of urban neighborhoods generally. Therefore, we also fielded a modest city-wide survey of residents of each of the three communities. Those data can be utilized to place our target neighborhoods within the broader context of each city.

The Rape Project component of the enterprise also imposed an important substantive demand upon the survey: a focus upon women. While the Rape Project required comparative attitudinal data for males, many of their interests are female-specific. They are interested in the way in which women alter their life-styles to reduce their chances of victimization from rape, their perceptions of their risks under certain circumstances, and the impact of rape upon their relationships with others. Further, the Rape Project planned to conduct intensive in-person follow-up interviews with selected respondents, and the telephone survey concluded by identifying those respondents and securing their cooperation for participation in a second interview. Because of the sample sizes involved in the telephone survey, it thus was necessary

to over-sample women in order to produce enough female respondents to meet the goals of that project.

The substantive demands of the RTC and Rape Projects thus created several important methodological and procedural constraints upon the design of the survey. These included the sample sizes required, their concentration in numerous and small geographical areas, the multi-city focus of the projects, the large female contingent to be interviewed, and our interest in infrequent events, including the sensitive issue of sexual assault. Further, several of our neighborhoods housed large Spanish-speaking populations, some of whom are reputed to be undocumented aliens, and others were relatively disorganized places characterized by high residential mobility. The high crime rate in several of them also affected decisions about interviewing, for interviewer safety and interview quality both are reduced by untoward environmental conditions. Finally, our budget was (like all budgets) limited, and we could only do what we could afford.

C. RANDOM-DIGIT DIALING PROCEDURES

One of the most important decisions to be made about the survey was the mode of data collection. In practice this reduces to a choice between personal interviews and interviews gathered over the telephone (Garofalo, 1977). While there may be some dispute over the relative validity of data gathered through telephone interviews, there is firm evidence that such information is as reliable as that collected in person, and that the two methods yield data with the same marginal distributions and interrelationships between variables when used in the same sampling universe (Tuchfarber and Klecka, 1976; Groves, 1977). Data on the incidence of telephone usership

(Powell and Klecka, 1976) and the telephone and personal-interview refusal rates in big cities (Groves, 1977) indicate that telephone-based random-digit dialing sampling frames and interviewing procedures do not produce substantial unique biases if we accept in-person interviews with persons selected in more traditional ways as the criterion.

Klecka, et al. (1976) suggested that surveys conducted over the phone should cost only 30% as much as in-person interviews. More recent cost estimates have suggested somewhat less of an advantage for telephone interviews, however. Telephone interviews necessarily are substantially shorter in duration than personal interviews, thus reducing the amount of data which can be collected in them. Groves' (1977-revised) experience indicates that data collected through telephone surveys may cost about one-half as much as those collected in person.

Adopting the telephone as the interview mode solved some of the problems facing us, but exacerbated others and created several new ones. The telephone mode of interviewing lends a great deal of control over interviewer behavior and interview quality, for supervisors can conveniently monitor conversations directly and re-interviews can be conducted cheaply. Also, interviewer safety is enhanced, and it probably is more likely that interviews in unsafe neighborhoods and homes will be completed (Tuchfarber and Klecka, 1976). The reduced cost of telephone interviews also gave us some hope of conducting enough interviews within our budgetary constraints to characterize multiple cities and numerous neighborhoods.

The major difficulty with the procedure was that telephone samples present many more imponderables than their in-person counterparts. In this survey we chose to employ Random Digit Dialing (RDD) techniques for selecting our respondents. We produced thousands of telephone numbers randomly, using the

computer to select three-digit prefixes serving our target areas and to generate seven-digit numbers. As discussed in detail below, this procedure does not lend itself to any certainty about what is going to happen once a survey begins. Unlike area-probability samples of physical locations, we could not know with any precision where a telephone responding to a give number would be located. We could not know whether a number was residential, commercial, or connected to a telephone booth, or to some government agency or other institution. We could not even know if it was a working number, connected to anything at all. We could learn the latter by calling each number and discovering if it was a "ringing number": however, we never could learn much about numbers which rang whenever called, but which never were answered.

Although telephone interviews thus are cheaper to conduct than face-to-face interviews, locating suitable respondents (in this case, randomly-selected adults stratified by sex and living in housing units located within the boundaries of our neighborhoods) is more expensive and complex. And, unlike personal-interview studies, telephone interviewing yields little data about nonrespondents, those who never are at home to be interviewed or refuse to cooperate with the interviewer.

This survey was carried out by the Market Opinion Research Corporation between October and December, 1977. Questionnaire preparation and initial pretesting, along with all sampling and telephone number preparation, was conducted at Northwestern. The city-wide component of the survey was designed to reach randomly-selected adults in 540 households in each city. Because a well executed random-digit dialing survey involves no clustering of sample units, the sampling variation from such surveys should approach those attributable to random chance. This sample size thus should reduce sampling

error to the 4 1/2 percent range, which we felt would enable us to speak confidently about important inter-city differences in our data. In addition, interviews were to be conducted with residents in ten selected neighborhoods, four in Chicago and three in each of the other cities. The neighborhood samples were to range in size from 200 (in four of the sites) to 450 (in six areas). The larger neighborhood samples were those in which female respondents were to be oversampled. By increasing sample sizes there we still were able to maintain an effective (weighted) sample size of about 200 respondents in each area, balanced across the sexes. In total, 1640 interviews were to be conducted in Philadelphia and San Francisco, and 1840 in Chicago.

The telephone numbers to be called were generated by a computer program. Inspection of telephone company exchange-area maps and reverse ("criss-cross") directories lising telephones by address produced a list of all three-digit prefixes operative in each target neighborhood. Lists of all prefixes operative in each city were available from their telephone companies. Some prefixes which exclusively were alloted to large institutions or reserved for commercial or telephone company use were deleted from those lists, for only residential numbers were "in scope" for this survey. Prefixes were also purged from this list if they were less than 20 percent full of listed numbers, for calling randomly in largely empty exchanges would be extremely unproductive.[1] For the city samples, this proportion was reduced to ten percent. Because telephone numbers are randomly spread by prefix within the central office area they serve (see footnote 2), we judged that this procedure did not seriously bias our data on neighborhoods as none of their sub-areas were thus excluded. However, when exchanges are only slightly filled because they have only recently been opened for new assignment, this procedure may bias the sample slightly to the disadvantage of recent movers.

Next, estimates were made of the number of telephone numbers which should be generated for each area using these prefixes. These estimates had to take into account the number of interviews we wanted to complete, our expected refusal and break-off rates, and the number of out-of-scope or non-working numbers that would remain in our telephone sample despite our best efforts to purge it of unwanted numbers. Our estimates were based upon the experience of the Behavioral Sciences Laboratory of the University of Cincinnati (Tuchfarber and Klecka, 1976) and the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan (Groves, 1977) both of which have produced detailed reports on conducting RDD surveys. These estimates also were affected by the number of prefixes and exchange areas serving a neighborhood and the degree of correspondence between a neighborhood and the telephone company central office areas serving it. In general, the larger a target area within a central office boundary, the larger the proportion of numbers we would generate which would fall within our desired neighborhood.[2] The number of prefixes serving each of our cities and neighborhoods (less the exclusions recounted above), and the number of telephone numbers we created for each area indicated in Table One. For example, in areas in which we desired to reach 450 respondents, we usually generated 15,000 numbers. With the elimination of duplicate numbers, this

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Table 1 goes about here

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initial set was reduced to about 13,500. Each number was thus a unique seven-digit value created first by randomly selecting an in-scope prefix and then attaching to it a four-digit random number.

These numbers were generated by a specially-written program, BELLTEL. As it created each number, BELLTEL kept track of the order in which it was

TABLE 1

TELEPHONE SAMPLE PREPARATION

Sample	Desired N	Number of Prefixes[a]	Numbers Generated (Excluding Duplicates)	Editing-Percent Excluded	Remaining-Sent to MOR
San Francisco City	540	61	7936	9.0	7221
Visitacion Valley	450	2	10698	40.3	6386
Sunset	450	7	13442	43.8	7558
The Mission	200	10	7649	31.1	5272
Philadelphia City	540	112	7972	10.1	7154
West Phily	450	9	13777	36.0	8814
South Phily	450	9	13786	37.5	8617
Logan	200	4	9628	33.3	6425
Chicago City	540	172	6981	4.6	6675
Lincoln Park	450	12	18423	64.2[b]	6593
Wicker Park	450	9	13807	58.9[b]	5673
Woodlawn	200	9	7694	28.9	5469
Back of the Yards	200	13	7759	35.8	4984
Totals	5120	429	139552	37.8	86841

[a]Excludes prefixes estimated less than twenty percent full.

[b]Illinois Bell's name and address service was employed to screen a large proportion of the sample numbers in these areas.

born. This defined the random sequence in which they later were to be called. Then, the program sorted the telephone numbers in ascending order, to match the format of criss-cross directories, and printed them out for visual inspection by our staff.

This list of numbers was then edited by a laborous, and expensive, process designed to decrease the proportion of the final set which were commercial or institutional, not residential numbers, and numbers assigned to residences located outside of the target neighborhoods or cities.

The first stage of the cleaning process involved checking each number against a criss-cross directory for each city. Those directories include all "published" telephone numbers in a city arranged in ascending order by prefix. They do not include unpublished numbers or those assigned to coin telephones or reserved for internal telephone company use.[3]

Each computer-generated number was inspected, and its status determined. A number could be listed as assigned to a business or institution (most of whom have their numbers published), and those were deleted. Likewise, residential numbers located in the wrong area were excluded. Residential numbers located within a target area were saved. Finally, many numbers simply were not printed in the directories. These were either non-working (they did not exist), or unpublished numbers given to private subscribers, coin booths, or telephone company phones. Some also could have been assigned to any of those users since the publication of the criss-cross directory. These numbers were all retained, for unpublished residential telephones now make up 25-35 percent of the total in major cities. To exclude all numbers we could not find in the criss-cross directories would have left out this important population from our sample (Rich, 1977). In the city of Chicago about 33 percent of all residential telephone numbers currently are

unlisted. An additional 8 percent are not printed in any directories but can be accessed through directory assistance (Chicago Daily News, 3 October 1977).

The primary determinants of the proportion of numbers that could be deleted using criss-cross directories appeared to be (1) the extent to which prefixes serving an area were being utilized fully and (2) the incidence of unpublished numbers. Thus, the effects of this screening varied from area to area. In most cases it reduced the initial list of numbers for neighborhoods only about 30-40 percent. In others, with the aid of additional procedures as many as 65 percent could be eliminated. The remainder were listed in-scope residences, unpublished residential and commercial/institutional/ telephone company numbers, and coin telephones, along with a substantial component of numbers which were not printed because they were not working numbers.

There was, of course, some error even in this process. Most important, the criss-cross directories available for this project were approximately nine months out-of-date. Thus, some numbers we retained as residential in-scope would be non-working at the time of the survey, for some of those families would have moved recently. Or, numbers which we deleted as out-of-scope could have been re-assigned to in-scope residences. On the other hand, some numbers which we retained because they could not be located in the criss-cross directories would have been assigned, some to businesses (bad), some to out-of-scope residences (bad), and some to in-scope residences (good). Errors in number-checking, like the proportion of numbers likely to be in-scope, vary by neighborhood, as communities vary in their rate of residential mobility and commercial expansion or contraction.

We found that approximately 290 numbers could be screened per hour through inspection in a criss-cross directory. The directories themselves were leased from private companies, Haines Directory Service and Coles Directory Service. Rental of the three city directories cost $500. In addition we spent a total of $1275 in direct labor costs for this phase of the sampling operations.

In the city of Chicago we were able to further reduce the size of our pool of random telephone numbers and update some of the information available from the criss-cross directory. In that city (but not in others), a "name and address service" will give information about specific numbers, including whether they are working numbers, published or unpublished, or if they are pay phones or internal telephone company numbers. If numbers are published, the service also supplies the name and address under which they are listed. In Chicago we were able to use this service to check approximately 70 percent of our criss-crossed numbers in one of our 450-respondent neighborhoods (Wicker Park), and 50 percent in the other (Lincoln Park). This resulted in a further reduction of the Chicago neighborhood sample by about 25 percent in Wicker Park and 30 percent in Lincoln Park. This cost us $345.

In all of the cities we were able to do more number-deletion based upon information available from the telephone companies or apparent upon inspection of the numbers and directories. For example, in Chicago all numbers in the "9900" range are reserved for telephone company use, as are all numbers beginning with "00" in San Francisco. They were deleted. Businesses may hold any number, but in some prefixes they tend to be clustered in the 8000 and 9000 ranges, and inspection through the criss-cross directories isolated banks of numbers within a prefix that clearly were reserved for

commercial use. In some prefixes, 9000-series numbers not listed in the directories proved to be coin phones. In Philadelphia, we were able to secure a list of all telephone numbers assigned to "semi-public" coin telephones (those located within and assigned to private establishments such as bars or restaurants), and in San Francisco, we acquired a list of all coin telephones served by prefixes operative in our target neighborhoods. All of these were deleted. Finally, we carefully inspected the city samples and the telephone numbers for each area, searching for large sequential banks of numbers which were not traceable. If a range of 100 numbers or more was found in which no listings were available, it was checked to validate that it was a working bank of numbers. In all of the cities we called telephone company Service Representatives responsible for suspicious pre-fixes, explained what we were about, and asked if there were any residential subscriptions active within that bank. In most cases we were able to secure this information, although Service Representatives for Bell Telephone in Chicago were less cooperative than those in other cities. This enabled us to delete blocks of non-residential or non-working numbers. This procedure is useful because telephone companies open new numbers for assignment in banks of 1000, as demand requires. It is also inexpensive, for researchers may call telephone company employees anywhere in the country "collect" in order to inquire about their service.

After each number was checked against the criss-cross directories, screened through coin-phone lists, checked for commercial sequences and dead banks, and (for some numbers in Chicago) checked through the name and address service, all out-of-scope numbers were deleted from their area files using a text-editing program. Then, the remainder were re-sorted using the original sequence number, returning them to their random order. These numbers were

then printed on pressure-sensitive labels (along with a city and neighborhood identifier and a new continuous sequence number), and sent to MOR.

Altogether, we utilized $2,666 worth of computer time and file storage charges on Northwestern's CDC 6400 processing these numbers.

The original, random order defined the calling sequence for the numbers in each sample. This calling sequence is illustrated in Figure 1. Each number for an area or city was called in turn. For numbers which appear to

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Figure 1 goes about here

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be operating, a total of five calls were made, spread over days and shifts, to reach a responsible adult.[4] An early screen question took out commercial or institutional phones which slipped through our number-checking process. Another checked each household in a neighborhood sample to make sure it lay within the specified area boundaries.[5] A total of 3 call-backs were made to find an adult at home to serve as a household informant. This informant was quizzed to establish the composition of the household, and a respondent (18 or older) then was randomly selected using a Trodahl-Carter-Bryant selection matrix. As many as four call-backs could be made to arrange an interview with this respondent. Thus, no number was substituted for another; rather, interviewers worked numbers in batches of 1,000, making the requisite call-backs or eliminating numbers as out-of-scope roughly in sequence until the respondent quota (specified in Table 1) was reached in each city and neighborhood.

D. SAMPLING FOR SEX DISTRIBUTIONS

Because of the substantive interests of the Rape Project, female respondents were to be oversampled in several of the neighborhood surveys.

FIGURE I

RDD SURVEY CALL SEQUENCE

Oversampling of females was accomplished by manipulating the use of the Trodahl-Carter-Bryant respondent selection matrix so that they were more likely to be randomly selected. Figure 2 presents an example of a respondent selection matrix which oversamples females.

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Figure 2 goes about here
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The T-C-B respondent selection procedure involves the use of several different versions of a grid for selecting respondents. The grid is formed by the number of adults and the number of males in a household. Those figures identify a unique household respondent (see Figure 2 below). The sex proportions of the resulting sample can be manipulated by the mixture of male and female respondents identified in a grid, and by the random rotation of selection matrices favoring various classes of respondents.

In the analyses of the data conducted by the RTC Project, female respondents are under-counted to reflect their true proportion in the population. While this may present some difficulty in interpreting tests of significance cal-culated from the data, it will not affect the reliability of the findings. In our analysis of the data we assume that the effect of down-weighting is to make tests of significance more _conservative_ (there are more sample cases than assumed in the calculations), and thus we often continue to employ them. Table 2 (below) reports the final distribution by sex of respondents in each of the city and neighborhood samples. In order to adjust these samples, the 1970 Census estimate of the proportion of females in the resident population of the cities (about 53 percent of each) was used as the criterion. In addition to the areas in which we deliberately over-sampled females, several samples (notably Chicago and Philadelphia City-wide, Back of the Yards, and Woodlawn) included somewhat too many women. We therefore re-weighted every sample using the appropriate city-wide criterion, for sex is the strongest

FIGURE 2

RESPONDENT SELECTION GRID

Row B	Col. A	Number of Adults in Household		
Number of Men in Household	1	2	3	4
0	Woman	Oldest Woman	Oldest Woman	Youngest Woman
1	Man	Woman	Youngest Woman	Man
2		Youngest Man	Woman	Woman/ Youngest Woman
3			Oldest Man	Youngest Woman
4 or more				Youngest Man

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NOTE: The intersection of Col. A and Row B determines the sex and relative age of the respondent to be interviewed.

individual-level predictor of both victimization and fear, and weighting

appeared to be a necessary step if we were to make meaningful estimates of

the level and salience of each at the city and neighborhood level.

Operationally, this was accomplished in the following manner: a weighting

variable called SEXWT was created which had a value 1.0 for all males, while

females in each sample were given weights calculated using the following

formula:

$$\text{SEXWT} = \frac{\text{\# of females in city census}}{\text{\# of males in city census}} \quad X \quad \frac{\text{\# of males in sample}}{\text{\# of females in sample}}$$

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Table 2 goes about here

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In addition to its primary data-gathering function, the telephone survey

also was a vehicle for securing the cooperation of selected individuals for

further, intensive follow-up interviews, to be conducted in-person. Those

interviews focused upon sexual assault and self-protective measures taken by

women. In selected areas, female respondents were to be asked--at the

conclusion of the regular interview--if they would be willing to cooperate in

such a study. A modest financial incentive for doing so was offered. This

is illustrative of one important use of telephone surveys, as a pre-screening

device. Our experience indicates that such a sampling strategy might be of

some utility when sensitive topics requiring some rapport and trust are involved.

Table 3 indicates the proportion of women indicating that they would be willing

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Table 3 goes about here

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to be interviewed in person by area.

Table 2

Sample	Telephone Numbers Sent to MOR	Telephone Numbers Used by MOR	Completed Interviews	Percent in Spanish	Percent Female
San Francisco City	7221	2721	539	7.1	52.3
Visitacion Valley	6386	4401	448	6.5	67.4
Sunset	7558	3372	453	5.1	62.9
The Mission	2572	1722	201	13.9	46.3
Philadelphia City	7154	2249	540	1.7	58.1
West Phily	8814	2689	450	1.1	72.7
South Phily	8617	2163	449	4.0	68.6
Logan	6425	1271	201	4.0	51.7
Chicago City	6675	1785	539	6.5	59.0
Lincoln	6593	2933	450	11.1	58.9
Wicker Park	5673	4014	451	6.9	64.1
Woodlawn	5469	1403	200	1.0	68.0
Back of the Yards	4984	1396	200	14.0	61.0
Totals	86841	32119	5121	5.9	61.4

Table 3

RESPONSES TO SCREEN QUESTION ASKING FEMALE RESPONDENTS

TO PARTICIPATE IN RAPE PROJECT FOLLOW-UP IN-PERSON

INTERVIEWS ABOUT SEXUAL ASSAULT

Area Sample	Percent saying:		(N)*
	YES	NO	
West Philadelphia	39	61	(306)
South Philadelphia	27	73	(289)
Lincoln Park	37	63	(241)
Wicker Park	22	78	(257)
Sunset	26	74	(280)
Visitacion Valley	32	68	(288)
TOTAL	30	70	1661

*Unweighted number of females asked to participate.

E. INTERVIEW PROCESS AND COMPLETION RATES

Table 2 also presents summary information describing the use of the
sample telephone numbers, the number of completed interviews, and their
distribution by language. In all, almost 87,000 pre-screened sample numbers
were forwarded to Market Opinion Research. Of those, 32,000 (37%) were used
in various ways, following the call sequence described in Figure 1. As this
indicates, our rules of thumb for estimating the number of telephone numbers
which would be required for each sample led us to produce and process far
too many of them. A total of 5121 interviews were completed, spread across
the cities and neighborhoods as specified.

Almost six percent of all interviews for the survey were conducted
in Spanish rather than English. Each of the city field offices was staffed
with at least one Spanish-language interviewer. They generallly "worked"
the Spanish-speaking samples in each city, and in addition handled all
cases identified by other interviewers as requiring questioning in Spanish.
The Spanish-language version of the questionnaire was developed by our
field staff, in consultation with OMAR, Incorp., a Chicago marketing firm.
That interview form was used most extensively in Chicago (Back of the Yards
and Lincoln Park), and in the Mission district in San Francisco.

As outlined in Section C and Figure 1 above, our respondents were reached
via computer-generated random telephone numbers. Each number was called in
succession from a randomly-ordered list, and was re-called a number of
times if necessary. Some could be dropped from the sample immediately, for
they proved to be nonworking numbers; others had to be dialed several
times before anyone answered, and even then the household member selected
for interviewing often had to be called again. Table 4 documents the magnitude
of this task. It indicates the number of telephone numbers which had to
be called once, twice, or as many twelve times before

ultimately they could be "disposed of." About two-thirds of the sample

numbers were called only once, while up to five calls led to the ultimate

disposition of over 90 percent of the numbers. If _every_ unlikely contingency

in the interviewing process illustrated in Figure 1 occurred--if a household

were reached only on the fifth call, if it then took three calls to reach a

qualified adult informant, and if it finally took four additional calls to

complete an interview with the selected respondent--a total of twelve calls

could be made to a sample number. As Table 4 indicates, this occurred only

once in over 32,000 cases. The data in Table 4 indicate that random digit

dialing using computer generated numbers can be a relatively efficient

sampling design,for a large number of non-productive sample numbers can be

disposed of very early in the process.

Table 5 details the disposition of each of the 56,000 telephone calls

made to the 32,000 numbers for this study. As it indicates, the most common

result of a call was that it rang, but that no one answered. The next most

common outcome was for the interviewer to discover that the computer had

generated a non-working number. About nine percent of all calls resulted in a

completed interview, while refusals accounted for twelve percent of them.

About nine percent of all calls reached households located outside of city

boundaries or outside of the target neighborhoods which we were attempting

to sample.

Our use of random digit dialing in conjunction with geographical screening

questions to reach households in such selected areas was one of the major

features of this survey. The first responsible person reached by each call

(the "household informant") was asked a brief series of screening questions

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF CALLS REQUIRED TO DISPOSE

OF A SAMPLE TELEPHONE NUMBER[*]

Number of Calls	Telephone Numbers Requiring This Number of Calls to Reach Final Disposition		
	Number	Percent	Cumulative
1	21555	67.4	67.4
2	4374	13.7	81.0
3	2207	6.9	87.9
4	1230	3.8	91.8
5	1948	6.1	97.8
6	428	1.3	99.2
7	197	0.6	99.8
8	43	0.1	99.9
9	16	0.05	99.9+
10	4	0.01	99.9+
11	2	0.01	99.9+
12	1	0.00	100.0
Total	32205	100.0	

[*]Computed from call records supplied by Market Opinion Research

TABLE 5

DISPOSITIONS OF TELEPHONE CALLS[*]

Call Disposition	Percent of Calls Made
Number not in service	15.6
No answer	38.2
Business number	4.2
Location not in city	0.5
Location not in neighborhood	8.8
Need a Spanish interviewer	0.8
Household respondent not available	5.9
Refusal by household respondent	12.4
Selected respondent not available	2.0
Refusal by selected respondent	1.2
Breakoff during interview	0.2
Other disposition	1.2
Completed interview	9.1
	100.1%
(N)	56093

[*]Computed from call records supplied by Market Opinion Research

to assure that the number served a residence, and that the household was located in the central city (for the city-wide samples) or in the proper neighborhood. Because these neighborhoods usually were smaller than telephone company central office areas, and often lay astride two or more of them, we knew that a considerable proportion of the households we reached would not be "in scope" for this study. Table 6 details the magnitude of this sampling

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Table 6 goes about here
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problem for each area in the survey.

As Table 6 indicates, sampling cities for respondents using random digit dialing presented few difficulties. In these samples few of those answering fell outside of city boundaries. The bulk of those who were outside the city lived in San Francisco, which is served by one telephone central office area which also includes Daley City to the South. The proportion of city-sample respondents ruled "out-of-scope" for geographical reasons averaged only 3.3 percent in this survey. The ten neighborhood telephone number samples, on the other hand, contained an ample supply of out-of-scope numbers. The least productive number set was that for Lincoln Park in Chicago; there, one-half of all the household informants contacted by telephone said the residence was outside of the boundaries of our study area. The South Philadelphia area, on the other hand, was extremely large, and lay within one telephone exchange area. There only 13 percent of all calls reached households outside our neighborhood lines. On the average, 33 percent of all household informants we contacted reported that they lived beyond the borders of our localities, ten times the fraction for the city-wide samples.

TABLE 6

RESULTS OF SCREENING NUMBERS FOR CITY
AND NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENCE[*]

Sample	Contacts with Residences[a]	Proportion out of Study Area	Average Number of Calls per Completion
San Francisco City	1472	5.8	8.9
Sunset	2076	26.9	12.6
Visitacion Valley	2176	28.4	17.8
Mission	844	34.6	17.1
Philadelphia City	1310	1.4	8.0
West Philadelphia	1576	27.9	11.7
South Philadelphia	1316	12.9	8.9
Logan	704	21.3	10.7
Chicago City	1073	2.7	6.3
Lincoln Park	1945	50.1	12.5
Wicker Park	2515	45.6	12.3
Woodlawn	747	46.6	9.7
Back of the Yards	848	38.9	11.7
TOTAL	18746	27.5	11.6

[a]Excludes a few interviews terminated for lack of a Spanish-language interviewer.

[*]Computed from call records supplied by Market Opinion Research.

These proportions have substantial cost implications for those considering random digit dialing surveys of cities and communities. Screening households for locational or other selection criteria is expensive. It is difficult enough to locate adult informants in households, beginning with a set of computer-generated numbers, without adding factors further reducing the productivity of a set of numbers. Our experience indicates that the cost of such screening mounts rapidly when the scope of target areas is reduced, or when they do not match telephone company exchange areas well. In our least productive sample, Visitacion Valley in San Francisco, interviewers averaged only one completed interview for every _eighteen_ dialings. In South Philadelphia, on the other hand, one dialing in nine resulted in a completed interview, and the Chicago city-wide sample produced one completion for every six calls. Table 6 reports these ratios for each sample in the survey.

A completed interview constituted only one of several possible final dispositions for each sample telephone number, however. The dialings and re-dialings documented in Table 4 also led us to telephones serving commercial establishments or organizations rather than residences, and to households where no adult ever could be found. Table 7 reports the distribution of the ultimate disposition of each sample telephone number. It is from this data that the completion rate for the survey can be estimated.

Table 7 Goes About Here

As Table 7 indicates, the most frequent disposition of a sample number was that it was "not in service." Only 6.5 percent of all numbers, on the other hand, rang on five different occasions without someone answering. Our judgement is that a substantial proportion of these serve pay telephones

TABLE 7

FINAL DISPOSITION OF ALL SAMPLE TELEPHONE NUMBERS[*]

Final Disposition	Number	Percent of All Sample Numbers
Numbers not in service	8670	27.1
No answers after 5 calls	2091	6.5
Business numbers screened out	2364	7.4
Locations not in City	279	0.9
Locations not in neighborhood	4884	15.3
Needed Spanish interviewers	134	0.4
No household respondents reached	171	0.5
Refusal by household respondents	6867	21.5
Selected respondents never reached	63	0.2
Refused by selected respondents	665	2.1
Breakoffs during interview	88	0.3
Completed interviews	5085	15.9
Other final dispositions	644	2.0
Total	32005	100.1%

[*]Computed from call records supplied by Market Opinion Research.
Excludes a very small number of faulty, mispunched, or blank records.

and other non-residential locations, for we were not calling during a peak
vacation period. About seven percent of the computer-generated numbers
reached businesses or organizations, and over sixteen percent yielded
residences which lay outside our study-area boundaries. All of these
numbers, which constituted fifty-seven percent of the total called, were
"ineligible" to produce respondents, and are excluded from our computation
of completion rates.

The remaining dispositions include some more troublesome figures,
however. About 130 households were abandoned by the organization conducting
the survey for lack of a Spanish interviewer. The bulk of these were
reached by numbers aimed at the Wicker Park neighborhood in Chicago, a
community with a substantial number of Spanish-speaking residents. The
final sample of respondents in that area was 32 percent Spanish-speaking;
following procedures like those below for estimating the proportion of those
which would have been in-scope geographically, this figure could have approached
50 percent if those abandoned households had been interviewed. Our conver-
sations with Market Opinion Research on this matter indicate that they had
difficulty locating Spanish-language interviewers in Chicago, and that their
administrative procedures led them to continue to log in completed English-
language interviews in that area until their respondents quota was met.

In an additional 171 cases, 0.5 percent of all numbers, a household
apparently was reached, but no suitable responsible informant ever was located.
Up to three call-backs were to be used to reach such an individual, but we
still must count these numbers as "eligible" for interviewing and debit our
completion rate by this (small) total.

The most serious difficulty with the survey is to be found in the number
of persons who refused to cooperate in the enterprise. Over 6,800 numbers,

about 22 percent of the total, reached immediately non-cooperating house-
holders. A much smaller number--665--of our randomly-selected respondents
refused to be interviewed; as in most surveys, our major problem was "getting
in the door" in the first place. Only in 63 cases were we unable to
reach a randomly-selected respondent, and once interviews began only rarely
were they terminated. Only in 88 cases did a respondent decide to terminate
an interview once it had begun, perhaps testimony to the generally interesting
issues covered by the questions.

The aggregate impact of these break-offs, refusals, and other inter-
viewing failures are captured in the survey's "completion rate," the pro-
portion of eligible respondents who refused to participate in the study.
Table 8 illustrates our procedures for calculating various completion rates
for this project. Each is increasingly "less conservative," making more
restrictive assumptions about which numbers were eligible to produce
respondents.

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Table 8 goes about here

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The "gross rate" presented in Table 8 is simply the total number of
completed interviews divided by the total number of sample telephone numbers
used in the survey. By this count, the completion rate for the survey was
about 16 percent. However, it is clear that this is not the appropriate way
of calculating such a rate for a random digit dialing survey, for the pro-
cedure demands the generation of a great number of non-working telephone
numbers and the completion of a number of calls to businesses, hospitals,
university centrix systems, and other non-residential establishments. This
is the price paid for reaching unlisted telephone numbers. Further, in

TABLE 8

CALCULATION OF AGGREGATE COMPLETION RATE[*]

Type of Rate	Denominator of Rate	Resulting Completion Rate
"Gross Rate"	Total Sample numbers <u>32005</u>	15.9%
"Most Conservative"	Subtract ineligibles	
	Not in service (8670) Business (2364) Not in areas (5163)	
	Leaves <u>15808</u>	32.2%
"Still Conservative"	Subtract numbers	
	Never answered (2091)	
	Leaves <u>13717</u>	37.1%
"Most Reasonable"	Subtract 44.1% of Spanish, failures, household refusals and not availables, as estimated "out of area" (3163)	
	Leaves <u>10554</u>	48.2%
"Best that can be said"	Subtract "other dispositions" (644)	
	Leaves <u>9910</u>	51.3%

[*]Computed from call records supplied by Market Opinion Research

this survey we were bound to reach a large number of households which were not located in our target neighborhoods, and a somewhat smaller number which lay outside of the cities we were surveying. They also were not eligible to participate in this study. Thus the next and "most conservative" completion rate for the survey presented in Table 8 excludes these ineligible numbers from its denominator. This more than doubles the rate.

A "still conservative" approach to the completion rate then excludes from the denominator of eligible numbers those which never were answered despite our elaborate call-back procedures. As indicated above, we suspect that the bulk of these also were not residential numbers. This placed our estimated completion rate for the survey at 37 percent.

The "most reasonable" completion rate calculated in Table 8 makes an important correction for the estimated proportion of certain numbers--those which were terminated for want of a Spanish-language interviewer, those in which a responsible informant could not be found, and household refusals-- which would have been outside of our city and neighborhood lines. In Lincoln Park, for example, over fifty percent of the households we did screen proved to lie outside those boundaries; this proportion (see Table 6) is used here as an estimate of the proportion of households we could not screen that similarly would have been excluded. We are convinced that this is a conservative procedure, for hearing in an interviewer's introduction that we desired to speak only to residents of a specified area certainly would have encouraged out-of-scope respondents to hang up more quickly.

The resulting "most reasonable" completion rate for the survey as a whole was 47 percent. This is substantially below completion rates reported for most house-to-house surveys, which average now about 75 percent, and is less than rates reported by Tuchfarber and Klecka (1976), O'Neil (1976),

TABLE 9

ANALYSIS OF NONCOMPLETIONS[*]

Coded Source of Noncompletion	Percent of Noncompletions		
	Total Sample	Citywide Samples	Neighborhood Samples
Needed a Spanish interviewer (est)[a]	1.4	0.6	1.6
Selected respondent never located	1.1	1.0	1.2
Selected respondent refused	12.0	9.4	13.0·
Breakoff of interview	1.6	1.2	1.8
Household respondent never located (est)[a]	1.8	1.8	1.7
Household respondent refused (est)[a]	70.5	80.5	66.3
Other Disposition	11.6	5.6	14.5
TOTAL	5533	2032	3657

[a]Estimates for noncompletions in the sample areas. Estimate is based on an "out of scope" proportion of 44.1% for the total sample, 6.5% for the citywide samples, and 52.6% for the neighborhood samples, based on area screening results for completed screenings.

[*]Computed from call records supplied by Market Opinion Research

and Groves (1977) for their random digit dialing surveys. However, Market
Opinion Research indicates that it is quite in line with the current exper-
ience of commercial firms.

The least conservative estimate of our completion rate, the "best than
can be said" in Table 8, further reduces the denominator of eligible house-
holds by those in which "other" dispositions were made of the case. The
bulk of these may have involved respondents who were not eligible for ques-
tioning. According to our interviewers, many of these sample numbers led
to households in which neither English or Spanish was spoken; in San Francisco
this included a large number of Chinese-speaking households, while in
South Philadelphia Italian speakers predominated. Some randomly-selected
respondents proved to be deaf, physically incapacitated, or mentally too
disturbed to participate in the survey, and their cases are included in
this category as well. While we have included them in the "failure" column
in this report, these are all respondents who would have been missed in
any standard survey.

Table 9 presents a detailed analysis of all reasons for non-completions
in this survey. It is clear that the bulk of them were initial refusals by
household informants; only about 12 percent of these failures can be
traced to refusals to cooperate by selected respondents, and only 2 percent
to break-offs once interviews began.

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Table 9 goes about here

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One reason for the relatively high proportion of household refusals
in this as opposed to other surveys may have been our lack of any follow-up

attempt to convert such refusals to completions. For example, those who

refuse to participate in surveys conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau are

recontacted by crew chiefs and other supervisors; failing that, they may

receive a "personal" letter from the Director of the Census Bureau soliciting

their urgently-needed participation. However, it is the experience of some

survey firms that such attempts to secure the cooperation of those initially

refusing to participate in a telephone survey are extremely expensive, and

we choose to rely upon other randomly-selected respondents from the same

sample area to "substitute" for non-cooperators.

Table 10 presents these "most reasonable" completion rates for each of

the thirteen samples generated for the survey. In general, the city-wide

samples produced a lower completion rate--45 percent--than the 50 percent

success rate characterizing the neighborhoods. We speculate that indicating

that we wished to talk to residents of their specific area encouraged

respondents in our neighborhoods to participate in the study. Completion

rates were highest in two Chicago neighborhoods, Lincoln Park and Woodlawn.

One being a white and middle-class area and the other a poor and black

community tends to discount any simple demographic explanation for these

completion rates. The rate in Wicker Park in Chicago was depressed con-

siderably by our Spanish-language interviewing problem there. The average

completion rate was lowest for samples in San Francisco, and the San Francisco

city-wide sample produced the lowest completion rate of all.

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Table 10 goes about here

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One of the major disadvantages of random digit dialing telephone surveys

is that we know little about those who did not participate in the survey.

TABLE 10

MOST REASONABLE COMPLETION RATES FOR SAMPLES AREAS[*]

Sample	Completion Rate
San Francisco City	40.5
Sunset	42.7
Visitaction Valley	40.6
Mission	52.6
Philadelphia City	41.7
West Philadelphia	52.1
South Philadelphia	45.4
Logan	45.6
Chicago City	51.3
Lincoln Park	62.9
Wicker Park	42.0
Woodlawn	61.9
Back of the Yards	49.9
TOTAL	48.2

[*]Computed from call records supplied by Market Opinion Research

In house-to-house surveys, interviewers can glean a great deal of information about those who refuse to participate in them, and estimates even can be made of the race and class status of householders who are never found at home. Telephone interviewing procedures have a distinct disadvantage when they fail, for we do not even know where those noncompletions occur. Thus, we cannot characterize respondents and non-respondents to this survey, nor examine the distinctive characteristics which seem to predict non-cooperation.

This limitation of telephone surveys lends special importance to more indirect and inferential evaluations of the quality of the data when non-cooperation is frequent. The problem is that low completion rates may signal difficulties with the representativeness and analytic utility of the data. We are concerned about the representativeness of data when we wish to use a sample to make estimates of the distribution of something--like levels of fear--in a city or neighborhood. We are concerned about the analytic utility of data when we wish to investigate the relationship between variables measured in the survey and generalize about their co-variation in the population. These are somewhat different issues, and problems with the representativeness of a sample do not necessarily degrade the analytic utility of the data. Often, for example, we deal with data which purposively overrepresents population groups (e.g. high-income blacks, Spanish-speaking women) in order to generalize more accurately about them. On the other hand, high refusal rates suggest that people who did agree to be interviewed are perhaps systematically different, or unusual, or represent distinctive clusters of personal attributes. Thus, the low completion rates achieved by this survey forces us to pay careful attention to both of these issues, and to document as fully as possible the extent to which the resulting data reflect the populations from which they were drawn.

F. INDICATORS OF SAMPLE AND DATA QUALITY

In survey research one is always interested in the extent to which samples accurately reflect, or "represent," the population from which they were drawn. However, reliable criteria on which to judge the representativeness of a sample usually do not exist. We do surveys because things of interest are unknown. In addition, comparative measures of the attributes of populations are subject to errors which are both similar to and different from our own. Finally, Americans are an extraordinarily mobile people. Approximately twenty percent of the American population moves each year, rendering any criterion describing what a sample "ought to look like" suspicious if it was not itself determined in a timely fashion.

In this case, our problem is one of estimating the representativeness of the thirteen independent city and neighborhood samples of respondents we assembled through our telephone interviews. The only available and reliable descriptions of the city populations from which they were drawn, those derived from the U.S. Census, were fully seven years out of date when our interviews were conducted. However, this Census data still is of some value in assessing the quality of our sampling and interviewing procedures at the city level. It will be less useful in the case of our neighborhood samples. Neighborhood boundaries were defined after extensive interviews with area residents, and do not correspond closely to official geographical subdivisions of the cities. Further, we chose many of our neighborhoods for study because they were known to be areas undergoing rapid social and economic change. In some (e.g. Wicker Park), Latino populations are growing, while in others (e.g. Lincoln Park) white middle-class residents are beginning to predominate.

Table 11 presents several indicators comparing the city-wide samples of

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Table 11 goes about here

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respondents we interviewed in 1977 with the characteristics in 1970 of the

populations (18 years of age and older) of the three cities from which they

were drawn. Several notable features of the samples are apparent in Table 11.

First, our respondents and the city censuses are broadly comparable on two

dimensions—the proportions of the populations that are foreign-born, and

who own their own homes. The city surveys slightly but consistently uncovered

somewhat fewer elderly respondents than lived in these cities in 1970.

Our San Francisco sample in particular seems to be a bit young. The Phila-

delphia sample appears to overrepresent home owners, but our 1977 survey

figure for that is much closer to the Census Bureau's home-owner estimate

for their 1974 victimization survey in that city (Law Enforcement Assistance

Administration, 1977).

Those are variables for which we would expect no substantial change to

have taken place during the 1970-77 period. The same is not true of the

racial composition of the cities, and racial changes widely attributed to

the cities of Philadelphia and Chicago are reflected in Table 11. We are

most knowledgeable about estimates of the population of Chicago; our survey

in that city set the community's black population at 42 percent of the total,

which is exactly on the most popular local mark. The Chicago Urban League

(1978) estimates that the city was 38.5 percent black in 1975, up from 32.8

percent in 1970. Projecting that rate of population change forward into

1977 yields a population estimate of 41 percent black, just one percent short

of our figure for the telephone sample. No similar data are available for

Table 11

1977 SURVEY AND 1970 CENSUS DATA FOR CITIES*

Variable	Chicago		Philadelphia		San Francisco	
	Survey	Census	Survey	Census	Survey	Census
Percent White	56	71	61	70	77	76
Percent Own Home	36	35	53	35	33	33
Percent Family Income Over $15,000	37	17	28	13	38	15
Percent U.S. Born	87	85	94	91	82	76
Percent Over 65 Yrs.	12	16	12	17	9	18
Percent High School Graduates[A]	76	52	80	47	92	78

*Base for census data on persons is population 18 years of age and older. Base for home ownership is number of households.
Data drawn from: U.S. Bureau of the Census. <u>Characteristics of the Population, 1970 Census of Population</u>, and <u>Housing Characteristics for States, Cities, and Counties, 1970 Census of Housing</u>.

[A]of those 25 years of age and older. Survey respondents indicating they completed "technical or vocational" school as their highest level of educational achievement are excluded to facilitate the comparison of survey with census figures.

Philadelphia, but the Census Bureau's estimate for 1974 of the size of the
white population in that city lay just midway between the 1970 and 1977
figures given in Table 11, 66 percent (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration,
1976: Table 12). The fact that our survey samples were somewhat younger
than the 1970 Census count for these cities is in accord with these figures
on racial change, for urban blacks as a whole are somewhat younger than
their white counterparts.

There is apparent disagreement between the two data sources about
two other key population figures, income and education levels for the cities.
The income differences apparent in Table 11 can be attributed to inflation
during the 1970-77 period, however. In each city the proportion of res-
pondents indicating yearly family incomes exceeding $15,000 was slightly more
than double the 1970 figure in the 1977 survey. During that time, however,
the proportion of American families reporting incomes over $15,000 rose from
22 to 50 percent nationally, a 125 percent increase (U.S. Census Bureau, 1977:
Table 708). In our city surveys, in comparison to census counts in 1970, the
average rise was 129 percent. Thus, we judge the samples interviewed over
the telephone in 1977 to represent satisfactorially high and low income
groups in the populations of the three cities.

We are less certain of the representativeness of the samples with regard
to education. Table 11 indicates substantial differences in the 1970 census
and 1977 sample estimates of the proportion of city residents (twenty-five
years of age and older) who were at least high school graduates. Sub-
stantially larger proportions of our respondents claimed high school diplomas,
and we are not able to discount the observed differences. There is an
upward secular trend in the proportion of high school graduates in the
population. Between 1970 and 1977 the proportion of American population at
least graduating from high school increased by 16 percent (U.S. Bureau of
the Census, 1977). That trend cannot account for all of the differences

between the two observations documented in Table 11, however. In Phila-
delphia the 1970 Census and 1977 survey differences would indicate a 70

percent rise in the proportion of high school graduates, while in Chicago

it would indicate a 46 percent rise. The difference between the 1970 Census

in San Francisco and our 1977 survey there is only 18 percent, however,

a figure in line with national trends.

Table 12 assesses the quality of the data in a somewhat different

fashion. At the conclusion of each interview, interviewers were asked to

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Table 12 goes about here

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rate the process they just had completed along several dimensions. Table

12 reports, first, the proportion of respondents whose English seemed "poor."

Those constituted relatively few of our cases, only 1.7 percent. Somewhat

more (2.7 percent) were judged "uncooperative" by their interviewer, and an

equal number were suspected by the interviewers of giving information during

the interview which was "inaccurate." About one in twenty were judged

"uninterested" in the interview.

These proportions, which may signal difficulties in the validity of the

data collected, are relatively small. They do not seem to point to data

problems in any particular sample: only the Visitacion Valley sample scores

over the mean on all four dimensions, while the remainder are mixed or (in

Logan and for San Francisco City) fall below the mean for all respondents.

In addition to interviewer judgments, it is possible to assess the

quality of a data set by examining the extent to which missing information

will constitute a problem at the analysis stage. There are several ways

that missing data for variables can occur in a survey. Respondents may

Table 12

INTERVIEWER RATINGS OF DIFFICULTIES IN THE INTERVIEWING PROCESS*

Sample	Percent-- Respondent's English "Poor"	Percent-- Respondent Judged "Not Very Cooperative"	Percent-- Information Given by Respondent Judged "Inaccurate"	Percent-- Respondent Judged "Not Interested"
San Francisco City	0.7	1.5	1.7	3.0
Visitacion Valley	2.5	2.7	5.6	5.8
Sunset	2.4	2.9	3.8	4.9
Mission	1.0	1.5	4.0	5.5
Philadelphia	0.7	3.9	3.3	6.7
West Philadelphia	1.6	2.9	2.4	6.7
South Philadelphia	2.4	2.9	1.8	5.3
Logan	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0
Chicago City	1.5	3.0	2.6	5.4
Lincoln Park	2.0	2.0	1.8	4.2
Wicker Park	2.9	2.4	4.0	4.0
Woodlawn	1.0	3.0	4.5	5.0
Back of the Yards	1.0	4.5	1.0	4.5
Totals	1.7	2.7	2.9	5.0

*Base all unweighted interviews (N = 5121)

legitimately answer "don't know" to a particular item, or think that it is inappropriate to their case. One duty of the interviewer in most instances is to discourage the selection of don't know responses, and to re-prompt respondents using the desired response categories whenever this occurs. However, in some cases respondents may in fact "not know," or may continue to adhere to their initial response, and in those situations their honest answers are properly recorded. Missing data also will result when interviewers fail to ask a particular question, or to record a response, or when respondents insist on some response which in no way can be accommodated in the pre-printed categories available for a closed-response question. Finally, parts of a questionnaire may be void of all responses because a "breakoff" occurred at the insistance of the respondent.

Figure 3 illustrates the extent to which missing data haunts the analysis of our telephone survey. It charts the proportion of responses for whom data is missing on fourteen selected attitudinal items and fourteen demographic questions. The attitudinal items were scattered systematically throughout the questionnaire, while the demographic questions all were concentrated at the end of the instrument. As Figure 3 indicates, in almost

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Figure 3 goes about here

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two-thirds of all cases there were no missing values recorded either for the demographic or attitudinal items, and that very few respondents were coded as missing on more than two or three of the items in each set. About 1.4 percent of the respondents were missing all fourteen demographic measures; were those who terminated the interview. In no case was a respondent coded as missing on more than ten of the attitudinal items, some of which also fell toward the end of the instrument.

FIGURE 3

SUMMARY OF MISSING DATA IN THE TELEPHONE SURVEY:
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO WERE MISSING DATA ON
FOURTEEN SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC AND ATTITUDE ITEMS
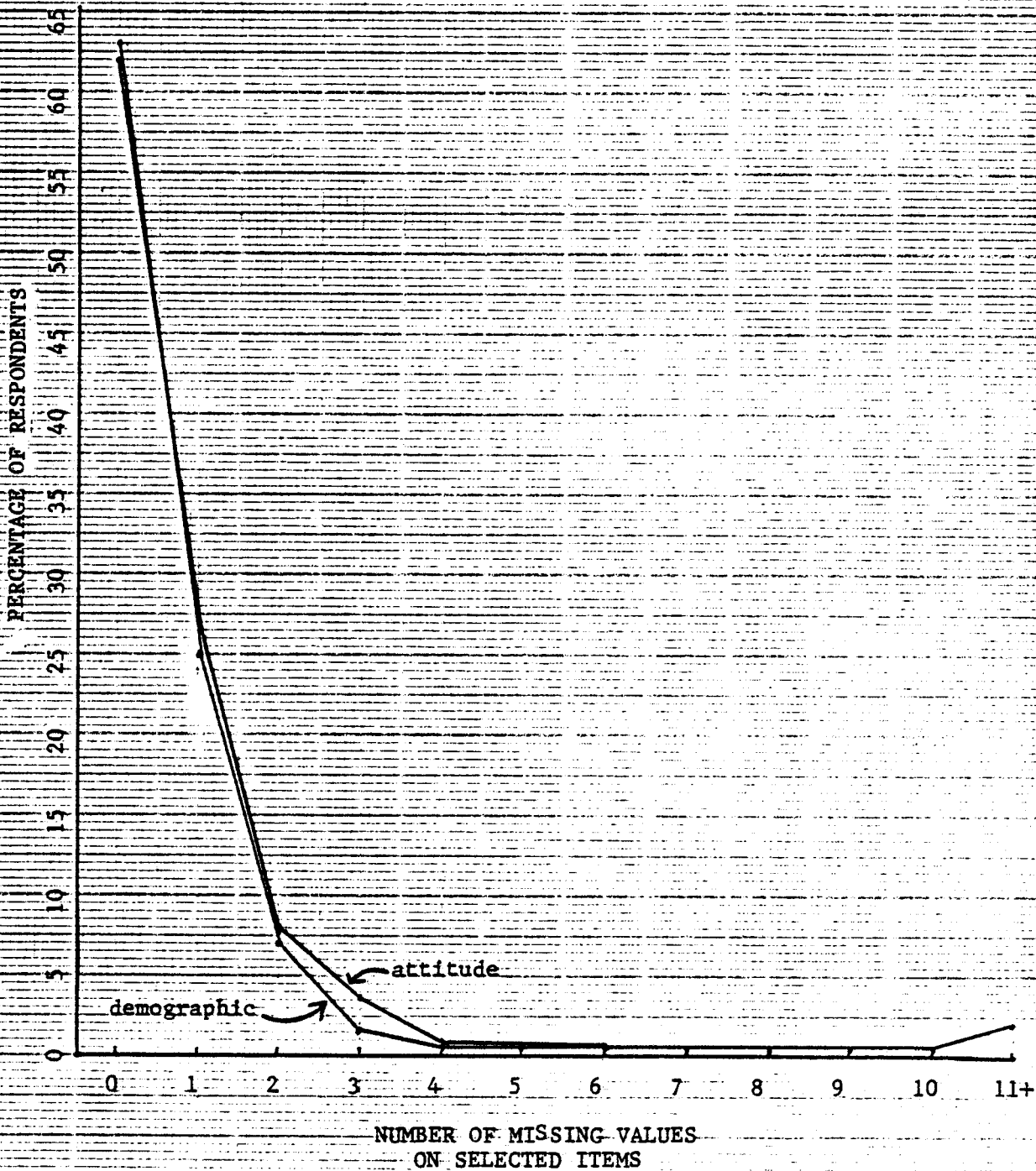
Table 13 presents a break-down of missing data cases by sample, for the three cities. It details the average number of missing-data variables for each respondent in each of the thirteen samples. Over the entire group, responses to an average of 0.8 of the fourteen demographic and 0.6 of the fourteen selected attitudinal items were coded as missing. There appears to be a slight tendency for respondents in Philadelphia to have missed items in the demographic section of the questionnaire, or to have broken off questioning before that point. However, this concentration of missing data is not to be found among the attitudinal items; in those cases, Philadelphia seems to have the best item-completion record of the three cities.

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Table 13 goes about here

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In addition to these judgments of data quality and counts of missing data, it is possible to make a systematic assessment of the quality of one piece of data collected in the survey. In the course of validating for a ten-percent sample of respondents that interviews were conducted as specified, MOR supervisors asked respondents in their re-interviews, "How many years have you personally lived in your present neighborhood?" This duplicated a question asked on the first call, and gives us a more precise estimate of the test-retest reliability of this variable.

Table 14 presents a cross-tabulation of the responses to this item, grouped in five categories. In all, 8.6 percent of respondents in the same

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Table 14 goes about here

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Table 13

MISSING DATA FOR AREA SAMPLES

Average Number of Responses Missing--of Fourteen Items in Each Category

Sample	Demographic	Attitudinal
San Francisco City	.54	.62
Mission	.49	.74
Visitacion Valley	.74	.50
Sunset	.63	.62
Chicago City	.83	.63
Back of the Yards	.93	.63
Woodlawn	.84	.52
Wicker Park	.95	.69
Lincoln Park	.61	.67
Philadelphia City	1.03	.45
Logan	.77	.55
South Philadelphia	1.09	.35
West Philadelphia	1.12	.49
Total	.80	.58

Table 14

TEST-RETEST OF LENGTH OF RESIDENCE MEASURE,

USING THE TEN-PERCENT VALIDATION SAMPLE[*]

Original Interview: Number of Years	Validation Interview: Number of Years					
	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-10	11+	(Total)
0-1	62	10	2	1	0	(75)
2-3	3	73	1	2	2	(81)
4-5	4	1	49	3	0	(57)
6-10	1	0	2	85	4	(92)
11+	3	3	0	3	210	(219)
(Total)	(73)	(87)	(54)	(94)	(216)	(524)

Total Nonagreements = 45/524 (8.6%)

Nonagreements of More
   Than One Category = 18/524 (3.4%)

[*]Total validations in all three cities

households gave different answers to this question. Only 3.4 percent of all respondent-pairs gave us answers that were discrepant by more than one category. We judge this to be evidence of acceptable test-retest reliability for this item and, by inference, for at least similar demographic items in the questionnaire.

G. CONCLUSION

In summary, it appears that the Center for Urban Affairs' telephone survey was a successful experiment. Several aspects of the survey were pioneering: to our knowledge no one before has attempted to use random digit dialing techniques to sample community areas, and there have been few surveys like ours which have been of comparable magnitude. Both of these aspects of the survey were responses to the substantive demands of the problem at hand, and the resulting data appears to be useful in shedding light upon those problems. A combination of our use of the telephone to gather the data and our need to screen households for geographical location appears to have reduced the completion rate for the survey. However, the resulting data match reasonably well our best estimates of what it "should" look like in demographic profile. Interviewer's ratings of respondent cooperation and truthfulness indicate that those we reached were engaged by the questioning, and this analysis of the quality of the resulting data suggests that it is quite high. Further, our efforts to generate multi-item scales from items designed to tap the central concepts which lay behind the survey instrument have been quite successful. Our data scaling activities will be detailed in another report; however, the high reliability of the measures produced from this survey data reinforces our conviction that the survey was successful indeed.

FOOTNOTES

1. Telephone companies generally let prefixes become approximately 75 percent full (45-55 percent with listed numbers, 20-25 percent with unpublished numbers), whereupon "relief demand" leads them to open a new prefix. This has been made much simpler by the abandonment of alphabetic prefix names and the isolation of calling areas from one another in area code regions.

2. A central office area is a geographical region served by a telephone company (area) office within a city. In Chicago there are, for example, 30 central office areas, while in San Francisco there are 12. In general, all telephones physically connected within a central office area must use a number prefix uniquely associated with that area; no telephones outside of an area can employ its prefixes, and numbers within it must utilize one of its prefixes. This is a mechanical and electronic consideration, determined by telephone company switching systems. In the areas we studied, prefixes serving a central office area seemed to be scattered throughout it, not geographically concentrated within the exchange area. Thus, if a researcher is attempting to dial randomly into an area smaller than a central office area, some of the numbers generated will reach telephones outside of the target area. The smaller the target area is in relation to the central office area (for prefixes appear to scatter randomly), the greater this problem will be. Target areas that span central office areas greatly magnify the problem, and are to be avoided if possible.

3. For example, these include "test numbers", some of which merely ring, enabling company personnel to test telephones.

4. In general, non-working numbers ring either a recording or an operator who passes along a message to that effect. Occasionally, there are malfunctions in this procedure. If one is calling long distance, there is no charge for reaching a non-working number. This makes it relatively inexpensive to use a telephone to test hypotheses about the existence of banks of non-working numbers.

5. A note about recent movers. The sampling frame for this survey is telephone numbers. Thus, if a call reached a recording which indicated that the former subscriber to that number now could be found at a <u>new</u> number (probably because the household had moved), we did not follow-up that suggestion. This has practical advantages for neighborhood surveys, for movers who did not "take their telephone number with them" probably moved out of their old central office area, and thus out of our target area.

APPENDIX A

CODING OPEN-ENDED ITEMS
(by Gary Jason)

The RTC/FOR telephone survey contained seven questions which were "open ended." That is, there were no predetermined categories printed on the survey instrument for use by the interviewer. Responses to these open-ended questions were written in full on the questionnaire and left for post-interview coding. The coding was done on 80-column coding sheets, which later were keypunched and merged into the closed-ended data files.

The first items coded were the community organizations to which the respondent belonged. The first step in coding community organizations was to make up a master list of all named organizations in each community. These lists were then alphabetized. Community organizations which were spelled incorrectly along with organizations which were miss-named but identifiable were given the same identification number as the "proper" organization. Coding allowed for up to four organizations.

The kind of crime activity dealt with by the organization was coded from a list of forty-nine possible crime activities. Each organization was given up to two codes for the activity. This was the final phase of the telephone survey coding. All codes were validated by establishing agreement on them by two different coders.

As the coding of the first city (Philadelphia) progressed, the list of crimes coded originally as "other" burgeoned. As was the procedure throughout the coding process, index cards were made on all not immediately-codable responses. The coders later decided upon which codes would have to be added to the original list(s) based upon the frequency of "other" responses.

The follow-up question, "What did you read or hear about it?" (crime mentioned), was only coded for the presence or absence of details. This provided a list of all questionnaires where details were mentioned, for possible inspection in the future.

A list of rape prevention strategies was employed to code the questions: "Is there anything else you can think of that would help prevent rape?" (up to two responses coded), and, "From all the things you can think of, which one do you feel would work best to prevent rape?" (one response coded). The original list contained twenty-one prevention strategies including an "other" and "not-ascertained" category.

The final list, which was completed by the end of the Philadelphia coding, included fifteen additional responses, plus changes in several on the first list. Most of these changes were expansions in the wording of the code. Again the added codes were based upon the response frequency in the phone survey. When the final coding categories for the rape question were complete, all prior "questionable" codes were rechecked, and coded appropriately.

All coding of the respondents' occupations was based upon the seven point scale for measuring status characteristics developed by Warner, et al. (1949). Additional occupations were added to the Warner scale only after they had been agreed upon by at least two different coders. The primary questions in assigning an occupation to a given category were: 1) How much education does the occupation require? 2) How much income is involved? 3) Is the occupation prestigious? 4) Is the occupation social-service related? In addition to specific occupations, a number of responses fell into the categories: 1) corporation or industry, 2) can't tell; not ascertained and 3) refused.

Ten percent of all interviews were coded a second time in order to test the reliability of the coding. Data on coding errors detected in this re-check are found in Table A-1.

```
-----------------------------
      Table A-1 goes about here
-----------------------------
```

The total amount of disagreement between the first and second coding was 1.8 percent for the 10 percent sample. That is, there was 98.2% agreement between all pairs of codes. All validating was done "blindly": i.e., the first coding was not examined before the second coding was completed.

There was little discrepancy between the "best" and the "worst" coders. The first-ranking coder had an error rate of 1.4%, whereas the sixth ranking coder had an error rate of 2.6%. Much of this cohesiveness in coding was due to the constant consultation between coders on ambiguous coding judgments.

Error rates for individual questions reflected the difficulties inherent in various types of coding. That is, whereas the coding of organizations was relatively straightforward (hence yielding only a 0.1 percent error), the coding of occupation required more subjective interpretations (hence a larger "error" term: 5.9 percent). The standard deviation for discrepant occupation codes (eliminating "other", "non-existant", "corporation or industry" and "can't tell; not ascertained" because of their nominal--not ordinal--meanings) was 1.5. This means that on the 5.9 percent of the occupation codes that coders differed upon, that difference averaged only one and one-half scale points.

The breakdown of percentages of individual coders by individual questions bears out the notion that the unambiguous questions (e.g. organization, crime type) gave coders less trouble than the "rape" and "occupation" questions, which often required more judgment.

Table A-1

OPEN-ENDED CODING ERROR ANALYSIS

PERCENT ERROR BY INDIVIDUAL CODERS

Coder	Total Questionnaires Coded	Total Questionnaires Validated	Total Codes Validated	Percent of Codes in Error
1	731	101	1212	1.4%
2	1227	107	1284	1.6
3	316	35	420	1.7
4	1565	153	1836	1.8
5	825	84	1008	2.1
6	451	42	504	2.6
Total	5115	522	6264	1.8

Total percent error for 522 questionnaires and 6264 codes = 1.8%

PERCENT ERROR BY INDIVIDUAL CATEGORIES

Question	Percent
Identification number	0.0%
Organizations (up to four)	0.1%
Crime Listed (up to two)	2.4%
Crime Details Mentioned (yes or no)	1.0%
Other Rape Strategies (up to two)	2.4%
Best Rape Strategy	4.4%
Occupation	5.9%

APPENDIX B

NOTES ON ANALYSIS FILES

Because the telephone survey was conducted in several neighborhoods in each of several cities, using various sampling strategies, a variety of analysis files have been constructed to serve the needs of various users of the data. They are:

1. THE THREE-CITY FILE. This file contains data for the city-wide surveys in Chicago, Philadelphia, and San Francisco. Data for each city can be run individually by referencing its subfile. Data for all three cities can be pooled as well. The data in this file have been weighted to correct for telephone sampling biases, and have been weighted very slightly to correct minor inbalances in the sex distribution of the sample.

2. THE NEIGHBORHOOD FILE. This SPSS file contains data for the surveys conducted in ten neighborhoods across the three cities. The data are organized in ten neighborhood subfiles. This file is weighted for telephones and to correct the sex distribution.

3. THE CITY FILES. These files contain all of the data (neighborhood and city-wide samples) for each city. Within each file, the data are organized in subfiles by city and neighborhood.

4. THE MASTER FILE. This file contains all of the survey data. It is organized in 13 city sample and neighborhood subfiles.

These analysis files have been weighted to correct certain sampling biases. Each individual has been weighted by the inverse of the number of different telephone lines coming into his/her household, to correct for the oversampling of multi-telephone-line homes. Each female respondent has been weighted to correct for the sampling of females in the survey. In two neighborhoods in each city females were deliberately oversampled, and there this weighting results in the considerable down-counting of female respondents. In other areas, and in the city-wide samples, relatively minor weights have been used to down-count and up-count female respondents to bring them into their correct proportion in the population. In every case, the 1970 Census estimate of the city sex ratio has been used as the criterion.

APPENDIX C

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Interviewer's Initials: _____

Phone: _____

(Fill Out When Complete)

Job 7842

OFFICE USE ONLY

MOR ID	1-4
Phone	5-11 (Label)
Area	12-17 (Label)

Telephone Number

Northwestern University
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH CO.

REACTIONS TO CRIME/FEAR OF RAPE

	First Call	Second Call	Third Call	Fourth Call	Fifth Call	Sixth Call	Seventh Call	Eighth Call	Ninth Call	Tenth Call	Eleventh Call	Twelfth Call
Day (CIRCLE ONE)	M T W Th F S Sun.	M T W Th F S Sun.	M T W Th F S Sun.	M T W Th F S Sun.	M T W Th F S Sun.	M T W Th F S Sun.	M T W Th F S Sun.	M T W Th F S Sun.	M T W Th F S Sun.	M T W Th F S Sun.	M T W Th F S Sun.	M T W Th F S Sun.
Date Month/Day												
Shift (CIRCLE ONE)	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3
COMPLETE Male / Female	01 02	01 02	01 02	01 02	01 02	01 02	01 02	01 02	01 02	01 02	01 02	01 02
No Answer/Busy	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03
Disconnect/Not in service	04	RETURN TO/SUPERVISOR										
Household Refusal	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05
Household Informant Not Available/Arrange Call Back	06 Call Back Time:	06 Call Back Time:	06 Call Back Time:	06 Call Back Time:	06 Call Back Time:	06 Call Back Time:	06 Call Back Time:	06 No Call Back				
Name: _____												
Eligible Respondent Not Available/Arrange Call Back	07 Call back time:	07 Call back time:	07 Call back time:	07 Call back time:	07 Call back time:	07 Call back time:	07 Call back time:	07 Call back time:	07 Call back time:	07 Call back time:	07 Call back time:	07 No Call Back
Name: _____												
Eligible Respondent Refusal	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08
Filter Out Business	09	09	09	09	09	RETURN TO SUPERVISOR						
Filter Out Not in City	10	10	10	10	10							
Filter Out Wrong Neighborhood	11	11	11	11	11							
SPANISH return to supervisor	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
TERMINATE QUESTION # ___	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
Other _____ (Specify)	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
	18-23	24-29 TCB 60-64	30-35 65-73 MOR	36-41 74 Cont. ID	42-47 75-76 Cd	48-53 77-80 Job	54-59	18-23	24-29 MOR 48-73	30-35 74 Cont. ID	36-41 75-76 Cd	42-47 77-80 Job #

Reactions to Crime/Fear of Rape

Telephone Survey

May I please speak to the man or woman of the house? (ACCEPT ANY RESPONSIBLE ADULT)

My name is _____. I'm calling for Northwestern University near Chicago. We are working on a study about how peoples' lives are affected by crime, and I would like to ask you some questions. Of course, your help is voluntary and all your answers will be kept confidential. Your telephone number was picked at random.

I. Is this a business phone, or is this a home phone?

```
┌─Family/home phone . . . . . . . .1
│ Business (FILTER OUT BUSINESS) . .2
│ Other _____ . . . .3
│           (SPECIFY)
│        (STOP AND CHECK WITH
↓     SUPERVISOR FOR INSTRUCTIONS)
```

PHILADELPHIA -- SOUTH PHILADELPHIA

II. Do you live within the city limits of Philadelphia?

```
┌─Yes (GO ON) . . . . . . . . . . .1
└ No (FILTER OUT NOT IN CITY) . . .2
```

In this survey we need to get the opinion of people who live in the South Philadelphia area.

III. Do you live between Morris (on the north) and Packer Avenue (on the south)?

```
  Yes (GO ON) . . . . . . . . . . .1
  No (FILTER OUT WRONG NEIGHBORHOOD)2
┌─Don't know (GO TO V) . . . . . . .7
```

IV. Do you live between 5th (on the east) and Vare Avenue (on the west)?

```
  Yes (GO TO A ON NEXT PAGE) . . . .1
  No (FILTER OUT WRONG NEIGHBORHOOD) 2
┌─Don't know (GO TO V) . . . . . . .7
```

(NOTE: PACKER AVENUE IS NORTH OF FDR PARK: VARE AVENUE IS JUST EAST OF THE SCHUYLKILL RIVER.)

V. (IF "DON'T KNOW") Well, can you tell me which street you live on? (IF NOT INCLUDED IN LIST BELOW, FILTER OUT WRONG NEIGHBORHOOD)

VI. Would that address be between _____ (READ RANGE FROM LIST, IF NOT IN RANGE, FILTER OUT WRONG NEIGHBORHOOD)

STREET (North-South)	NUMBER	STREET (North-South)	NUMBER	STREET (East-West)	NUMBER
Alder	1700-3000 S	Opal	1700-3000 S	Barbara	500-3000
Bailey	"	Percy	"	Bigler	"
Bambrey	"	Reese	"	Cantrell	"
Bancroft	"	Ringgold	"	Castle	"
Beechwood	"	Rosewood	"	Daly	"
Beulah	"	Sartain	"	Dudley	"
Bonsall	"	Sheridan	"	Durfor	"
Bouvier	"	Stoker	"	Emily	"
Broad	"	Taney	"	Fitzgerald	"
Bucknell	"	Taylor	"	Gladstone	"
Camac	"	Warnock	"	Hoffman	"
Carlisle	"	Watts	"	Jackson	"
Chadwick	"	Woodstock	"	Johnston	"
Clarion	"	5th	"	McKean	"
Cleveland	"	6th	"	Mclellan	"
Colorado	"	7th	"	Mercy	"
Croskey	"	8th	"	Mifflin	"
Darien	"	9th	"	Moore	"
Dorrance	"	10th	"	Morris	"
Dover	"	11th	"	Moyamensing	500-2000
Etting	"	12th	"	Oregon	500-3000
Fairhill	"	13th	"	Packer	"
Franklin	"	14th	"	Passyunk	1200-2600
Garnet	"	15th	"	Pierce	500-3000
Hemberger	"	16th	"	Point Breeze Ave.	1700-2500
Hicks	"	17th	"	Pollock	500-3000
Hollywood	"	18th	"	Porter	"
Hutchinson	"	19th	"	Ritner	"
Iseminger	"	20th	"	Roseberry	"
Jessup	"	21st	"	Shunk	"
Juniper	"	22nd	"	Sigel	"
Lambert	"	23rd	"	Snyder	"
Marshall	"	24th	"	Tree	"
Marston	"	25th	"	Vare	"
Marvine	"	26th	"	Walter	"
Mole	"	27th	"	Watkins	"
Newhope	"	28th	"	Winton	"
Newkirk	"	29th	"	Wolf	"
Norwood	"	30th	"		

(S3 NOT ASKED)

A) How many adults 18 years of age or older are presently living at home including yourself?

_____ (CIRCLE IN COL. A)

B) How many of these adults are men? _____ (CIRCLE IN ROW B) No. (Write-in)

No. (Write-in)

Row B Number of Men In Household	Col. A In Household Number of Adults			
	1	2	3	4 or more
0	Woman	Youngest Woman	Youngest Woman	Oldest Woman
1	Man	Man	Oldest Woman	Man
2		Oldest Man	Woman	Oldest Woman
3			Youngest Man	Woman/ Oldest Woman
4 or more				Oldest Man

Version 2

NOTE: The intersection of Col A and Row B determines the sex and relative age of the respondent to be interviewed

For this survey, I would like to speak to the (Verbal label indicated on grid) currently living at home, in your household. Is he/she at home?

1 ... Yes - Continue with Q. 1 WITH THE CORRECT INDIVIDUAL TO BE INTERVIEWED

2 ... No - Arrange call-back, record on callback line

START _____ TIME

A. Para empezar quisiera conocer cuántos adultos de 18 y mas años viven en su familia

B. Cuántos de ellos son hombres? _____
(CIRCLE IN ROW B)

Row B Number of Men In Household	Col. A In Household Number of Adults			
	1	2	3	4 or more
0	Woman	Youngest Woman	Youngest Woman	Oldest Woman
1	Man	Man	Oldest Woman	Man
2		Oldest Man	Woman	Oldest Woman
3			Youngest Man	Woman/ Oldest Woman
4 or more				Oldest Man

Version 2

NOTE: The intersection of Col A and Row B determines the sex and relative age of the respondent to be interviewed

Necesito preguntar a _____ (TOME EN EL CUADRICULADO) (La interseccion de adultos y hombres determina el sexo y la edad relativa de la persona a entrevistar). SI LA PERSONA ELEJIDA NO ESTA EN CASA, HAGA UNA CITA PARA LA ENTREVISTA O PREGUNTE CUANDO ESTARA EN CASA. TOME EL NUMERO DE TELÉFONO Y LLAME PARA HACER LA CITA)

First of all, I have a few questions about your neighborhood.

1. In general, is it pretty easy or pretty difficult for you to tell
a stranger in your neighborhood from somebody who lives there?

```
                                        Pretty easy . . . . . . . . . . 1-21
                                        Pretty difficult . . . . . . . .2
                                        Don't know . . . . . . . . . .7
                                        Not ascertained . . . . . . . . 8
```

2. Would you say that you really feel a part of your neighborhood or do you
think of it more as just a place to live?

```
                                        Feel a part . . . . . . . . . . 1-22
                                        Place to live . . . . . . . . . 2
                                        Don't know . . . . . . . . . . .7
                                        Not ascertained . . . . . . . . 8
```

3. Would you say that your neighborhood has   Better 1-23
changed for the better, or for the worse   Worse 2
in the past couple of years, or has it   Same 3
stayed about the same?   Don't know 7
      Not ascertained 8

4. How many people would you say are   A lot 4-24
usually out walking on the street in   Some 3
front of where you live after dark   A few 2
-- a lot, some, a few or almost none?   Almost none 1
      Don't know 7
      Not ascertained 8

5. Do you usually try to keep an eye on   Usually keep an eye on . . . . .1 -25
what is going on in the street in front   Usually don't notice 2
of your house or do you usually not   Don't know 7
notice?   Not ascertained 8

6. If your neighbors saw someone suspicious trying to open your door or
window what do you think they would do? (ASK OPEN END -- CODE RESPONSE
BELOW -- MULTIPLE MENTIONS ALLOWED)

```
                                        Check situation . . . . . . . . 1-26
                                        Call police . . . . . . . . . . 1-27
                                        Ignore it . . . . . . . . . . . 1-28
                                        Call someone else(Landlord,
                                           Janitor, etc.) . . . . . . . .1-29
                                        Call me/respondent . . . . . . 1-30
                                        Other _____ 1-31
                                                 (SPECIFY)
                                        Don't know . . . . . . . . . . 7-32
                                        Not ascertained . . . . . . . . 8
```

Cd 1

7. In the last two weeks, about how many times have you gone into a neighbor's home to visit?

RECORD TIMES _____ 34-35
(EXACT NUMBER)
Don't know 97
Not ascertained 98

8. How about kids in your immediate neighborhood. How many of them do you know by name -- all of them, some, hardly any, or none of them?

All . . . . 4 -36
Some 3
Hardly any 2
None 1
No kids here (VOLUNTEERED) 5
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

9. Next, I'm going to read you some comments that people make about how other people behave. For each one I read you, I'd like to know whether you agree, disagree or are in the middle about them. (ROTATE)

	Agree	In the Middle	Disagree	(VOLUNTEERED) Not Ascertained/ Don't Know	
a. Kids are better today than they were in the past. Do you agree, disagree, or are you in the middle?	3	2	1	9	37
b. People just don't respect other people and their property as much as they used to. Do you agree, disagree, or are you in the middle?	3	2	1	9	38
c. Groups of neighbors getting together can reduce crime in their area.	3	2	1	9	39
d. There are a lot of crazy people in this city -- and you never know what they are going to do.	3	2	1	9	40
e. The police really can't do much to stop crime.	3	2	1	9	41

Now I have some questions about activities in your neighborhood.

10. Have you ever gotten together with friends or neighbors to talk about, or do something about, neighborhood problems?

Yes 1-42
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

Cd 1

11. Do you know of any community groups or organizations in your neighborhood?

Yes 1
No . . . . 2 (TO TO Q. 12)
Don't know . . . . 7 (GO TO Q. 12)
Not ascertained . . . . . .8 (GO TO Q. 12)

43

A. Have you ever been involved with any of those community groups or organizations?

Yes 1
No . . . . 2 (GO TO Q. 12)
Don't know . . . . 7 (GO TO Q. 12)
Not ascertained . . . . . .8 (GO TO Q. 12)
Inappropriate . . . . 9 (GO TO Q. 12)

44

B. Could you tell me their names?   (RECORD EXACT NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS)

1st mention_____

2nd mention_____   (EXACT NUMBER)
                                                    Not ascertained 98
3rd mention_____   Inappropriate 99

4th mention_____

(RECORD ALL NAMES MENTIONED)

45-46

(ASK C-F FOR FIRST 3 ORGANIZATIONS MENTIONED)

(ASK FOR FIRST ORGANIZATION MENTIONED IN B)

C1. From what you know has _____ ever tried to do anything about crime in your neighborhood?

Yes (GO TO D1) 1
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8
Inappropriate 9

D1. Could you tell me briefly what that was?

E1. Did you take part in these activities?

Yes 1
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8
Inappropriate 9

F1. Do you think that the organization's efforts helped, hurt or didn't make any difference?

Helped 3
Hurt 1
No difference 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8
Inappropriate 9

47-49

(GO TO C2)

(ASK FOR SECOND ORGANIZATION MENTIONED IN B.)

C2. From what you know has _____ ever tried to do anything about crime in your neighborhood?

Yes (GO TO D2) 1
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8
Inappropriate 9

D2. Could you tell me briefly what that was?

E2. Did you take part in these activities?

Yes 1
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained . . . 8
Inappropriate 9

F2. Do you think that the organization's efforts helped, hurt or didn't make any difference?

Helped 3
Hurt 1
No difference 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8
Inappropriate 9

50-52

(GO TO C3)

(ASK FOR THIRD ORGANIZATION MENTIONED IN B)

C3. From what you know has _____ ever tried to do anything about crime in your neighborhood?

Yes (GO TO D3) 1
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8
Inappropriate 9

D3. Could you tell me briefly what that was?

E3. Did you take part in these activities?

Yes 1
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained . . . 8
Inappropriate 9

F3. Do you think that the organization's efforts helped, hurt or didn't make any difference?

Helped 3
Hurt 1
No difference 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8
Inappropriate 9

(GO TO 12)

53-55

Cd 1

12. Do you know of any (other) special efforts or programs going on in your
neighborhood to prevent crime?

```
        Yes . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .1 -56
        No . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 2
        Don't know . . . . . . . . . . . 7
        Not ascertained . . . . . . . . .8
```

A. Please describe these efforts or programs and/or their names.

_____

_____

_____   Inappropriate . . . . .9 | 57-58
                                                                   | MOR

13. In the past year, have you contacted   Yes . . . . .1 -59
the police to make a complaint about   No 2
something or to request some kind   Don't know 7
of help?   Not ascertained 8

A. What was your last call to the police about? (ASK OPEN END -- MULTIPLE
MENTIONS ALLOWED -- CODE BELOW)

```
Report crime against self . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .1      60
Report crime against somebody else . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1      61
Report general crime in neighborhood . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1      62
Lack of police protection/request increase . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1      63
Complaints about specific officer or incidents . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1      64
General request of information from police . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1      65
Public services problem (sewer, streets, street lights, fire . . . . . . . . 1      66
Request ambulance . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .1      67
Other _____ . . . . . . . . . . 1              68
                    (SPECIFY)
Don't know . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 7
Not ascertained . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 8        69
Inappropriate . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 9
```

KP - 0 Fill   70-75 MOR
                                     76 Cd #
                                     77-80 Job #

14. Have you contacted any public
    official, other than police, in the
    past year to make a complaint about
    something or to request some kind
    of help?

Yes 1-21
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

A. What was your last call to a public official about? (ASK OPEN
   END -- MULTIPLE MENTIONS ALLOWED -- CODE BELOW)

Report crime against self 1		22
Report crime against somebody else 1		23
Report general crime in neighborhood 1		24
Lack of police protection/request increase 1		25
Complaints about specific officer or incidents 1		26
General request of information from a public official 1		27
Public services problem (sewer, streets,		
street lights, fire) 1		28
Request ambulance 1		29
Other _____ 1		30
(SPECIFY)		
Don't know 7		
Not ascertained 8		31
Inappropriate 9		

KP - 0 Fill

Cd 2

15. Now, I am going to read you a list of crime-related problems that exist in some parts of the city. For each one, I'd like you to tell me how much of a problem it is in your neighborhood. Is it a big problem, some problem, or almost no problem in your neighborhood? (ROTATE)

		A Big Problem	Some Problem	Almost No Problem	(VOLUNTEERED) Not Ascertained/ Don't Know	
a.	For example, groups of teen-agers hanging out on the streets. Is this a big problem, some problem or almost no problem in your neighborhood?	3	2	1	9	42
b.	Buildings or storefronts sitting abandoned or burned out. Is this a big problem, some problem, or almost no problem in your neighborhood?	3	2	1	9	43
c.	People using illegal drugs in the neighborhood. Is this a big problem, some problem, or almost no problem.	3	2	1	9	44
d.	Vandalism like kids break-ing windows or writing on walls or things like that. How much of a problem is this?	3	2	1	9	45

16. Was there ever a time in this country when crime seemed to be <u>much less</u> of a problem than it is now?

Yes 1-46
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

a. (IF YES) When was that? About how many years ago?
(PROBE: JUST A GUESS WILL DO. GET BEST ESTIMATE
OF A SINGLE DATE OR YEARS AGO)

(YEARS AGO) _____ DATE
Don't know 97
Not ascertained 98   47-48
Inappropriate 99

(INTERVIEWER: IF GIVEN RANGE RECORD BASED ON MIDDLE YEAR E.G. 1920-1925=1922; 50's=1955)

Cd 2

17. What about burglary for the neighbor-
hood in general. Is breaking into
people's homes or sneaking in to steal
something a big problem, some problem
or almost no problem for people in
your neighborhood?

A big problem . . . . 3 -49
Some problem 2
Almost no problem 1
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

18. Do you personally know of anyone, other
than yourself, whose home or
apartment has been broken into in
the past couple of years or so?

Yes . . . . 1 -50
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

a. Did any of these break-ins happen
in your present neighborhood?

Yes 1
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8
Inappropriate 9

51

19. About how many times do you think this
might have happened in your immediate
neighborhood in the last year?
(GET BEST ESTIMATE)

Don't know 997
Not ascertained 998

(RECORD NUMBER) _____

52-54

(READ SLOWLY)
20. Now we're going to do something a little bit different. For this next
question, I'd like you to think of a row of numbers from zero to ten. Now,
let the ZERO stand for NO POSSIBILITY AT ALL of something happening, and
the TEN will stand for it being EXTREMELY LIKELY that something could
happen.

a. On this row of numbers from ZERO to TEN, how likely do you think it is that
someone will try to get into your own (house/apartment) to steal some-
thing. (REREAD INSTRUCTION IF NECESSARY -- GET BEST NUMBER)

(RECORD 0-10) _____

Don't know 97
Not ascertained 98   55-56

Cd 2

21. Has anyone actually broken into your home in the past two years?
(NOTE THIS APPLIES TO ALL RESIDENCES IN LAST TWO YEARS)

                        Yes 1-57
                        No 2
                        Don't know 7
                        Not ascertained 8

---

22. Which of the following three things would you say is the most important
for keeping your house safe from burglars: being lucky, being careful,
or living in a good neighborhood?

                        Being lucky 01-58/59
                        Being careful 02
                        Living in good neighborhood . .03
                        Being lucky/being careful
                          (VOLUNTEERED). 04
                        Being lucky/living in good
                          neighborhood (VOLUNTEERED) . 05
                        Being careful/living in good
                          neighborhood (VOLUNTEERED) . 06
                        All three (VOLUNTEERED) 07
                        Other (VOLUNTEERED)

                        _____
                           (SPECIFY)   08
                        Don't know 97
                        Not ascertained 98

---

23. I'm going to mention a few things that some people do to protect their homes
from burglary. As I read each one would you please tell me whether or not
your family does that? (VOLUNTEERED)

		Yes	No	Don't Know		
a.	Have you engraved your valuables with your name or some sort of identification, in case they are stolen?	1	2	7		60
b.	Do you have any bars or special locks on your windows?	1	2	7		61
c.	Do you have a peep-hole or little window in your door to identify people before letting them in?	1	2	7		62

Now, think of the last time you just went out at night.

		Yes	No	Don't Know		
d.	Did you leave a light on while you were gone?	1	2	7		63

Now, think of the last time you went away from home for more than a day or so.

		Yes	No	Don't Know		
e.	Did you notify the police so they could keep a special watch?	1	2	7		64
f.	Did you stop delivery of things like newspapers and mail, or have someone bring them in?	1	2	7		65
g.	Did you have a neighbor watch your house/apartment?	1	2	7		66

67-75 MOR
76 Cd #
77-80 Job #

24. How about <u>people</u> being robbed or having their purses or wallets taken on the street. Would you say that this is a big problem, some problem or almost no problem in your neighborhood?

Big problem . . . . 3 -21
Some problem 2
Almost no problem 1
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

25. How about <u>yourself</u>? On the row of numbers from zero to ten that we talked about before, how likely is it in the next couple of years that someone will try to rob <u>you</u> or take your purse/wallet on the street in your neighborhood? Remember TEN means EXTREMELY LIKELY and ZERO means NO POSSIBILITY at all.

_____ (WRITE IN NUMBER 0-10)
Don't know. 97
Not ascertained 98   22-23

26. Do you personally know of anyone , other than yourself, who has been robbed or had their purse or wallet taken, in the past couple of years, or if someone tried to do this to them?

Yes . . . . .1 -24
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

A. Where did these robberies happen? Were they in your present neighborhood, someplace else in the city, or out of town?

	First Mention	Second Mention	Third Mention
Present neighborhood	1 -25	1 -26	1 -27
City	2	2	2
Out-of-town	3	3	3
Don't know	7	7	7
Not ascertained	8	8	8
Inappropriate	9	9	9

27. Besides robbery, how about people being attacked or beaten up in your neighborhood by strangers. Is this a big problem, some problem or almost no problem?

Big problem . . . . .3 -28
Some problem 2
Almost no problem 1
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

28. How about yourself? On the row of numbers from zero to ten, how likely is it that some stranger would try to attack and beat you up in your present neighborhood in the next couple of years? Remember, TEN is EXTREMELY LIKELY and ZERO is NO POSSIBILITY at all.

_____ (WRITE IN NUMBER 0-10)
Don't know 97
Not ascertained 98   29-30

Cd 3 _

29. Do you personally know anyone who has been a victim of an attack by strangers in the past couple of years, or if any stranger tried to attack anyone you know?

```
        Yes . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1-31
        No . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .2
        Don't know . . . ._. . ._. . . 7
        Not ascertained . . . . . . . . 8
```

A. Where did these attacks happen? Were they in your present neighborhood, someplace else in the city, or out of town?

	First Mention	Second Mention	Third Mention
Present neighborhood	1-32	1-33	1-34
City	2	2	2
Out-of-town	3	,3	3
Don't know	7	,7	7
Not ascertained	8	8	8
Inappropriate	9	9	9

30. What kinds of people do you hear about being attacked; beaten up, or robbed in your neighborhood? Are the victims mostly older people, younger people, or children?

```
        Older people . . . . . . . . . 1-35
        Younger people . . . . . . . . 2
        Children . . . . . . . . . . . 3
        Any combination of older,
            younger people, children
            (VOLUNTEERED) . . . . . . . .4
        Do not hear specifics
            (VOLUNTEERED) . . . . . . . 5
        No crime here (VOLUNTEERED) . .6
        Don't know . . . . . . . . . . 7
        Not ascertained . . . . . . . .8
```

A. Are the victims generally male or female?

```
        Males . . . . . . . . . . . . .1
        Females . . . . . . . . . . . 2
        Both (VOLUNTEERED) . . . . . . 3      36
        Do not hear specifics
            (VOLUNTEERED) . . . . . . . .4
        No crime here (VOLUNTEERED) . .5
        Don't know . . . . . . . . . . 7
        Not ascertained . . . . . . . .8
```

Cd 3

31. During the past week, about how many times did you leave your home and go outside after dark? (GET BEST ESTIMATE)   (PROBE: JUST A GUESS WILL DO)

_____(RECORD NUMBER)   Don't know 97   37-38
                                        Not ascertained 98

32. In the past two weeks, about how many times have you gone somewhere in your neighborhood for evening entertainment -- to go to a show or somewhere like that? (GET BEST ESTIMATE) (PROBE:JUST A GUESS WILL DO)

_____(RECORD NUMBER)   Don't know 97   39-40
                                        Not ascertained 98

33. Now I have a list of things that some people do to protect themselves from being attacked or robbed on the street. As I read each one would you tell me whether you personally do it _most of the time_, _sometimes_, or _almost_ never?

	Most Of The Time	Some- Times	Almost Never	(VOLUNTEERED) N.A./ Don't Know	Inapp./ Don't Go Out	
a. When you go out after dark, how often do you get someone to go with you because of crime?	3	2	1	7	8	41
b. How often do you go out by car rather than walk at night because of crime?	3	2	1	7	8	42
c. How about taking something with you at night that could be used for protection from crime -- like a dog, whistle, knife or a gun. How often do you do something like this?	3	2	1	7	8	43
d. How often do you avoid certain places in your neighborhood at night?	3	2	1	7	8	44

dd. How close to your home is the place you try to avoid? (GET BEST ESTIMATE IN BLOCKS. IF MENTION MORE THAN ONE, RECORD CLOSEST)

_____(NUMBER OF BLOCKS)
(NOTE: NO SAFE PLACES = 0)
No dangerous places 96   45-46
Not ascertained 98
Inappropriate 99
Don't Know 97

Cd 3

34. How safe do you feel, or would you feel, being out alone in your
     neighborhood at night -- very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe
     or very unsafe?

                                        Very safe 1-47
                                        Somewhat safe 2
                                        Somewhat unsafe 3
                                        Very unsafe 4
                                        Don't know 7
                                        Not ascertained 8

35. How about during the day. How safe do you feel, or would you feel, being
     out alone in your neighborhood during the day -- very safe, somewhat safe,
     somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe?

                                        Very safe 1-48
                                        Somewhat safe 2
                                        Somewhat unsafe 3
                                        Very unsafe 4
                                        Don't know 7
                                        Not ascertained 8

Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about things you watch on television or
read in the newspapers.

36. First, how many hours did you watch TV last night, between say 6 and 11 p.m.?
     (GET BEST ESTIMATE) (NOTE: 0.5=1/2 hr., 1.0=1 hr., 1.5=1&1/2 hr.)

                                    _____ (RECORD HOURS)   49-50

                              None (GO TO Q. 37) 00
                              Don't know (GO TO Q. 37) 97
                              Not ascertained (GO TO Q. 37) . .98

a. Yesterday, did you watch any national news shows, like Walter Cronkite, John Chancellor, Barbara Walters, or the others?
Yes . . . . 1 No . . . . .2 Don't know 7   51 Not ascertained . . . . 8 Inappropriate 9
b. Did you watch any local news shows yesterday?
Yes . . . . 1 No . . . . .2 Don't know 7   52 Not ascertained . . . . 8 Inappropriate 9
c. Did you watch any shows involving police or crime? (Like Kojak, Charlie's Angels, Hawaii 5-0, Adam 12, Baretta)?
Yes . . . . 1 No . . . . .2 Don't know 7   53 Not ascertained . . . . 8 Inappropriate 9

Cd 3

37. In the last week, have you read any daily newspapers?

```
┌─Yes . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1-54
│  No (GO TO Q. 38) . . . . . . . . .2
│  Can't read (GO TO Q. 40) . . . . .3
│  Don't know (GO TO Q. 38) . . . . .7
▼  Not ascertained (GO TO Q. 38) . . 8
```

a. Which one(s)? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Chicago	Philadelphia	San Francisco	
Tribune 10	Evening Bulletin. . . 20	Examiner 30	55-56
Sun Times . . .11	Inquirer 22	Chronicle 31	57-58
Daily News . . .12	Daily News 23	Bay Guardian . . .32	59-60
Defender 13	Tribune 24	Other _____ 33	61-62
Other _____ 14	Other _____ 25	(SPECIFY)	63-64
(SPECIFY)	(SPECIFY)	Don't know 97	
Don't know . . .97	Don't know 97	Not ascertained . 98	
Not ascer-	Not ascertained . . . 98	Inappropriate . . 99	65-66
tained 98	Inappropriate 99		
Inappropriate . 99			

38. Do you read a <u>local</u> or <u>community</u> newspaper regularly?

```
Yes . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1-67
No . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .2
Don't know . . . . . . . . . . .7
Not ascertained . . . . . . . . 8
Inappropriate (Can't Read) . . .9
```

39. Yesterday, did you read any stories about crime in <u>any</u> paper?

```
Yes . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1 -68
No . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .2
Don't know/Can't remember . . . .7
Didn't read paper
  yesterday (VOLUNTEERED) . . . . 3
Not ascertained . . . . . . . . .8
Inappropriate (Can't read) . . . .9
```

69-75 MOR
76 Cd #
77-80 Job #

40. Thinking of all the crime stories you've read, seen or heard about in the last couple of weeks, is there a particular one that you remember, or that sticks out in your mind?

```
┌──── Yes . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .1-21
│     No . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 2
│     Don't know . . . . . . . . . . 7
▼     Not ascertained . . . . . . . . 8
```

```
┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                                │
│   a.  What crime was that?                                     │
│                                                                │
│      _____  │
│                                                                │
│      _____  │
│                                                                │
│                                                                │
│   b.  What did you read or hear about it? (Crime mentioned)    │
│                                                                │
│      _____  │
│                                                                │
│      _____  │
│                                                                │
│      _____  │
│                                                                │
└──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

41. Considering all the sources you use to get information, what's your best source of information about crime in your neighborhood? (ASK OPEN END -- CODE RESPONSE BELOW. ONE RESPONSE ONLY)

```
Local community paper . . . . . . . . . .1-22
City paper . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 2
Radio . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 3
TV . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 4
Relative . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .5
Neighbor . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 6
Friend . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .9
Other _____ 0
                     (SPECIFY)
Don't know . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 7
Not ascertained . . . . . . . . . . . . 8
Inappropriate . . . . . . . . . . . . . 9
```

Cd 4

42. In the past week or two have you talked with anyone about crime?

```
          ┌───      Yes . . . . . . . . . . . . 1 -24
          │        No . . . . . . . . . . . . 2
          │        Don't know . . . . . . . . 7
          ▼        Not ascertained . . . . . . 8
```

| a. | Who have you talked to? We don't want names, only the person's relationship to you. | (CODE FIRST MENTION ONLY)
Wife/husband/spouse 1
Another family member or relative 2
Someone at work/school 3
A neighbor 4
A friend 5
Anyone else/other 6
Don't know . . . . ·7
Not ascertained 8
Inappropriate . . . . 9 |

25

43. What about rape and other forms of sexual assault? In the past month or so how frequently has this subject come up in conversation -- would you say never, occasionally, or very often?

```
                              Never . . . . . . . . . . 1 -26
                              Occasionally . . . . . . 2
                              Very often . . . . . . . .3
                              Don't know . . . . . . . 7
                              Not ascertained . . . . . 8
```

Now I have a few specific questions about the problem of rape or sexual assault.

44. In your neighborhood, would you say sexual assaults are a big problem, somewhat of a problem, or almost no problem at all?

```
                              Big problem . . . . . . . 3-27
                              Somewhat  of a problem . .2
                              Almost no problem . . . . 1
                              Don't know . . . . . . . .7
                              Not ascertained . . . . . 8
```

45. Do you think that the number of rapes in your neighborhood is going up, going down or staying about the same?

```
Up . . . . . . . . . . . .3-28
Down . . . . . . . . . . .1
Same . . . . . . . . . . .2
No rape here(VOLUNTEERED) .4
Don't know . . . . . . . .7
Not ascertained . . . . . 8
```

46. About how many women would you guess have been sexually assaulted or raped in your neighborhood in the last year?   (GET BEST ESTIMATE) (PROBE: JUST A GUESS WILL DO)

_____(RECORD NUMBER)

```
Don't know . . . . . . . 97
Not ascertained . . . . .98
```

29-30

Cd 4

(ASK Q. 47-49 OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS ONLY)

.47F. On the zero to ten scale we have been using. what do you think your chances are that someone will try to sexually assault you in this neighborhood? Let TEN mean that your chances are EXTREMELY HIGH and ZERO mean that there is NO POSSIBILITY at all.   (GET BEST ESTIMATE) (PROBE: JUST A GUESS, 0-10 WILL DO)

_____(RECORD NUMBER)

Don't know 97
Not ascertained . . . 98   31-32
Inappropriate 99

48F. Now, think about the last time you went out alone after dark in your neighborhood. How afraid or worried were you then,about being sexually assaulted or raped? Use the same numbers zero to ten.

_____(RECORD NUMBER) 0-10

(VOLUNTEERED)
Does not go out alone
  after dark. 96
Don't know 97
Not ascertained . . . 98   33-34
Inappropriate 99

49F. Do you personally know of anyone who has been sexually assaulted?

Yes 1-35
No (GO TO Q.51) 2
Don't know (GO TO Q.51)7
Not ascertained/
  Refused 8
  (GO TO Q.51)

50A. Did this happen to someone you know, or to yourself?	Someone you know. . . .1
	Yourself 2
	Both 3
	Don't know(GO TO Q.51) 7
	Not ascertained(GO TO
	  Q.51). 8
	Inappropriate (GO TO
	  Q.51) 9
		36

50B. When this happened to you, did you report it to the police?	Yes . . . . .1 No . . . . 2 Don't know . . . . . . 7 Not ascertained/ Refused to answer. . 8 Inappropriate 9	37
50C. How long ago did this take place? (ASK AS OPEN END)	Within past six months.1 Seven months-1 year . .2 Between 2-5 years ago. 3 Between 6-10 years ago.4 More than 10 years ago.5 Don't know . . . . . . 7 Not ascertained . . . .8 Inappropriate 9	38

50D. Where did these sexual assaults happen?   (READ CODES)

	First Mention	Second Mention	Third Mention
Present neighborhood	1 -39	1 -40	1 -41
City	2	2	2
Out-of-town	3	3	3
Don't know	7	7	7
Not ascertained	8	8	8
Inappropriate	9	9	9

KP - 0 Fill Males

Cd 4

47M. What do you think the chances are of a woman being sexually assaulted in
this neighborhood? Let TEN mean that chances of rape are EXTREMELY HIGH
and ZERO mean that there is NO POSSIBILITY at all. (PROBE: JUST A
GUESS, 0-10 WILL DO)

_____(RECORD NUMBER)   Don't know 97
                                   Not ascertained 98   42-43
                                   Inappropriate 99

48M. Not asked   44 MOR

49M. Do you personally know of anyone who   Yes . . . . 1 -45
has been sexually assaulted?   No 2
                                               Don't know 7
                                               Not ascertained 8

50M. Where did these sexual assaults happen? (READ CODES)

	First Mention	Second Mention	Third Mention
Present neighborhood	1-46	1-47	1-48
City	2	2	2
Out-of-town	3	3	3
Don't know	7	7	7
Not ascertained	8	8	8
Inappropriate	9	9	9

KP - 0 Fill Females

Cd 4

51. There are many different opinions about how to prevent rape or sexual assault from happening. I'm going to mention several possible ways of preventing rape and we'd like to know what, in general, you think about each of these ideas. For each one I read, please tell me how much you think it would help to prevent rape, would it: Help a great deal, help somewhat, or help hardly at all. (READ CATEGORIES) (ROTATE)

		Help A Great Deal	Help Somewhat	Help Hardly At All	Don't Know/ Not Ascertained	
a.	Stronger security measures at home, like better locks or alarms. Would they ... (READ CATEGORIES)	3	2	1	7	49
b.	Women not going out alone, especially at night.	3	2	1	7	50
c.	Women dressing more modestly, or in a less sexy way.	3	2	1	7	51
d.	Providing psychological treatment for rapists. Would this ... (READ CATEGORIES)	3	2	1	7	52
e.	Encouraging women to take self-defense classes, like judo or karate.	3	2	1	7	53
f.	Women carrying weapons for protection, like knives or guns.	3	2	1	7	54
g.	Newspapers publicizing names and pictures of known rapists.	3	2	1	7	55
h.	Women refusing to talk to strangers. Would this ... (READ CATEGORIES)	3	2	1	7	56
i.	Stopping the push for women's rights and women's liberation.	3	2	1	7	57
j.	Rape victims fighting back against their attackers.	3	2	1	7	58
k.	Increasing men's respect for all women.	3	2	1	7	59

l. Is there anything else that you can think of that would help prevent rape? (IF YES, WHAT?)

_____

m. From all the things you can think of, which one do you feel would work best to help prevent rape?

_____

Cd 4

Finally, we have a few more questions for statistical purposes.

D1. How many years have you personally lived in your present neighborhood?

_____ (RECORD YEARS)

Don't know 97
Not ascertained 98   60-61

D2. Do you live in a single family house, an apartment building with less than 7 units or a building with 7 or more units?

Single family . . . . . . .1 -62
Less than 7 units 2
7 or more units 3
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

D3. Do you own your home or do you rent it?

Rent . . . . 1 -63
Own (includes buying). . . 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

D4. Do you expect to be living in this neighborhood two years from now?

Yes . . . . .1 -64
No 2
Maybe/It depends
    (VOLUNTEERED) 3
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

D5. Do you carry an insurance policy which covers your household goods against loss from theft or vandalism?

Yes . . . . .1 -65
No 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

D6. What is the last grade of school you completed?

No formal education . . .00 -66/67
Grade school or less
    (Grades 1-8) 01
Some high school. 02
Graduated high school
    (Grades 9-12). 03
Vocational/Technical
    school 04
Some college 05
Graduated college 06
Post graduate work. . . .07
Don't know 97
Not ascertained/Refused. 98

Cd 4

D7. How many children under the age of
18 are currently living with you?

Don't know 97
Not ascertained. 98

(EXACT NO.)___.__ _____   68-69

D8. Are you presently employed somewhere
or are you unemployed, retired,
(a student), (a housewife), or
what?

Working now 01
With a job, but not at work
  because of temporary
  illness, labor dispute,
  on strike, bad weather. 02
Unemployed 03
Retired 04
In school 05
Keeping house 06   70-71
Disabled 07
Armed service 08

Other_____09
       (SPECIFY)
Don't know 97
Not ascertained 98

a. What is your occupation?

(RECORD VERBATIM)

72-73
MOR

D9. Considering all sources of income and
all salaries of people who worked last
year, what was your total household
income in 1976? You don't have to
give me an exact amount, I'll just
read some categories and you tell me
which applies to your house-
hold.

Below $6,000 . . . . 0 -74
Between $6,000 and $9,999. 1
Between $10,000 and
  $14,999 2
Between $15,000 and
  $19,999 3
Between $20,000 and
  $24,999 4
$25,000 or over 5
Refused 6
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

75 MOR
76 Cd #
77-80 Job #

Cd 5
1-20 ID

D10. Besides being an American, we would
like to know what your ethnic back-
ground is. For example, is it Irish,
Puerto Rican, Afro-American or what?

Puerto Rican.	1	21
Mexican	1	22
Cuban	1	23
Other Latin	1	24
Polish	1	25
Italian	1	26
Irish	1	27
Croatian.	1	28
Other European.	1	29
Afro-American	1	30
Chinese	1	31
Japanese	1	32
Other Asian	1	33
Other _____ (RECORD)	1	34

KP - 0 Fill

Don't know 7   35
Refused 6

D11. For statistical purposes, we would
also like to know what racial group
you belong to. Are you Black,
White, Asian, or something else?

Black . . . . 1 -36
White 2
Asian 3

Other_____ 4
Refused 6
Don't know 7

D12. Were you born in the United States or
somewhere else?

Born in U.S. . . . . . . .1 -37
Born elsewhere 2
Don't know 7
Not ascertained 8

D13. By the way, since we picked your
number at random, could you tell me
if your phone is listed in the phone
book or is it unlisted?

Listed . . . . .1 -38
Unlisted 2
Don't know 7
Refused/Not ascertained. .8

D14. We also need to know how many different
telephone numbers you have at home.
Do you have another number besides
this one?
(IF YES, HOW MANY)
_____ (NUMBER OF OTHER NUMBERS)

Don't know . . . . 97 -39/40
Not ascertained 98

D15. What is your age?

_____
(Record exact age)
Refused 97-41/42
Not ascertained 98

Cd 5

QUALITY CONTROL ITEMS

(INTERVIEWER -- RATE INTERVIEW FOR <u>ALL</u> RESPONDENTS)

Q.1 Respondent's English was:
    Good . . . . 1 .-50
    Fair 2
    Poor 3

Q.2 Was interview taken in Spanish?
    Yes 1-51
    No 2

Q.3 Respondent was:
    Very cooperative. 1-52
    Fairly cooperative 2
    Not very cooperative. . . .3

Q.4 Respondent seemed:
    Very interested in
      interview . . . . .1-53.
    Somewhat interested. . . . 2
    Not interested; hard to hold
      his/her attention. . . . 3

Q.5 Do you believe the information given to you by the respondent is . . .
    Accurate 1-54
    Inaccurate 2

Please explain _____

55-75 MOR

76 Cd #
77-80 Job #

Cd 5

We know that crime is a problem in many neighborhoods. We are going
to be interviewing some people in person to discuss the ways they
protect themselves from harm, including sexual assault. It would
help us if you would talk with us. We will be able to pay you something
($10) and we could come directly to your house or meet you somewhere else
at a time that is convenient for you. Would you like to participate?

                             No 1-43
                             Yes (GO TO TEAR SHEET) 2
                             Undecided/DK 7

APPENDIX D

SCALING TELEPHONE SURVEY ITEMS

By

Paul J. Lavrakas

Terry Baumer

Wesley G. Skogan

TELEPHONE SURVEY CODEBOOK ADDENDUM:
NEW COMPUTED VARIABLES

Certain items in the telephone survey are not only of individual interest, but are hypothesized to be representative of more general constructs. Included in this Addendum are detailed descriptions of scale variables which were created to represent these constructs. In addition to their conceptual usefulness, scaled variables are desirable from a data reduction standpoint and because they provide more stable (i.e., reliable) measures than any one item alone. What follows is a discussion of the analyses that were performed to create and document the utility of each new variable. These analyses were performed on the combined weighted random samples from Philadelphia (PHILCITY), Chicago (CHICITY), and San Francisco (SFCITY).

Neighborhood Crime Problem Scale (BIGCRIME)

Four items (shown in Table 1) were hypothesized to define a construct representing the extent to which neighborhood crime was viewed as a problem:

Table 1

Crime Problem Items

Variable	Variable Label
V63	Burglary a problem in neighborhood
V77	Nbrhd problem - street robbery
V83	Nbrhd problem - assault by strangers
V118	Nbrhd problem - sexual assaults

A factor analysis was performed on the pooled citywide samples with list-wise deletion of missing values ($\underline{n}$ = 1089).[*] All of the items are positively and significantly intercorrelated ($\underline{p}$ < .001), as shown in Table 2. These

Table 2

Intercorrelations of Crime Problem Items

	V63	V77	V83
V77	.361	---	
V83	.339	.430	---
V118	.259	.316	.367

items are unidimensional, as shown by their loadings on the first principal unrotated factor (Table 3). This factor accounted for 51% of the variance in in the four items.

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[*]In list-wise deletion, only respondents who answered all four items are included in the analysis.

Table 3

First Principal Factor - Crime Problem Items

Variable	Loading
V63-Burglary	.525
V77-Robbery	.647
V83-Assault	.673
V118-Rape	.513

The internal consistency of these items was further checked by calculation of Cronbach's alpha coefficient. Table 4 shows the corrected item-total correlations for these four items.

Table 4

Item-total Correlations for Crime Problem Items

Variable	Item-total Correlations
V63-Burglary	.424
V77-Robbery	.499
V83-Assault	.513
V118-Rape	.407

All are moderately correlated with the sum of the other three, and together form a scale with an alpha coefficient of .674. This indicates that approximately two-thirds of the variance on an additive scale made up of these four items, is attributable to individual differences in assessment of the neighborhood crime problem. Given this moderately high internal consistency and the face validity of the four items, a new variable, Neighborhood Crime Problem, has adequate construct validity to support its use.

In order to minimize the number of missing cases (shown in Table 5) on the Neighborhood Crime Problem variable, the following scale-construction procedure

was utilized. With the exception of the 14 respondents who failed to answer any of the four items, the sum of the ratings for V63, V77, V83, and V118 was calculated for each respondent. Missing ratings were treated as "0". This

Table 5

Number of Crime Problem Items Missing

# Missing Items	n	Percentage
0	1089	79.5
1	178	13.0
2	61	4.5
3	26	1.9
4	14	1.0
Total =	1369	100.0

sum was then divided by the number of nonmissing ratings for each respondent. Thus, for the 1089 respondents who answered all four items the sum of these four ratings was divided by four—while for the 178 respondents who answered three items the sum of their three ratings was divided by three. This approach provides the most valid estimated value for the Neighborhood Crime Problem variable for those subjects who answered only one, two or three items. In addition, scale values are generated for an additional 265 respondents (19.4%) who failed to respond to one, two, or three items in the scale. The remaining 14 respondents (1%) who did not respond to any items are coded as "missing."

On the basis of the above procedure a new variable, Neighborhood Crime Problem (BIGCRIME in our SPSS files), has been calculated. This variable can range in value from "1" (no problem) to "3" (big problem), which corresponds to the response format for the four individual items. The mean for this variable is 1.52 with a standard deviation of .507 (n = 1355); the median is 1.468. The frequency distribution is shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Frequency Distribution for BIGCRIME

Value[a]	Frequency	Relative Percentage
1.00	382	27.9
1.25	239	17.5
1.33	32	2.4
1.50	212	15.5
1.67	42	3.1
1.75	153	11.2
2.00	125	9.2
2.25	50	3.6
2.33	15	1.1
2.50	46	3.4
2.67	5	.4
2.75	21	1.5
3.00	32	2.4
Missing	14	1.0
Total =	1369	100.00

[a]A value of 1.00 represents a respondent who answered "no problem" to all items, while a value of 3.00 represents a respondent who answered "big problem" to all items.

Neighborhood Social Order Problem (CIVILITY)

Four items (shown in Table 7) were hypothesized to define a construct representing the extent to which there was a problem with social order in the neighborhood:

Table 7

Neighborhood Social Order Problem Items

Variable	Variable Label
V57	Nbrhd problem - teenagers hanging out in street
V58	Nbrhd problem - abandoned burned out building
V59	Nbrhd problem - people using illegal drugs
V60	Nbrhd problem - vandalism

A factor analysis was performed on the pooled citywide samples with list-wise deletion of missing values (n = 1067). All of the items are positively and significantly intercorrelated (p < .001), as shown in Table 8. These items are unidimensional, as shown by their loadings on the first principal unrotated factor (Table 9). This factor accounted for 58% of the variance in the four items.

Table 8

Intercorrelations of Social Order Problem Items

	V57	V58	V59
V58	.372	----	
V59	.481	.426	----
V60	.449	.399	.482

Table 9

First Principal Factor-Social Order Problem Items

Variable	Loading
V57 - teenagers	.658
V58 - drugs	.582
V59 - buildings	.724
V60 - vandalism	.677

The internal consistency of these items was further checked by calculation of Cronbach's alpha coefficient. Table 10 shows the corrected item-total correlations for these four items.

Table 10

Item-Total Correlations for Social Order Problem Items

Variable	Item-Total Correlations
V57 - teenagers	.553
V58 - drugs	.496
V59 - buildings	.597
V60 - vandalism	.566

All are moderately correlated with the sum of the other three, and together form a scale with an alpha coefficient of .755. This indicates that approximately three-fourths of the variance on an additive scale made up of these four items, is attributable to individual differences in assessment of the neighborhood social order problem. Given this high internal consistency and the face validity of the four items, a new variable (Neighborhood Social Order Problem) has adequate construct validity to support its use.

To minimize the number of missing cases (shown in Table 11) on this variable, the same scale-construction procedure that was used to form the Neighborhood Crime Problem variable was utilized here.

Table 11

Number of Social Order Problem Items Missing

# Missing Items	n	Percent
0	1067	78.0
1	269	19.6
2	17	1.3
3	8	.6
4	7	.5
Total	1369	100.0

With the exception of the 7 respondents who failed to answer any of the four items, the sum of the ratings for V57, V58, V59, and V60 was calculated for each respondent. Missing ratings were treated as "0". This sum was then divided by the number of nonmissing ratings for each respondent. This approach provides the most valid estimated value for the Neighborhood Social Order Problem variable for those subjects who failed to answer one, two, or three items. Following this procedure scale values are generated for an additional 304 respondents (21.5%) who failed to respond to one or more items in the scale. The remaining 7 respondents who did not answer any items are coded as "missing."

On the basis of the above procedure a new variable, Neighborhood Social Order Problem (CIVILITY in our SPSS files) has been calculated. This variable can range in value from "1" (no problem) to "3" (big problem), which corresponds to the response format for the four individual items. The mean for this variable is 1.545 with a standard deviation of .564 (n = 1362); the median is 1.357. The frequency distribution is shown in Table 12.

Table 12

Frequency Distribution for CIVILITY

Value[a]	Frequency	Relative Percentage
1.00	446	32.6
1.25	185	13.5
1.33	63	4.6
1.50	154	11.2
1.67	39	2.9
1.75	120	8.8
2.00	123	9.0
2.25	62	4.5
2.33	21	1.6
2.50	63	4.6
2.67	8	.6
2.75	36	2.6
3.00	40	3.0
Missing	7	.5
Total	1369	100.0

[a]A value of 1.00 represents a respondent who answered "no problem" to all items, while a value of 3.00 represents a respondent who answered "big problem" to all items.

Personal Protection Measures (PROTECT)

Four items (shown in Table 13) were hypothesized to define a construct representing the extent to which an individual takes personal protection measures.[*]

Table 13

Personal Protection Measures Items

Variable	Variable Label
V93	Go with someone out after dark
V94	Drive not walk at night due to crime
V95	Take protection at night against crime
V96	Avoid certain areas at night due to crime

A factor analysis was performed on the pooled city wide samples, with listwise deletion of missing data ($\underline{n}$ = 1185). All of the items are positively and significantly intercorrelated ($\underline{p}$ < .001), as shown in Table 14.

Table 14

Intercorrelations of Personal Protection Measures

	V93	V94	V95
V94	.401	---	
V95	.172	.182	---
V96	.271	.207	.167

These items are unidimensional, as shown by their loadings on the first principal factor (Table 15). This factor accounted for 43% of the variance in the four items.

---

[*] Originally, V5 (keep an eye on street in front of house) and V72 (Protpeephole in door) were included in the preliminary analyses. They did not correlate with the other variables and were dropped from further analyses.

Table 15

First Principal Factor - Personal Protection Measures

Variable	Loading
V93 - Don't go out alone	.663
V94 - Drive not walk	.583
V95 - Take protection	.305
V96 - Avoid certain areas	.403

Before the internal consistency of these items was further investigated, a conceptual judgment was made to recode each "8" (Don't go out) as a "3.25" on these four variables. It was reasoned that persons who "don't go out" represent an extreme form of personal protection. Also by recoding these "8s" it allowed for the addition of 143 respondents to the total sample. Following this recoding procedure the inter-item correlations increased as shown in Table 16. Cronbach's alpha coefficient was calculated; all items

Table 16

Intercorrelations After Recodes

	V93	V94	V95
V94	.467	---	
V95	.357	.313	---
V96	.409	.325	.359

are moderately correlated with the sum of the other three (shown in Table 17), and together form a scale with an alpha coefficient of .703.

Table 17

Item-total Correlations for Personal Protection Measures

Variable	Item-total Correlations
V93 – Don't go out alone	.553
V94 – Drive not walk	.483
V95 – Take protection	.443
V96 – Avoid certain areas	.476

This indicates that approximately seven-tenths of the variance on an additive scale made up of these four items, is attributed to individual differences in the reported use of personal protection measures. Given this moderately high internal consistency and the face validity of the four items, a new variable Personal Protection Measures (PROTECT) has adequate construct validity to support its use.

Following from this, values were computed for each respondent in the following manner. All "8" values (Don't go out) were recoded as "3.25"; DKs and NAs were coded "0". The sum of each respondent's scores on these four items was then divided by the total number of items answered. This variable, PROTECT, can range in value from "1.00" (hardly ever take any protective measure) through "3.00" (usually take all protective measures), and beyond to "3.25" (don't go out at all). The mean for this PROTECT variable is 1.837 with a standard deviation of .686 ($\underline{n}$ = 1364); the median is 1.745. The frequency distribution is shown in Table 18.

Subsequent analysis performed with the PROTECT scale raised questions about whether V95, asking respondents whether or not they took "something" with them for protection when they went out at night, should be included in this scale. The other three items express avoidance behaviors, actions which people take to avoid areas or situations that they may perceive to be dangerous. Accordingly, a new scale, AVOID, was constructed containing only V93, V94, and V96. This scale has a mean of 1.92, and a reliability coefficient (Cronbach's Alpha) of .659.

Table 17.5 shows the item-total correlations between the AVOID scale and its three component items. The frequency distribution of this new scale is shown in Table 18.5.

Table 17.5

Item-Total Correlations for Measure of Avoidance Behavior

Variable	Item-Total Correlation
V93 - Don't go out alone	.528
V94 - Drive not walk	.468
V96 - Avoid certain areas	.416

Table 18

Frequency Distribution for PROTECT

Value	Frequency	Relative Percentage
1.00	280	20.4
1.25	94	6.9
1.33	3	.2
1.50	267	19.5
1.56	8	.6
1.67	6	.4
1.75	95	6.9
1.81	4	.3
2.00	193	14.1
2.06	8	.6
2.13	5	.3
2.25	66	4.8
2.31	2	.1
2.33	7	.5
2.42	1	.1
2.50	138	10.1
2.56	4	.3
2.63	4	.3
2.67	1	.1
2.69	4	.3
2.75	21	1.5
2.88	1	.1
3.00	49	3.5
3.06	3	.2
3.13	2	.1
3.19	3	.2
3.25	97	7.1
Missing[*]	5	.4
	1369	100.0

[*] DK or NA to all four items

Table 18.5

Frequency Distribution for AVOID

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.00	326	23.8
1.33	108	7.9
1.50	2	.2
1.67	291	21.3
1.75	7	.5
2.00	100	7.3
2.08	4	.3
2.33	205	15.0
2.42	13	1.0
2.50	8	.5
2.67	57	4.1
2.83	0	.0
3.00	128	9.3
3.08	7	.5
3.13	1	.0
3.17	5	.4
3.25	101	7.4
Missing*	5	.4
	1369	100.0

*DK or NA to all four items

Risk for Personal Crime (RISK)

A series of analyses were performed to determine whether risk items, shown in Table 19, could validly be grouped together to form a "Risk Scale."

Table 19

Crime Risk Items

Variable	Variable Label
V67	Likely – Burg own home
V78	Likely – R robbed on Neighborhood street
V84	Likely – R assault by stranger in NBRHD
V121	Likely – R sexual assault in NBRHD

From the start, it was reasoned that V121 (risk for rape) could not be used to form a scale for the total sample because it was asked only of women.[*] Therefore an initial factor analysis was performed on the risk variables for burglary, robbery, and assault, using the pooled city-wide samples with list-wise detection of missing data (n = 1104). These items appeared to be uni-dimensional (see Table 20), but inspection of the loadings on the first principal unrotated factor showed V67 (risk for burglary) to have a relatively low loading. (This first factor accounted for 68% of the variance in the three items.)

Table 20

First Principal Factor--Crime Risk Items

Variable	Loading
V67 – Burglary	.500
V78 – Robbery	.895
V84 – Assault	.787

---

[*] A suggestion was made to assign values of "0" on this item for males, but there was no consensus reached among the staff that this was valid.

To further investigate the internal consistency of these items Cronbach's alpha coefficient was calculated. Table 21 shows that the property crime item (V67) does not "fit" with the two personal crime items, and in fact the alpha coefficient for the three-item scale (.762) is lower than the alpha coefficient for a two-item scale comprised of V78 and V84.

Table 21

Internal Consistency of Crime Risk Items

Variable	Item-total Correlation	Alpha with Item Deleted
V67 - Burglary	.456	.826
V78 - Robbery	.691	.563
V84 - Assault	.649	.619

Given these results and the Baumer (1977) findings, it was decided that V78 and V84 should be combined to form a Personal Crime Risk scale. These two items have a high intercorrelation, .704 (p < .001), and together form a scale with an alpha coefficient of .826. This indicates that more than four-fifths of the variance on this scale is attributable to individual differences in estimating the likelihood of being a victim of personal crime. Given this high internal consistency, and obvious face validity of the two items, Risk for Personal Crime (RISK) variable has adequate construct validity to support its use.[*]

In order to minimize the number of missing cases, a respondent who answered only one of the items (V77 or V84) was assigned her/his score on the nonmissing item for Personal Crime Risk. There were 127 respondents (9.3% of the total sample) who failed to answer both items and thus were coded as "missing." For

_____

[*]Risk for Property Crime will be represented by V67.

the remaining respondents who answered both items, the average of their two
ratings was used as their score on the Risk of Personal Crime variable.

The Personal Crime Risk variable can range in value from "0" (no possibility
at all) to "10" (extremely likely); this corresponds to the response format
of the two individual items. The mean for this variable is 3.164 with a
standard deviation of 2.887 ($\underline{n}$ = 1242); the median is 2.563. The frequency
distribution is shown in Table 22.

Table 22

Frequency Distribution for RISK

Value[a]	Frequency	Relative Percentage
0.0	265	19.3
0.5	37	2.7
1.0	117	8.5
1.5	59	4.3
2.0	91	6.6
2.5	84	6.1
3.0	78	5.7
3.5	64	4.7
4.0	55	4.0
4.5	26	1.9
5.0	138	10.1
5.5	20	1.4
6.0	29	2.1
6.5	23	1.7
7.0	13	1.0
7.5	34	2.5
8.0	14	1.0
8.5	8	.6
9.0	7	.5
9.5	3	.2
10.0	78	5.7
Missing	127	9.3
Total	1369	100.0

[a]A value of 0.0 represents a respondent who felt "no possibility at
all" of being victimized, while a value of 10.00 represents a respondent
who felt it was "extremely likely."

Exposure to Victims Variables (LOCALCRM, BURGPROX, ROBBPROX, ATTKPROX, RAPEPROX)

Five new variables were computed to represent a respondent's exposure to (i.e., personal knowledge of) crime victims. These variables are part of our effort to expand the concept of victimization. One variable, LOCALCRM, is the number of types of crimes for which a respondent knows a victim in her/his neighborhood. This variable is a composite measure of the breadth of exposure a respondent has to neighborhood crime. Four other variables (BURGPROX, ROBBPROX, ATTKPROX and RAPEPROX) represent the proximity of known victims for each type of crime (burglary, robbery, stranger attack, and rape). These variables indicate whether a respondent knows no victim, only a nonlocal victim, or a local victim.[*]

LOCALCRM. In order to compute the LOCALCRM variable counter-variables representing whether a respondent knew a local victim were first computed for each type of crime (burglary, robbery, attack and rape). Each of the counter variables for robbery, attack and rape could range in value from "0" to "3", depending on how many local victims a respondent knew for each crime. Because the knowledge of burglary victims was asked about in a different way, the counter variable for burglary could assume either a "0" or "1". The LOCALCRM variable was then computed by counting how many of these crime-specific counter variables had nonzero values. For example, if a respondent knew a local victim of only one type of crime he/she received a "1"; if local victims of two different types of crime were known the respondent received a "2". The mean is .890 with a standard deviation of .994; the median is .672.

_____

[*]Less than 1% of the respondents who knew a local victim, also knew a nonlocal victim. Thus there was no need for a fourth category for persons who knew both local and nonlocal victims.

Table 23

Frequency Distribution for LOCALCRM

Value	Frequency	Relative Percentage
0	609	44.5
1	438	32.0
2	201	14.6
3	107	7.8
4	15	1.1
Total	1369	100.0

BURGPROX, ROBBPROX, ATTKPROX, RAPEPROX. Four new variables were computed to measure the proximity of victims known to each respondent. This was done separately for burglary, robbery, attack, and rape. Each of these variables was computed as follows: (a) if a respondent knew of no victims, the respondent was assigned a "0"; (b) if the respondent knew a victim who was victimized elsewhere than the respondent's neighborhood, the respondent received a "1"; and (c) if the respondent knew a victim who was victimized in the respondent's neighborhood, the respondent was assigned a "2". A small percentage of respondents (approximately 1%) knew both nonlocal and local victims. These respondents were assigned "2s" as they were too small in number to justify creating a fourth category. This scaling of values provides an ordinal measure of the physical proximity between the respondent and various crime victims, i.e., the larger the value, the closer the known victim lives to the respondent.

To determine if these four variables could be used to form some more general scale, Cronbach's alpha coefficient was calculated. Table 24 shows that while the four variables are positively correlated with the sum of the other three, there is not enough internal consistency to produce an exceptable

alpha value; .517 in this case. Thus, it was concluded that these four

Table 24

Internal Consistency of Victim Proximity Variables

Variable	Item-total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
BURGPROX	.275	.491
ROBBPROX	.371	.384
ATTKPROX	.392	.370
RAPEPROX	.213	.516

Note: n = 1285

variables should not be collapsed into a more general scale, but should be
treated as separate variables. Nonetheless, it should be noted that all
four variables are positively and significantly (p < .001) intercorrelated;
their correlations matrix is shown in Table 25.

Table 25

Intercorrelations of Victim Proximity Variables

	BURGPROX	ROBBPROX	ATTKPROX
ROBBPROX	.241	---	
ATTKPROX	.212	.370	---
RAPEPROX	.119	.132	.217

A Precautionary Note. In addition to the positive intercorrelations among
the four victim proximity variables, it should be noted that these four
variables have sizable correlations (p < .001) with the LOCALCRM variable,
as shown in Table 26. This suggests that LOCALCRM and the first three
Victim Proximity Variables should not be used together in analyses as independent
variables, due to their multicollinearity. This precaution may not be as
important in regards to RAPEPROX, as it shares only 11% common variance with
LOCALCRM.

Table 26

Correlations of Victim Proximity Variables and LOCALCRM

<u>LOCALCRM</u>

BURGPROX	.665
ROBBPROX	.628
ATTKPROX	.611
RAPEPROX	.335

Table 27 presents the frequency distributions for the four proximity variables.

Table 27

Frequency Distributions for Proximity to Victims Variables

Variables*

Value	BURGPROX	ROBBPROX	ATTKPROX	RAPEPROX
0 Know no victims	569 (41.6)	707 (51.7)	910 (66.5)	1020 (74.5)
1 Know only nonlocal	165 (12.0)	337 (24.6)	214 (15.6)	231 (16.9)
2 Know local victim	602 (44.0)	313 (22.9)	227 (16.6)	81 (5.9)
9 Missing	33 (2.4)	12 (.8)	19 (1.4)	37 (2.7)

*Values not in parentheses are absolute frequency. Values in parentheses are relative frequency in percent.

SPSS Creation Cards for New Computed Variables

BIGCRIME

RECODE	V63 V77 V83 V118(7 8=0)/
COUNT	BIGNUM=V63 V77 V83 V118(1 2 3)
COMPUTE	BIGCRIME=(V63+V77+V83+V118)/BIGNUM
MISSING VALUES	BIGCRIME(0)
VAR LABELS	BIGCRIME REPORTED EXTENT OF SERIOUS CRIME LOCALLY/
VALUE LABELS	BIGCRIME(1)NO CRIME PROBLEMS(3)BIG PROBLEM FOR ALL
	(0)DK NA TO ALL FOUR/

CIVILITY

RECODE	V57 to V60(8 9=0)/
COUNT	CIVILNUM=V57 V58 V59 V60(1 2 3)
COMPUTE	CIVILITY=(V57+V58+V59+V60)/CIVILNUM
MISSING VALUES	CIVILITY(0)
VAR LABELS	CIVILITY REPORTED INCIVILITY IN NEIGHBORHOOD/
VALUE LABELS	CIVILITY(1)NO CIVILITY PROBLEMS(3)BIG PROBLEM FOR ALL
	(0)DK NA TO ALL FOUR/

PROTECT

RECODE	V93 to V96(8=3.25)(7=0)/
COUNT	PROTNUM=V93 to V96(1 THRU 4)
COMPUTE	PROTECT=(V93+V94+V95+V96)/PROTNUM
MISSING VALUES	PROTECT(0)
VAR LABELS	PROTECT INDEX OF PERSONAL PROTECTIVE MEASURES/
VALUE LABELS	PROTECT(1)HARDLY EVER DO ANY(3)USUALLY DO ALL
	(3.25)DONT GO OUT TO ALL (0) DK OR NA TO ALL 4/

RISK

COMPUTE	NV78=V78+1
COMPUTE	NV84=V84+1
COUNT	RISKNUM=NV78 NV84(1 THRU 11)
COMPUTE	RISKONE=(NV78+NV84)/RISKNUM
COMPUTE	RISK=RISKONE-1
MISSING VALUES	RISK(-1)
VAR LABELS	RISK ESTIMATED RISK FOR ROBBERY-ATTACK/
VALUE LABELS	RISK(0)LOWEST(10)HIGHEST(-1)NA DK ON BOTH ITEMS/

LOCALCRM

IF	(V64 EQ 1 AND V65 EQ 1)A=1
COUNT	LOCALROB=V80 V81 V82(1)
IF	(V79 EQ 1 AND LOCALROB GT 0)B=1
COUNT	LOCALATT=V86 V87 V88(1)
IF	(V85 EQ 1 AND LOCALATT GT 0)C=1
COUNT	LOCALRAP=V127 V128 V129 V132 V133 V134(1)
RECODE	V124 V131(9=0)/
COUNT	KNOWRAPE=V124 V131(1)/
IF	(KNOWRAPE EQ 1 AND LOCALRAP GT 0)D=1
COUNT	LOCALCRM=A B C D(1)
VAR LABELS	LOCALCRIM KNOW LOCAL VICTIM OF FOUR CRIMES/
VALUE LABELS	LOCALCRIM(1)KNOW LOC VIC ONE CRM(4)KNOW LOC VIC ALL FOUR
	(0)DK LOC VIC ANY CRIME/

BURGPROX, ROBBPROX, ATTKPROX, RAPEPROX

```
IF              (V64 EQ 1 AND V65 EQ 2)BURGPROX=1
IF              (V64 EQ 1 AND V65 EQ 1)BURGPROX=2
IF              (V64 EQ 2)BURGPROX=3
COUNT           LOCROBB=V80 V81 V82(1)
IF              (V79 EQ 1 AND LOCROBB EQ 0)ROBBPROX=1
IF              (V79 EQ 1 AND LOCROBB GT 0)ROBBPROX=2
IF              (V79 EQ 2)ROBBPROX=3
COUNT           LOCATCK=V86 V87 V88(1)
IF              (V85 EQ 1 AND LOCATCK EQ 0)ATTKPROX=1
IF              (V85 EQ 1 AND LOCATCK GT 0)ATTKPROX=2
IF              (V85 EQ 2)ATTKPROX=3
COUNT           LOCRAPE=V127 V128 V129 V132 V133 V134(1)
IF              (V123 EQ 1 OR V131 EQ 1 AND LOCRAPE EQ 0)RAPEPROX=1
IF              (V123 EQ 1 OR V131 EQ 1 AND LOCRAPE GT 0)RAPEPROX=2
IF              (V123 EQ 2 OR V131 EQ 2)RAPEPROX=3
RECODE          BURGPROX ROBBPROX ATTKPROX RAPEPROX(3=0)(1=1)(2=2)(ELSE=9)
VAR LABELS      BURGPROX PROXIMITY OF KNOWN BURGLARY VICTIMS/
                ROBBPROX PROXIMITY OF KNOWN ROBBERY VICTIMS/
                ATTKPROX PROXIMITY OF KNOWN ATTACK VICTIMS/
                RAPEPROX PROXIMITY OF KNOWN RAPE VICTIMS/
VALUE LABELS    BURGPROX ROBBPROX ATTKPROX RAPEPROX(0)KNOW NO VICTIMS(1)KNOW ONLY
                NONLOCAL(2)KNOW LOCAL VICTIM/
MISSING VALUES BURGPROX ROBBPROX ATTKPROX RAPEPROX(9)/
```

Involvement in Neighborhood Organization/Group (COMMORG)

A new variable was computed to represent whether a respondent was involved in any neighborhood community groups/organizations. Basically, this new variable (COMMORG) is a recode of V22. Persons who were not involved were coded as "0" (No), while those who were involved in at least one community group/organization were coded as "1" (Yes). Fourteen respondents did not provide this information, and thus were coded "8" (NA). A small number of respondents (4%) indicated involvement in more than one group/organization; this number was too small to require a separate category. Note that the intensity of involvement is not represented by the COMMORG variable, i.e., this variable does not differentiate someone who is "a member in name only" from a "gung-ho participator." The frequency distribution for the pooled three city samples (n = 1369) is shown in Table 28.

Table 28

Frequency Distribution for COMMORG

Value	Absolute Frequency	Relative Percentage
0 No	1080	78.9
1 Yes	275	20.1
8 NA	14	1.0
Total	1369	100.0

The SPSS cards that were used to create the COMMORG variable are as follows:

```
COMPUTE        COMMORG=V22
RECODE         COMMORG(9=0)
VALUE LABELS   COMMORG(1)YES(0)NO(8)NA/
VAR LABELS     COMMORG R-INVOLVED ANY NBHD ORG OR GROUP/
```

Involved in Group/Organization with Anti-Crime Effort (CRIMORG).

A new variable was computed to represent whether a respondent was involved with a community group/organization that had tried to do something about crime in her/his neighborhood. Basically this new variable (CRIMORG) has been formed by combining information from V24, V27, and V30. Persons who were not involved in any group/organization and persons who were involved in groups/ organizations without an anti-crime effort were coded "0" (No). Those who were involved in a group/organization with an anti-crime effort were coded "1" (Yes). Fourteen respondents did not provide this information, and thus were coded "8" (NA). Note that the CRIMORG variable does not indicate that a respondent was active in a collective anti-crime effort, it simply identifies those respondents that were in some way involved with a group/organization that had, at some time, tried to do something about neighborhood crime. The frequency distribution for the pooled three city samples ($\underline{n}$ = 1369) is shown in Table 29.

Table 29

Frequency Distribution for CRIMORG

Value	Absolute Frequency	Relative Percentage
0 No	1172	85.6
1 Yes	183	13.4
8 NA	14	1.0
Total	1369	100.0

The SPSS cards that were used to create the CRIMORG variable are as follows:

```
RECODE        V24 V27 V30(1=1)(ELSE=0)
IF            (COMMORG EQ 1)CRIMORG = V24+V27+V30
IF            (COMMORG EQ 0)CRIMCRG=0
```

```
ASSIGN MISSING   CRIMORG(8)
RECODE           CRIMORG (2 3=1)
VALUE LABELS     CRIMORG(1)YES(0)NO(8)MISSING
VAR LABELS       CRIMORG R-INVLVED NGHD GRP WITH ANTI-CRIME EFFORT
```

Participation in Group/Organization's Anti-Crime Activities (CRIMACT).

A new variable was computed to represent whether a respondent took part in the anti-crime activities of a neighborhood community group/organization. This new variable (CRIMACT) was formed from information from V25, V28, and V31. All persons who were not involved with a neighborhood group/organization, who were involved with a group/organization without an anti-crime effort, and those who were involved with a group/organization with an anti-crime effort but did not personally participate in the anti-crime activities were coded "0" (No). Those who did personally participate in a group's/organization's anti-crime activities were coded "1" (Yes). Fourteen respondents did not provide this information and were coded "8" (NA). Note that the CRIMACT variable does not indicate anything about what this "participation" required of the respondent. The frequency distribution for the pooled three city-wide samples ($\underline{n}$ = 1369) is shown in Table 30.

Table 30

Frequency Distribution for CRIMACT

Value	Absolute Frequency	Relative Percentage
0 No	1214	88.7
1 Yes	141	10.3
8 NA	14	1.0
Total	1369	100.00

The SPSS cards that were used to create the CRIMACT variable are as follows:

```
RECODE              V25 V28 V31(1=1)(ELSE=0)
IF                  (CRIMORG EQ 1)CRIMACT=V25+V28+V31
IF                  (CRIMORG EQ 0)CRIMACT=0
ASSIGN MISSING CRIMACT(8)
RECODE              CRIMACT(2 3=1)
VALUE LABELS        CRIMACT(1)YES(0)NO(8)MISSING/
VAR LABELS          CRIMACT R-ACTIVE NBHD GRPS ANTI-CRIME EFFORT/
```

Awareness of Neighborhood Anti-Crime Effort (AWARE).

A new variable was computed to represent whether a respondent was aware of an anti-crime effort or program in her/his neighborhood. This variable was formed by combining information from the CRIMORG variable and V33. A respondent could be aware of a neighborhood anti-crime effort through her/his own involvement in the effort or by simply having heard of some local anti-crime venture. Those persons who were not involved in a neighborhood group/organization with an anti-crime effort, but knew of a neighborhood anti-crime effort were coded "1" (KNOW ONLY). Those persons who were involved in a neighborhood group/organization with an anti-crime effort, but did not know of any other local anti-crime effort were coded "2" (INVOLVED ONLY). Those persons who were involved in a local group/organization with an anti-crime effort and also knew of some other local anti-crime effort were coded "3" (INVOLVED AND KNOW). Finally, those persons who were neither involved nor knew of an anti-crime effort were coded "0" (NOT INVOLVED DONT KNOW). The frequency distribution for AWARE from the pooled three-city samples (n = 1369) is shown in Table 31.

Table 31

Frequency Distribution for AWARE

Value	Absolute Frequency	Relative Percentage
0 NOT INVOLVED DONT KNOW	985	72.0
1 KNOW ONLY	174	12.7
2 INVOLVED ONLY	140	10.2
3 INVOLVED AND KNOW	43	3.1
8 NA	27	2.0
Total	1369	100.0

The SPSS cards that were used to create AWARE variable are as follows:

IF	(CRIMORG EQ 0 AND V22 EQ 1)AWARE=1
IF	(CRIMORG EQ 1 AND V33 EQ 2)AWARE=2
IF	(CRIMORG EQ 1 AND V33 EQ 1)AWARE=3
IF	(CRIMORG EQ 0 AND V33 EQ 2)AWARE=0
ASSIGN MISSING	AWARE(8)
VALUE LABELS	AWARE(0)NOT INVOLVED DONT KNOW(1)KNOW ONLY(2) INVOLVED ONLY(3) INVOLVED AND KNOW(8)NA
VAR LABELS	AWARE AWARE OF NBHD ANTICRIME EFFORT

Report Crime to Police (CRIMREPT).

A new variable was computed to represent whether a respondent had, in the past year, reported any crime/s to the police. This variable (CRIMREPT) was formed by combining information from V35-V38; it simply represents a dichotomy of those who did and didn't make a crime report to the police in the last year. Those who made no crime report to the police were coded "0" (No), while those who made at least one crime report were coded "1"(Yes). The frequency distribution for CRIMREPT from the pooled three-city wide samples (n = 1369) is shown in Table 32.

Table 32

Frequency Distribution for CRIMREPT

Value	Absolute Frequency	Relative Percentage
0 No	1063	77.6
1 Yes	269	21.7
8 NA	10	.7
Total	1369	100.0

The SPSS cards used to create the CRIMREPT variable are as follows:

IF	(V35 EQ 2)CRIMREPT=0
IF	(V35 EQ 1 AND (V36 NE 1 AND V37 NE1 AND V38 NE 1)) CRIMREPT=0
IF	(V35 EQ 1 AND (V36 EQ 1 OR V37 EQ 1 OR V38 EQ 1)) CRIMREPT=1
IF	(V35 GT 2)CRIMREPT=8
VALUE LABELS	CRIMREPT(1)YES(0)NO(8)MISSING/
VAR LABELS	CRIMREPT R-CALLED POLICE TO REPORT CRIME/

Neighborhood Integration

Analyses were performed on seven items (shown in Table 33) to determine whether they might form an "integration" construct or constructs.[*]

Table 33

Possible Neighborhood Integration Variables

Variable	Variable Labels
V1	Telling stranger in neighborhood difficult
V2	Feel part of neighborhood or just place
V14	No. kids in neighborhood known
V20	Ever gather to discuss neighborhood problems
V146	Number of years in NBRHD
V148	Own or rent home
V149	Expect to live in NBRHD in 2 years

A factor analysis was performed on the pooled city-wide samples with list wise deletion of missing values ($\underline{n}$ = 1151). An earlier analysis had indicated that there may be two correlated factors using these seven items; thus an oblique (correlated) rotation was used.[**] Table 34 shows the factor loadings. Of the total variance, Factor 1 accounted for 34%, while Factor 2 accounted for 15%; the eigenvalues were 2.937 and 1.043, respectively. The two factors are correlated .630.

---

[*]Originally some analyses were performed with V13 (times visit neighbor last two weeks), but it did not share enough common variance with the other variables to justify its inclusion in further analyses.

[**]All seven variables were standardized before this analysis and subsequent analyses were performed, because of marked heterogenity of means and variances.

Table 34

Neighborhood Integration Factors

Variables	Factor 1 Loadings	Factor 2 Loadings
ZV1-Tell Stranger	.616	-.057
ZV2-Felt part	.407	.137
ZV14-Kids known	.657	-.022
ZV20-Discuss problems	.359	.026
ZV146-Years in NBRHD	.010	.483
ZV148-Own/rent	.074	.605
ZV149-Expect to move	-.032	.519

Based on the results of the factor analysis further analyses were performed to determine whether ZV1, ZV2, ZV14, and ZV20 might form a "social integration" construct and whether ZV146, ZV148, and ZV149 might form a "physical or economic integration" construct.

The internal consistency of ZV1, ZV2, ZV14, and ZV20 was checked by calculation of Cronbach's alpha coefficient. As shown in Table 35 all variables are positively intercorrelated ($p < .001$), but ZV20 shares less

Table 35

Intercorrelations

	ZV1	ZV2	ZV14
ZV2	.312	---	
ZV14	.384	.261	---
ZV20	.162	.233	.251

common variance with the other three variables than these three do among themselves.

Together, the four variables produce an alpha coefficient of .593.
As shown in Table 36 this is not meaningfully larger than the .584 alpha
value which is produced with ZV1, ZV2, and ZV14 alone. Therefore ZV20 appears
to not improve the reliability of the scale. Considering this and its un-
certain face validity it was decided that ZV20 should not be included in the
scale that would be formed from ZV1, ZV2, and ZV14.

Table 36
Internal Consistency Results

Variable	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
ZV1	.405	.498
ZV2	.376	.521
ZV14	.426	.481
ZV20	.292	.584

This scale (KNOWNBRS) would represent the degree to which a respondent
was familiar, in a social sense, with her/his neighborhood. Using the pooled
three-citywide samples with list wise deletion (n = 1242) correlations among
ZV1, ZV2, and ZV14 were found to be virtually identical to those presented
in Table 35, and together these three variables for m a scale with an alpha
coefficient of .585. This new scaled variable, KNOWNBRS, is an unweighted
sum of a respondent's standardized scores on V1, V2, and V14. For the pooled
three citywide samples there are 1242 valid cases with 127 cases, or 9.3%,
missing. Scores on KNOWNBRS range from approximately -4 to +3; KNOWNBRS has
a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 2.2174. Positive scores represent
above average neighborhood familiarity, while negative scores represent below
average familiarity.

As earlier mentioned further analyses were performed to determine whether
ZV146, ZV148 and ZV149 might form a "physical integration" construct. The
internal consistency of these three variables was checked by calculation of

Cronbach's alpha coefficient. All are positively intercorrelated ($p < .001$)
as shown in Table 37, and together form a scale with an alpha coefficient of

Table 37
Intercorrelations

	ZV146	ZV148
ZV148	.340	----
ZV149	.222	.320

.555. Inspection of the results in Table 38 indicates that all variables
contribute to the reliability of the scale, but ZV149 contributes least.
Nonetheless, a decision was made to generate a new scaled variable, ROOTED,

Table 38
Internal Consistency Results

Variable	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
ZV146	.346	.485
ZV148	.422	.363
ZV149	.331	.508

from the unweighted sum of the standardized scores of V146, V148, and V149.
Scores on this new variable range from approximately -3 to +8; the mean is
0 with a standard deviation of 2.1827. For the pooled three citywide samples
there are 1270 cases with valid scores on ROOTED, with 99 cases, or 7.2%,
missing. This variable represents the degree to which a respondent is
"settled," in an economic sense, in her/his neighborhood. Positive values
on ROOTED represent an above-average degree of being settled in one's neigh-
borhood, while negative values represent a below average degree of "settledness."

The SPSS cards that were used to create KNOWNBRS scale and ROOTED scale
are as follows:

```
RECODE              V1 V2 (1 = 2) (2 =1)/
                    V149 (1 = 3) (2 = 1) (3 = 2)/V14 (5 = 1)

IF                  (V1 LE 2) ZV1 = (V1 - 1.54157)/.49847
IF                  (V2 LE 2) ZV2 = (V2 - 1.59104)/.49184
IF                  (V14 LE 4) ZV14 = (V14 - 2.38944)/1.09030
IF                  (V146 LE 96) ZV146 = (V146 - 10.84854)/11.95377
IF                  (V148 LE 2) ZV148 = (V148 - 1.41407)/.49275
IF                  (V149 LE 3) ZV149 = (V149 - 2.42193)/.84555

ASSIGN MISSING      ZV1 ZV2 ZV14 ZV146 ZV148 ZV149 (99)/

COMPUTE             KNOWNBRS = ZV1 + ZV2 + ZV14

COMPUTE             ROOTED = ZV146 + ZV148 + ZV149

ASSIGN MISSING      KNOWNBRS ROOTED (99)/

VAR LAVELS          KNOWNBRS WITH PEOPLE IN NBRHD/

                    ROOTED DEGREE RESP IS SETTLED IN NBRHD/
```

The integration variables, KNOWNBRS and ROOTED, are significantly correlated $\underline{r}$ = .390, p $<$ .001. It should also be noted that these variables where created on the RTC MASTER SPSS file for neighborhood respondents using the pooled city-wide means and standard deviations. Thus a neighborhood respondent's integration scores are relative to the scores in the pooled city-wide sample.

The Scaling of Property Protection Behaviors: RTC Telephone Survey

Unlike the success that was achieved via correlational statistical techniques* to form reliable scales from the RTC telephone survey e.g., BIGCRIME, CIVILITY, PROTECT, similar efforts to scale property protection behaviors were not fruitful. The present paper describes a nonparametric approach to scaling these behaviors, which circumvents the problems caused to parametric methods by vastly dissimilar frequency distributions across variables.

The 1977 RTC telephone survey was reviewed to identify items about behaviors which could reduce the likelihood of loss from burglary victimization. These items are as follows:

         (V70)   Engrave valuables
         (V71)   Bars or special locks on windows
         (V72)   Peephole or window in door
         (V73)   Leave light on while out at night
         (V74)   Notify police when gone
         (V75)   Stop deliveries when gone
         (V76)   Neighbors watch home when gone
        (V150)   Theft or vandalism insurance

Using the pooled city-wide samples from the telephone survey (weighted $\underline{N}$=1328), these items were first rank ordered according to the proportion in which they were performed. This ordering is shown in Table 1. Next a 2X2

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Insert Table 1 Here

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*Factor analysis and coefficient alpha for internal consistency.

Table 1

Ranked Proportions of Property Protection Items

Variable	Name	Proportion responding "YES"
V73	Leave light on while out at night	82%
V76	Neighbors watch home when gone	76%
V150	Theft or vandalism insurance	65%
V72	Peephole or window in door	63%
V75	Stop deliveries when gone	57%
V71	Bars or special locks on windows	45%
V70	Engrave valuables	31%
V74	Notify police when gone	10%

Note. Weighted N=1328.

contingency table was generated for each possible pairing of the eight items. This produced 28 tables. For each table the proportion of respondents who performed the less frequent behavior who also performed the more frequent behavior was calculated. For example, 31% of respondents mark their valuables (less frequent behavior), and 65% own a theft insurance policy (more frequent behavior). Of these 31% who mark their valuables, 80% also own an insurance policy. These proportions were recorded in matrix form (see Table 2). The information in this table, in and of

- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Insert Table 2 Here

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

itself, is not extremely useful. These proportions become more meaningful when compared with their observed distributions for the entire sample (Table 1). For example, while 82% of the entire random sample leave lights on when out at night (V73), 90% of the persons who notify the police when away (V74) leave their lights on when out at night; an absolute difference of 8%. These differences, of observed from expected (based on the entire random sample) provide more useful information, especially after they have been "corrected" to take into account possible ceiling effects[*]. These differences were transformed via the following equation:

$$\underline{d}' = \frac{0 - E}{100 - E}$$

Where $\underline{d}'$ is the corrected difference,
       0 is the observed proportion (Table 2), and
       E is the expected proportion (Table 1)

---

*I thank Janice Normoyle for her comment on the existence of a ceiling effect.

Table 2

Proportions of Persons performing less-frequent behavior who also perform
more frequent behavior

More Frequent Behavior

Less frequent behavior	V73	V76	V150	V72	V75	V71	V70	V74
V73	–							
V76	86	–						
V150	85	83	–					
V72	86	79	71	–				
V75	87	93	75	68	–			
V71	86	81	72	69	64	–		
V70	86	83	80	69	66	57	–	
V74	90	88	78	73	79	58	49	–

Theoretically, $\underline{d}'$ can assume any value between -1.00 and +1.00; of interest here are values between 0 and +1.00. A value of "0" would mean that persons who perform a less frequent behavior perform a more frequent behavior at the same rate as the entire random sample. A value of "1.00" would mean that $\underline{all}$ persons who perform the less frequent behavior also perform the more frequent behavior. Values for $\underline{d}'$ are shown in Table 3.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Insert Table 3 Here

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Inspecting these values, I circled those that appeared "relatively" large (>.40). A "cluster" appeared that included V73, V74, V75, V76. These four variables measure behaviors persons engage in before leaving their homes unattended. This cluster of variables was then analyzed via the SPSS GUTTMAN SCALE procedure (Nie et.al., 1975, Chapter 26).[*] The four variables form a Guttman Scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .92 and a coefficient of scalability of .65. Both of these values exceed the criteria for a valid Guttman Scale (Nie et.al., 1975, p. 533; Guilford, 1954, pp. 460-461).

While the parametric approach to scaling these variables had identified a reliable clustering of V75 and V76, the present nonparametric approach recommends a four variable scale with a score based on the member of items answered "yes". This scale, "WHENGONE", would represent the extent to which respondents take precautionary measures to protect their homes when they are away. If such a scale score was generated, it should be noted that

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[*]The entire set of eight variables was also analyzed by GUTTMAN SCALE. It yielded a coefficient of reproducibility of .79 and a coefficient of scalability of .31. Neither of these meet the criteria for a valid Guttman scale.

Table 3

d' Values for Property Protection Items

	V73	V76	V150	V72	V75	V71	V70	V74
V73	---							
V76	.22	---						
V150	.17	.29	---					
V72	.22	.13	.17	---				
V75	.28	.71	.29	.14	---			
V71	.22	.21	.20	.16	.16	---		
V70	.22	.29	.43	.16	.21	.22	---	
V74	.44	.50	.37	.27	.51	.24	.26	---

Guttman Scales are not well thought of by psychometricians (cf. Guilford, 1954, p.460; Nunnally, 1967, pp.64-66). But in this instance their general criticisms seem somewhat irrelevant.

The WHENGONE scale would ideally indicate that someone who notifies the police when away from home for a day or more (V74), also does the three other more "popular" behaviors. While someone who doesn't notify the police, but does stop deliveries (V75), also does the two other more "popular" behaviors. And so on. While not all the 1977 RTC telephone survey respondents are "perfect" Guttman Scale types, reasoned opinion (Nie, 1975, p.533) recommends that with a valid scale, such as this, all respondents may be assigned a scale score.

CHAPTER 5

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CRIME NEWS

IN METROPOLITAN NEWSPAPERS

By

Margaret T. Gordon

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General Description of Content Analysis Project

This component of the Reactions to Crime Project consisted of in-depth analyses of stories about violent crime in Chicago, San Francisco, and Philadelphia daily metropolitan newspapers. The newspapers examined were: Chicago Tribune, Chicago Sun-Times, Chicago Daily News (until it's demise on March 4, 1978); San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco Examiner; Philadelphia Daily News, Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia Bulletin.

Phase One of the content analysis was conducted with selected issues from March 1976 through August 1976, and examined all news about infractions of criminal law involving injury to persons and property. Also included in this phase were stories about crime prevention, general discussions of the crime problem, and policies to deal with crime. Stories about the police which relate to their crime fighting mission, and stories about the criminal justice system in general were also coded.

Phase Two analyzed all daily newspapers from October 1977 through April 1978. During this stage of the analysis the only stories which were coded described violent crimes, or "all news about attacks on persons (male or female), or about trials resulting from attacks on persons." Also included were articles about violent crime prevention resulting from specific crimes, general articles on crime prevention, and feature stories about violent crime(s). This seven month period corresponded to the period during which telephone interviews with 5000 residents in these three cities and in-person interviews with a sample of 400 were conducted by the Fear of Rape Project.

Approximately 45 coders were trained for content analysis by two super-
visors. Two additional supervisors were later trained. Northwestern students,
including students from the Medill School of Journalism, and graduate
students from other area universities comprised the majority of coders.

Training focused on three main issues. First coders were famil-
iarized with the instrument. Each variable was thoroughly discussed
to assure uniformity among coders. Second, a sample of newspaper crime
stories was discussed to clarify the categories of crimes to be coded,
the types of articles (i.e. news report, feature) and the style of
articles (i.e. language, lede, bias.) Third, coders were trained in
the technical details, including the use of column numbers and pica
rulers.

Immediately following the training period, each newspaper coded
was validated by a supervisor. Validation consisted of ascertaining
coders' accuracy in the number of newspaper stories coded and 20 of the
variables coded. Newspapers with non-coded crime stories or substantial
errors were returned to the coder. Once coders demonstrated sufficient
accuracy in coding, supervisors randomly validated newspapers. Coding
was conducted in groups under the direction of a supervisor. Problems
encountered in the coding were discussed and resolved by the supervisor.

Following the completion of the coding, crime stories were clipped
from the newspapers and filed. These stories were later matched with
references to specific crimes described in the in-person interviews in
order to assess the accuracy with which respondents recalled crimes
depicted in the metropolitan newspapers.

The next section describes in detail how stories were selected for
inclusion in the content analysis. The rules for inclusion had to be
made explicit since there is a wide variety of different types of crime

stories. The last section of this chapter presents the codebook used in the
content analysis. Coders were also issued detailed instructions on most
items in the codebook. These instructions are too lengthy to reproduce
here; interested readers may obtain further documentation from the authors.

Stories to be Included

Violent crime stories coded included all news or features about attacks
on persons, all follow-up stories resulting from such attacks (i.e. trial
coverage, imprisonment information), and crime prevention as a result of
such violent attacks. Not included were wartime attacks on military
personnel, police actions deemed to be in the line of duty, and sanctioned
violence (such as wrestling and football).

However, wartime attacks on civilians, police violence presented as
questionable in the newspaper's depiction of the event, events presented
by the newspaper as violence perpetrated on civilians by governments or
government rulers, violence at sporting events which exceeds reasonable
limits for sports (i.e., for which criminal or disciplinary charges were
filed), governmental investigation into the assasination of public figures,
articles dealing with the Holocaust as crime, and violent foreign and do-
mestic riots or demonstrations were included.

Also included were general news or feature articles that deal with
violent crime. Such articles included overviews of the crime problem,
current or proposed crime legislation, criminal justice activities and
crime or victimization prevention tactics. However, these topics were
included only when they dealt specifically with violent crimes within our
purview, rather than with property crimes or with crime in general.

The definitions and expansion of specific categories of crimes included with the scope of this study were explained in detailed instructions to coders. We included all articles which dealt with violent crimes, no matter how small the article, including Almanac or digest items dating back no further than 1900. In the case of attempted or threatened violent crimes or in cases where a conspiracy to commit a violent crime was uncovered, the coding supervisors judged whether or not the action had been carried far enough to be considered a crime or to instill substantial fear in readers that the crime could have been committed. For example, a bomb threat aboard an airplane which resulted in the plane making an emergency landing was coded. An article dealing with neighborhood differences in which someone mentioned his neighbor said he would kill him if he didn't return a lawnmower, would not have been coded. Likewise, substantiated conspiracies were coded, but suspicions of conspiracies which did not result in actions toward commission of the crime were not coded. Supervisors and coders also had to make judgement calls as to whether articles were serious accounts or humorous anecdotes. For example, a story about "Arms for the Elderly", in which old people were given guns and taught to defend themselves and later used the guns in an armed robbery was coded. But an article about a kidnapping in which a woman said she was taken to another planet by space creatures was not coded (partly because we couldn't determine sex, age or ethnic group for the suspects). This and similar articles, while perhaps serious to persons concerned with human relations with extraterrestrial life, were not included in the content analysis.

On certain other items we needed to judge whether or not the event qualified as a crime. For example, use of deadly force by an on-duty

police officer was not considered a crime if the story was presented by the
paper as being totally in the line of duty, and the right and reason-
able thing to do. Similarly, an exorcism in which someone was whipped
or tied down but for which no charges were filed was not coded. How-
ever, in such circumstances if the victim died and charges were brought,
the event was coded as a crime.

Often newspapers dealt with two separate crimes within the same
article. In such cases we tried to combine the crimes if they were at
all similar (e.g. if both crimes were robberies, and the information
about the victims and suspects for each crime was combined.) In
cases where the crimes or other factors were so dissimilar that the
events couldn't be coded together, they were coded as two separate
stories and the text, headline, and graphic measurements were divided
between the two stories. This problem seldom occurred.

The overall rule of thumb used in deciding how to code articles
was the "major gist" criterion. In articles involving several inter-
related crimes, the identity of the victim and the nature of the crime
were often unclear. In such cases the crime which constituted the major
gist of the article was coded as the central crime, and the peripheral
crimes were often not coded. In cases where the article really had
multiple "major gists", information was combined if possible to make
the story codeable. An example of this is an article dealing with the
assasination of Martin Luther King and the riots following the assasi-
nation.

Problems arose in cases where a large article briefly mentioned a
specific crime, often just as a lead-in to the major article. These
articles were coded for the specific crime mentioned, with more detail

in the analytic categories than that contained in most straight crime reports. Other articles, with just tangential mention of crime or a specific crime (such as a travelogue on Greece with a small paragraph on violent crime) were not coded.

Articles were coded only on the basis of the information contained within that article. This policy presented some problems in cases of people or events which are common knowledge. For example, if an article dealt with the JFK assasination but didn't mention that he was president, coders were instructed to put "no mention" in response to the "occupation" variable, although most readers of the article would know he had been president. In the long-run, however, this policy kept coders who were reading the same crime stories in several different papers from supplying details to stories under the guise of "common knowledge."

12/16/77

<u>Content Analysis (Newspaper) Codebook</u>
(for papers dated 8/16/76 through 1977)
(Stage II)

Crime news to be coded includes all news about attacks on persons

(male or female), or about trials resulting from attacks on persons.

Coding is designed to gain information about the images of crime depicted

in the mass media through selective attention to various types of crime and

various aspects of crime.   Distinctions are made between alleged or suspected

criminal activity and proven criminal activity.   Coding is based on story

content rather than the coder's knowledge of facts which might have been

incorporated into the story but were omitted.

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Column(s)</u>	
		<u>Name of Newspaper/Magazine</u>

1	1-2	Philadelphia	Chicago	San Francisco
		11 Evening Bulletin	21 Tribune	31 Examiner
		12 Inquirer		32 Chronicle
		13 Daily News	23 Sun Times	35 Other (specify)
		15 Other (specify)	24 Daily News (to March 4, 1978)	
			25 Other (specify)	

3	3-4	<u>Date</u>
		01-31 Date of Month

4	5-6	<u>Month</u>
		January = 01 . . . December = 12

5	7	<u>Year</u>
		7, 8 Code last digit only for 1977 or 1978

Variable	Column(s)	
6	8-9	**Story Number** (01-99) Assign each story in each newspaper a number beginning with **01** for each day.
	10	blank
7	11	**Placement on Page** (area where story headline **begins**)

2	1
3	4

Variable	Column(s)	
8	12	**Page Number** of page on which main body of story first appears. 1. First page of first section 2. Second page of first section 3. Third page of first section 4. Other page in first section 5. Back page of first section 6. Front page of section **other** than the first section 7. Inside page of section other than first section 8. Other
9	13	Is story jumped to another page? 1 = no 2 = yes
10	14	**Type of Story** 1. News report 5. Signed column 2. Features, analyses (other 6. Letters than signed column) 7. Polls 3. Sidebar 8. Picture and cutlines only 4. Editorial 9. Other (specify)
11	15-17	**Size of Graphics** Round off to nearest **square** inch from 001 to 999 square inches. Include pictures, maps, drawings.
12	18-19	**Size of Cutlines** (in square inches) 01 - 99
13	20-23	**Headline Size** (in square inches; for stories and heads for pix) 0001 - 9999 (including jumps)
14	24-26	**Type Point Size of Headline Type in Picas**
15	27-30	**Story Size** (volume in square inches) 0001 - 9999

Variable	Column(s)	

16   31   <u>Language</u> in headlines

                1   Yes: Sensational, inflamatory (write words on code
                     sheet that prompted you to code yes)

                2   No: Not sensational, not inflamatory

16a   32   <u>Was lede</u>:

                1 straight news
                2 angled violence
                3 angle (feature)
                4 other angle
                5 other

17   33   <u>Bias/slant</u> (applied to whole story, its general tone)

                1 Not slanted, objective
                2 A biasing word or two (specify on code sheet)
                3 Somewhat sympathetic toward victim
                4 Somewhat sympathetic toward suspect/criminal
                5 Biased, slanted, designed to persuade toward victim
                   (e.g., editorial)
                6 Biased, slanted, designed to persuade toward
                   suspect/criminal (e.g., editorial)
                7 Other (specify on code sheet)

18   34   <u>Newsiness</u>

                1 News story – first report of recent event
                2 News follow-up story (e.g. report of new or
                   additional information on event which happened recently)
                3 Featurized follow-up   (e.g. crime prevention as a result
                   of a specific crime)
                4 Features on crime prevention
                5 Report of trial of crime which happened earlier
                6 Other (specify on code sheet)

20   35-37   <u>Number of stories</u> in current issue related to same incident
                  (code actual number)   001-999

Variables	Column(s)	
21	38-39	Status of suspect(s)/criminal(s)

    01 No mention of search for suspect, whether or not
          there is a suspect, etc.
    02 No leads on suspect yet
    03 Leads on suspect, but none caught
    04 Suspect named
    05 Suspect charged
    06 Suspect admitted guilt
    07 Suspect awaiting or on trial
    08 Suspect found guilty
    09 Suspect/felon appealing
    10 Suspect freed on bond
    11 Suspect found innocent
    12 Other (specify on code sheet)
    13 Suspect dead (specify how death occurred)

22	40-41	Nature of Alleged Crime(s)
		(code up to two and write in others)

| 23 | 42-43 | |

    01 Murder, nonnegligent manslaughter
    02 Attempted murder
    03 Negligent manslaughter
    04 Rape without a weapon (or no mention of weapons)
    05 Rape with a weapon
    06 Attempted rape
    07 Robbery
    08 Aggravated assault
    10 Kidnapping
    12 Assault with a weapon
    13 Other assault
    14 Arson with intent to kill or hurt specific persons/group
    15 Foreign riots or demos.
    16 Domestic riots or demos.
    17 Holocaust

    26 Prostitution, commercial vice
    27 Other sex offenses
    32 Sexual child abuse
    33 Child abuse
    38 Hijacking
    39 Terrorism - foreign
    40 Bombing with intent to kill or hurt specific persons/group
    47 Other (specify)

24	44	Time of day crime occurred (began)

    1 No mention
    2 Midnight to 6 a.m.
    3 6 a.m. to noon
    4 noon to 6 p.m.
    5 6 p.m. to midnight
    6 mixed (specify)
    7 other (specify)

Variables	Column(s)	

Causes or Explanatinos of Crime (code up to two if mentioned)

25,26   45-46, 47-48

01 Heredity, genetic factors (includes race)
02 Methods of child-rearing, includes permissiveness
03 Poor home life -- includes parental absence, illness, poverty, marital strife, alcoholism, rejection
04 Adolescent stresses
05 Religious deficiencies
06 materialism, agreed environmental explanations
07 Economic stress, unemployment
08 Slum/ghetto conditions
09 Inefficient police-criminal justice system
10 Judicial leniency
11 Prison conditions/recidivism
12 Personal explanations
13 Other (specify)

27   49-50

Motives, Triggering Incidents (if any)
Select most important emphasis delineated explicitly in the story.

01 Fight/argument among strangers
02 Fight/argument among acquaintances
03 Fight/argument among relatives
04 Racial/ethnic incident
05 Gang violence
06 Sex (rivalry, infidelity, promiscuity, etc.)
07 Labor/union problems
08 Political differences (partisan strife, radicalism, left-right clashes, etc.)
09 Mental derangement/going berserk
10 Prison inmate strife
11 Prison inmate - authority strife
12 Refer to TV, movies
13 Other (specify on code sheet)

28   51

Is crime put in perspective (e.g., no per 1000)

1 = no   2 = yes

29   52

Any information regarding response in community

1 = no   2 = yes

if yes, what? _____

53   Blank

Variables   Column(s)

| 31 | 54 | Is the criminal/suspect also a victim in this story? |

1 = no   2 = yes

NOTE: If we know nothing about suspect, go to variable 40

| 32 | 55 | Criminal(s)/suspect(s)/identity* |

1 male alone   5 mixed-sex group
2 female alone   6 Other (specify)
3 2 or male suspects   7 NA
4 2 or more female suspects   8 Unknown

| 33 | 56 | Criminal/suspect name   1 not mentioned   2 mentioned |

| 34 | 57 | Criminal/suspects' address |

1 not mentioned   2 mentioned (specify on code sheet)

| 35 | 58-59 | Criminal (suspect) Age Group at Time of Crime |

(May be inferred from clear picture)

01 Young child   (0-7)
02 Pre-teen   (8-12)
03 Juvenile   (13-17)
04 Young adult   (18-21)
05 Adult   (22-25)
06 Pre-mid-age   (26-35)
07 Middle age   (36-65)
08 Seniors   -   (66 and over)
09 Members of 13-25 group (3+4+5)
10 Members of 13-25 group + 26-65 group. (3,4,5, + 6, 7)
11 Members of 26-65 group
12 Other combinations (specify)
18 Other (specify)
99 Unidentified/not given

| 36 | 60-61 | Number of Criminals/Suspects |

01-90 Use actual number or estimate. When ranges
       are given, use midpoint

---

* When story involves individual participation in collective crime, code
  only for individuals to which story pertains.

Variables	Column(s)
37	62-63

37   62-63   <u>Criminal(s)/Suspects Ethnic/Racial Tag</u>

     01   White
     02   Black
     03   Oriental
     04   American Indian
     05   Latino (Mexican, Puerto Rican, etc.)
     06   Mixed group (specify on code sheet)
     07
     08
     09   Other (specify on code sheet)
     99   No identiy tag(s) mentioned

38   64-65   <u>Criminal(s)/Suspect's Occupation</u>
                        Code only one occupation

     01   Professional/technical (college degree required,
           generally)
     02   Business-Managers
     03   Politican/Bureaucrat
     04   Clerical/Sales
     05   Skilled workers/trades/farmers
     06   Nonskilled workers
     07   Students
     08   Homemaker
     09   Religious leaders
     10   Unemployed
     11   Retired
     12   Law enforcement, police
     13   More than one suspect, several occupations
     14   Other (specify)
     99   No mention of occupations

39   66   <u>Previous Crime Record of Suspect(s)</u>
                 Code only fact of mention. Do not code details of
                 previous alleged offenses.

     1   No mention
     2   Mentioned, had previous record
     3   Mentioned, had <u>no</u> previous record

NOTE: If we know <u>nothing</u> about victim(s) go to variable 47

40   67   <u>Victim's sex/identity</u>

     1   Male, alone   5   mixed-sex group
     2   Female, alone   8   Other (specify)
     3   two or more victims, male   9   NA
     4   two or more victims, female   10   Unknown

Variables	Column(s)	
41	68	<u>Victim's Name(s)</u>

    1 not mentioned   2 mentioned

41A	69	<u>Victim's Address</u>

    1 not mentioned   2 mentioned (write on code sheet)

42	70-71	<u>Victim(s) Age Group at Time of Crime</u> (May be inferred from clear picture)

01 Young child   (0-7)
02 Pre-teen   (8-12)
03 Juvenile   (13-17)
04 Young adult   (18-21)
05 Adult   (22-25)
06 Pre-mid-age   (26-35)
07 Middle age   (36-65)
08 Seniors   (66 and over)
09 Members of 13-25 group   (3+4+5)
10 Members of 13-25 group + 25-65 group (3,4,5 + 6, 7)
11 Members of 26-65 group
12 Other combinations (specify)
18 Other (specify)
99 Unidentified

43	72-73	<u>Number of Victims</u>

01-90 Use actual number or <u>estimate</u>. When ranges
        are given, use midpoint.
    91 More than 90

44	74	<u>Victim(s) Ethnic/Racial Identity</u>

Use narrowest identification. If name, address, or
organizational identification are an obvious clue,
identify accordingly.

1 White
2 Black
3 Oriental
4 American Indian
5 Latino (Mexican, Puerto Rican, etc.)
6 Mixed (e.g., several victims of different races - specify)
7 Other (specify on code sheet)
9 No identity tag(s) mentioned

Variables	Column(s)	

44A   75   <u>Victim's Appearance</u>

                                       0

                                       1   no mention

                                       2   mentioned, attractive

                                       3   mentioned, unattractive

                                       4   other (specify)

44B   76   <u>Victim's Dress</u>

                                       0

                                       1   no mention

                                       2   mentioned; sexy, provocative

                                       3   mentioned, not provocative

                                       4   mentioned, other (specify)

45   77   <u>Victim/Suspect Relationship</u>

                                       0

                                       1   Strangers

                                       2   Related (write relationship on code sheet)

                                       3   Friends

                                       4   Acquaintances

                                       5   Other

                                       6   Not mentioned

45A   78   <u>Previous Victimization</u>

                                       0

                                       1   no mention

                                       2   mentioned, previously victimized of same crime

                                       3   mentioned, previously victimized of other crime

                                       4   mentioned, no previous victimization

45B   79   <u>Why was this person chosen as victim?</u>

                                       0

                                       1   no mention

                                       2   intended victim

                                       3   happened to be in area, bad luck

                                       4   other (specify)

80:1
Card 2
Cols. 1-9 (Duplicate)

Variables	Column(s)	
46	10-11	Victim(s) Occupation

Code only one occupation per person

01 Professional/technical (College degree required, generally)
02 Business/Manager
03 Politician/Bureaucrat
04 Clerical/Sales
05 Skilled workers/trades/farmers
06 Nonskilled workers
07 Students
08 Homemaker
09 Stewardess, Model, entertainment, (glamor profession)
10 Unemployed
11 Retired
12 Law enforcement, police
13 More than one suspect
14 Other (specify)
99 No mention of occupation

46A   12   Victim's Income

1 no mention
2 yes, poor (under $15,000)
3 yes, rich (over $15,000)

47   13   Crime Neighborhood
(Code smallest identifiable area)

1 Not mentioned, not clear
2 Within city where newspaper was published
3 Suburb of city where paper is published, or area near city
4 Other place in state (specify)
5 Other U.S. city (specify)
6 Foreign city

Variables	Column(s)	
50	14-15	Site of Crime (type of place)

(Indoors)
01 Own home/apartment
02 Home of suspect
03 School
04 Church
05 Store, office building
06 Prison
07 Hotel or transient facility
08 Bar/tavern/club
09 Laundromat
10 Other indoor (specify)
(Outdoors)
20 Outside near own home/apartment
21 Outside near work
22 Street or alley
23 School yard, parking lot
24 Park, field
25 Subway, subway platform, train, train station, bus depot
26 car, truck
27 shopping center
28 Other outdoor (specify)
(Other)
30 Other (specify)
99 Site not mentioned

| 50A | 16 | Distance of Crime from Home of Victim |

1 Not mentioned
2 Very near home
3 In neighborhood (blocks)
4 Away, but same city
5 Other city-including foreign
6 At home
7 Other (specify)

| 51 | 17 | Details of Injuries to Victims |

1 None mentioned
2 Some mention (1-3 sentences)
3 A lot (more than 3 sentences)

Variables	Column(s)	
52,53,54	18,19,20	Condition of Victim(s) (up to 3 victims)

    1 Not mentioned
    2 Dead
    3 Hospitalized
    4 Treated & released
    5 Minor injuries
    6 Unharmed
    7 Other   (specify on code sheet)
    9 Not Applicable

| 54A | 21 | Victim Reaction |

    1 Not mentioned
    2 Fought back
    3 Other aggressive act (specify)
    4 Ran
    5 Other avoidance act (specify)
    6 Submitted
    7. Other (specify)

| 54B | 22 | Where victim turned for help |

    1 No mention
    2 Police
    3 Doctor, hospital
    4 Bystanders, neighbors
    5 Friend
    6 Relative
    7 Community Organization
    8 Other (specify)

| 55 | 25 | Details of Crime Execution |

Refers to details about what happened, play-by-play
description of the crime.

    1 Not mentioned
    2 Some mention (1-3 sentences)
    3 A lot (more than 3 sentences)

| 56 | 26 | Quotes from Victim |

    1 No
    2 Yes, victim is source
    3 Yes, friend or relative of victim is source
    4 Yes, suspect is source
    5 Yes, authorities (e.g., police) is source
    6 Other (specify)

Variables	Column(s)	
57	27	<u>Quotes from Suspect/Criminal</u>

1 No
2 Yes, suspect is source
3 Yes, friend or relative of suspect is source
4 Yes, victim is source
5 Yes, authorities is source
6 Other (specify)

58	28	<u>Tools, Weapons</u>

1 Not mentioned
2 Mentioned gun
3 Mentioned knife
4 Mentioned other (specify)

skip 59-62

63	34-35	<u>Sentence/Disposition</u>

00 Not applicable

01 { Dismissal - innocent
     Dismissal - insufficient evidence
     Dismissal - technical details

04 Guilty - no penalties (or penalties already served/ instant parole)

05 { Prison - less than one year (L)
     Prison - 1-10 years   (M)
     Prison - 11 or more years
     Prison - indeterminate

09 Hospital commitment/criminally insane

10 { Fine - less than $100
     Fine - $100-$10,000   (M)
     Fine - more than $10,000   (H)

13 {

Comb. for individual: low prison, low fine
                         low prison, med. fine
                         low prison, hi fine
                         med. prison, low fine
                         med. prison, med. fine
                         med. prison, hi fine
                         hi prison, low fine
                         hi prison, med. fine
                         hi prison, hi fine

Group combinations: low & med. prison
                         med. & hi prison
                         low & hi prison
                         low & med. prison + any fine
                         med. & hi prison + any fine
                         low & hi prison + any fine

(cont. on next page)

Variables	Column(s)	Sentence/Disposition (cont.)

27 Suspended sentence
28 Probation
29 Parole after serving part of sentence
30 Other penalties
31 Mistrial/retrial declared
32 Death penality
33 Not identified (e.g. awaiting sentence)
34 Other

64   36-37   **Overall Evaluation of Police Action**
Code only if specific evaluations are made
00 NA
01 Good job
02 Bad job
03 Mixed

65   38-39   **Overall Evaluation of Court Action**
00 NA
01 Good job
02 Bad job
03 Mixed

66   40-41   **Overall Evaluation of Jails/Prison System**
Code only if specific evaluations are made
00 NA
01 Good job
02 Bad job
03 Mixed

When **Juvenile Correctional** System is involved without mention of general court system, use the following sub-categories:

31 Good job
32 Bad job
33 Mixed

67   42-43   **Overall Evaluation of Crime Danger**
Code only if specifically mentioned or if statistics are given, indicating trends.

01 Serious crime (A,B,C) on increase
02 Serious crime (A,B,C) on decrease
03 Serious crime (A,B,C) stable
04 Serious crime (A,B,C) mixed change
05 All crime on increase
06 All crime on decrease
07 All crime stable
09 Lesser crime (D,E) on increase
10 Lesser crime (D,E) on decrease
11 Lesser crime (D,E) stable
13 Serious crime on rise, lesser crime on decline
14 Serious crime decreasing, lesser crime rising
15 Other (specify)
99 Not mentioned

Variables	Column(s)
68	44

68   44   <u>Mention of General Crime Rate in the Area</u>

1   No mention
2   Yes, high
3   Yes, medium
4   Yes, low
5   Other (write on code sheet)

69   45-46   <u>Discussion of Crime Prevention Devices</u>

01   General discussion
02   Specific how-to-advice for citizens to prevent
       victimization
03   Societal programs - to remedy econ. & social causes of crime
04   Societal programs involving high-crime potential
       population (e.g., summer jobs, recreational
       facilities, job training.)
05   Stress on penalties/dangers of crime commission
06   Witness protection
07   Citizen watch groups
08   Community crime prevention program, organization
09   Medical or psychiatric treatment of criminals
10   Publication, media treatment of crime
11   Other (specify)
99   Not mentioned

70   47   <u>Long-Term Responses of Individuals</u>

1   None mentioned
2   Defensive (to reduce vulnerability)
3   Assertive (to increase apprehension, prevention)
4   Political activity
5   Exit (moving, leaving the neighborhood)
6   Other (specify)

72   48   <u>Reporter's Source(s)</u>

1   Not mentioned
2   Mentioned (write on code sheet)

72B   49   <u>Was Crime Reported to Police</u>

1   Not mentioned, assumed yes
2   Story said yes (e.g. "according to police...")
3   Story said <u>no</u>
4   Other (specify)

Variables   Column(s)

NOTE: Code only for Story 01 for each issue

| 73 | 50-52 | Number pages in newspaper (code only for story 01 from 001 to 999) |

| 74 | 53-55 | Page size in square inches _____ (excluding margins) |

| 75 | 56-61 | Total number of <u>pages</u> of advertisements to nearest quarter page (000.25 to 999.75) |

Code subject category of top two news stories that day (headlined story and second lead on page 1)

| 76 | 62-65 | <u>Subject Category</u> - Code two |

01 National Politics/Government
   - President
   - Congress
02 State Politics/Government
03 City/Local Politics
04 Foreign News
05 Crime
   - police
   - terrorism
   - guns
   - drugs
06 Economy
   - unemployment
07 Energy
   - oil
08 Labor/strikes
09 Education/schools
10 Civil rights
   - women
   - blacks
11 Natural disaster
   - accidents
   - weather
12 Environment
13 Transportation
14 Sports
15 Human Interest
16 Other (specify)

| | 68-79 | Blank |

| | 80:2 | |

CHAPTER 6

OTHER DATA AND

RELATED RESEARCH PROJECTS

by

Michael G. Maxfield

SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY-LEVEL SURVEYS

In the earlier phases of the Reactions to Crime Project, we examined community-level surveys which focused on crime problems relevant to our research interests. Secondary analysis of data from these surveys has produced several research papers by RTC staff. In examining existing survey data we focused on studies cast at the city and neighborhood level which included attitudinal data on crime, items relating to behavioral responses to crime, and victimization questions. Data from the following surveys were obtained by the project:

- The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment, 1972-1973.
- The COMSEC Team Policing study in Cincinnati, 1974.
- The Hartford, Connecticut Program on Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, 1975.
- The Portland Anti-Burglary Program, 1974.
- The San Diego Field Interrogation Study, 1973-1974.
- The Police and Urban Services Study in St. Petersburg, Florida, 1974-1975.

Beyond secondary analysis of data collected by these various projects, the RTC staff used these surveys for several additional purposes. We were first interested in the range of questions which various studies had asked, and the responses which were obtained concerning perceptions of crime and reactions to crime. Reviewing these instruments provided general guidance which was used in planning the field observations and in constructing the questionnaire for our own telephone survey. We also wished to compare the later results of the RTC survey with results obtained in other cities. As described in Chapter 4, above, producing representative samples of neighborhoods within cities creates special problems. Reviewing the approaches taken by other researchers aided our own efforts. Finally, a careful review of the data and methods of earlier research on reactions to crime provided more extensive documen-

tation of certain key articles and research reports identified by the literature review.

In addition to the surveys noted above, project staff sought guidance in formulating research questions and developing our own survey and field instruments from a variety of other sources. We decided to approach the task of examining the questionnaires used by other researchers by systematically coding and classifying items which had been asked in prior surveys. We have recorded and coded every question, and where possible the alternate responses to these questions. Appendix A to this chapter lists the materials relating to surveys and polls which were coded. A key-word-in-context retrieval system was used to store and facilitate the analysis of these materials. RIQS (Remote Information Query System) was developed at Northwestern University's Vogelback Computing Center. Under the RIQS file we used, a case consists of information about each prior study, along with verbatim transcripts of each questionnaire item and possible responses. The RIQS system makes it possible to quickly retrieve and print out a wide variety of information on individual studies, or to search all previous studies for particular questionnaire items. Appendix B to this chapter contains the coding form used in classifying the survey materials. Appendix C presents an example of data input to the RIQS system. This example describes the survey instrument used in the Hartford, Connecticut crime survey of 1973.

CRIME DATA OBTAINED FROM POLICE RECORDS

Two types of data which have formed the basis of much research in criminology and criminal justice in recent years are victim surveys

and reports of crime recorded by police departments. The differences

between these estimates of the volume of crime are thoroughly described

in Skogan (1974). Although neither victimization nor official reports

of crime were the principal focus of the Reactions to Crime Project,

we did examine the Census Bureau's victim surveys in each city (report-

ed in Volume I of this report) and police records of crime. We were

able to obtain detailed crime data from the police department in each

city, and these data enabled us to evaluate the crime context at the

neighborhood level (described in Volumes I and III). What follows are

brief descriptions of the nature of the crime data received from the

police department in each city.

Philadelphia

We obtained police records of index crimes for our project neighbor-

hoods only. These data were provided by the Research Division of the

Philadelphia Police Department.

The data received were verified reports of index offenses record-

ed between December 1975 and January 1977. During this period, 7423

FBI Part I offenses were recorded in the police districts which in-

cluded the project neighborhoods. These data were provided as incident

records, with the actual address of the incident recorded, as well as

the police district and patrol sector in which the offense occurred.

In producing our neighborhood-level estimates of crimes reported to

the police and recorded by the police, we aggregated sectors into

neighborhoods.

These data are recorded for internal purposes, and as such contain

information which is in some ways useful for police planners, but is

more correctly archived to comply with records requirements. Accord-
ingly, there is detailed information about victim characteristics, the
location of the incident, and the type of premise in which the incident
occurred.

Chicago

The Chicago Police Department's Research and Data Systems Division
provided the Reactions to Crime Project with detailed aggregations not
only of crimes known to the police and recorded by the police, but also
calls for police service. Calls for service as recorded in the Chicago
police data may also be referred to as police dispatches, as shown in
Figure 1. These are incidents at step 5 in the crime production process
to which dispatchers send police patrol units. Information about these
incidents is recorded on a radio dispatch card, routinely keypunched,
and filed on computer tape. These data and the process by which calls
for service are transformed into crime records are described more fully
in Maxfield (1979).

Crime reports and calls for service are broken down by police beat
within police districts. Calls for service data cover the period from
January through July, 1976; during this time there were no changes in
the boundaries of the 23 police districts in Chicago. Official crime
reports are available for 1974 through 1977. In addition to the beat-
level data for the city as a whole, we utilized crime reports dis-
aggregated to the city block level for each of the four project neigh-
borhoods. This level of detail enabled us to produce more accurate
estimates of the volume of recorded crimes within the neighborhoods.
Since we are dealing in both cases with aggregations of calls for

FIGURE 1

The Flow of Events in the Criminal Justice Process

Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	Step 5	Step 6	Step 7	Step 8
EVENT		REPORTED		CALL FOR SERVICE		POLICE RESPONSE		VERIFIED CRIME
	Not Reported		Terminated by Dispatcher		Police Don't Make Contact		Not Recorded
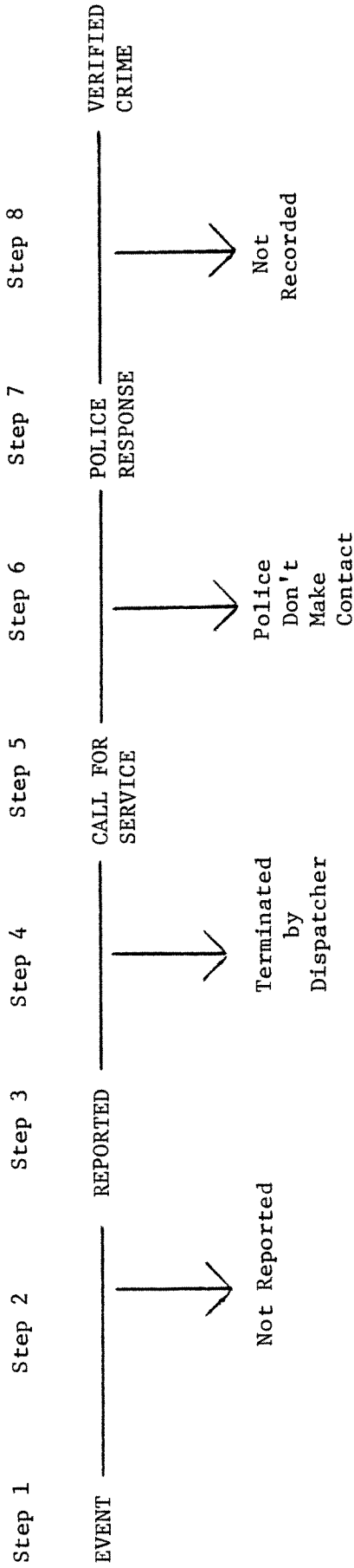
service and recorded crimes, there is no information about individual incidents. However, the Chicago data, unlike the Philadelphia reports, include a greater variety of incidents. FBI Part II offenses and non-criminal calls for service totals are included in the beat-level aggregations. Since calls for service may represent citizen definitions of crime problems these incidents may affect the crime context as defined by neighborhood residents. Lewis and Maxfield (1980) present an analysis of the effects of crime and calls for service on neighborhood-level indicators of fear and concern about crime in Chicago.

San Francisco

In San Francisco calls for service are not routinely keypunched and stored in a machine-readable format. However, in 1977 the police department began a project to study patrol allocation in the city. To provide data for this study the Research and Development Division keypunched information from a subset of "calls-received" slips. These are completed by complaint clerks and dispatchers, and are analogous to radio dispatch cards in Chicago (see Maxfield, 1979 for a more detailed description of calls for service and crime data in San Francisco). These data were gathered from May through June 11, 1977. Not all calls for service were included. Calls to transport sick and injured persons, administrative runs to pick up prisoners, back-up calls, and all on-view incidents were excluded. We aggregated these data from several hundred reporting areas into the RTC project neighborhoods. Since this produced an incident-level file, detailed information is available on individual calls for service.

Data on recorded crimes for 1976 and 1977 were obtained in the form of the department's annual summary tape of verified crimes which

forms the basis of the city's Uniform Crime Reports to the FBI. Once again information is available on the location, characteristics of victim and suspect, and on other than FBI Part I offenses. These data were aggregated from reporting areas into the three RTC neighborhoods.

RELATED RESEARCH PROJECTS

The Reactions to Crime Project and its staff have both benefitted from and contributed to other research projects in criminal justice at the Center for Urban Affairs. Two projects in particular have shared conceptual orientations and data resources with the RTC project: a project focusing on Attitudes Toward Rape and Adaptive Behaviors, and the Citizen Participation and Crime Prevention Programs Project.

Attitudes Toward Rape and Adaptive Behaviors

The Rape Project began in 1977. Like the Reactions to Crime Project, the Rape project has focused on the effects of rape on victims and non-victims alike. Volume I of this report explained the concept of vicarious victimization -- that the effects of crime are more broadly felt than simply among victims. Like crime in general, rape generates fear among victims and non-victims. Fear of rape has been suggested as one of the reasons for the heightened fear of crime in general among women which was noted in Volume I (Riger et al, 1978).

The diverse foci of the Rape project included the attitudes of women with regard to rape, the relationship between these attitudes and adaptive behavior by women, and how these perceptions and behaviors affect the self-image of women and their image of the community in

which they live. While the project was mostly concerned with the effects of this crime on the opinions and actions of women, the feelings which men expressed about rape and the causes of sexual assault were also explored.

The Fear of Rape Project shared methods and some theoretical orientations with the Reactions to Crime Project. The two projects shared the cost of the telephone surveys described in Chapter 4 of this volume. In addition, staff from both projects participated in the design of the instrument. Several questions relating specifically to rape and sexual assault were included to meet the needs of the Rape Project. In addition, as described in Chapter 4 above, the sampling procedures used in the telephone survey were structured so that women respondents were over-represented in six of the ten project neighborhoods. This strategy was adopted to ensure a large number of women respondents to the telephone survey, and also to provide an adequate pool of potential participants in subsequent in-person interviews about rape and sexual assault.

Women respondents to the telephone survey were asked, at the end of the telephone interview, if they would consent to an in-person interview asking more detailed questions about the problem of sex assault and its effect of women's lives. About 300 women, and 70 men, were selected for these interviews which explored adaptive strategies for dealing with the perceived threat of rape in more detail. Respondents were asked about the opinions regarding the causes of sex assault, what actions increased the likelihood that women would fall victim to an attacker, and what could be done about these problems.

Like the Reactions to Crime Project, the Rape Project benefitted from a systematic review of the literature on sex assault, and from judicious secondary analysis of the surveys mentioned in the first part of this chapter.

Citizen Participation and Community Crime Prevention

As the name implies, this project has focused on citizen participation in collective anti-crime actions, and on individual protective actions. Although part of the Reactions to Crime Project has also investigated these issues, the Participation Project was designed to deal with community crime prevention from the outset.

Like all Center for Urban Affairs projects in the criminal justice policy area, the Participation Project began with a thorough review of the existing literature on the subject. Staff also conducted secondary analyses on the existing surveys of crime and reactions to crime which were described in the first part of this chapter. The Reactions to Crime Project survey in three cities was also exploited, not only for secondary analysis, but also to take advantage of the sampling techniques developed in those surveys.

The principal source of new data for this project was a metropolitan-area telephone survey of Chicago and surrounding suburbs. The sample is representative of the Chicago metropolitan area, including respondents from the central city and several surrounding suburbs. A total of 1803 Chicago area residents were interviewed. This design facilitated the analysis of intra-metropolitan area mobility as a reaction to crime. Analysis of this issue is reported in Volume I of this report. Additional discussion of the movement

of central city residents to the suburbs is found in the draft final
report of the Citizen Participation Project.

Other sources of data include interviews with approximately 60
leaders of community organizations in Philadelphia, Chicago, and San
Francisco, and a mail survey of 167 law enforcement officials in the
Chicago area.

The Project has focused on perceived risks and threats to health
and safety from crime, auto accidents, tooth decay, and hazards of
urban life. Estimates of the effectiveness of various protective
measures, and the extent to which respondents had adopted such
measures were also examined. The Project examined organizational
action in response to crime from two perspectives. First, individual
involvement in community-based crime prevention and protective measures
was studied. The project has also analyzed the actions of groups
themselves in dealing with crime problems.

Findings of this project are reported in Lavrakas et al, Citizen
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APPENDIX A

SURVEY MATERIALS FILES

REACTIONS TO CRIME PROJECT

SURVEY MATERIALS FILES---4/76

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APPENDIX B

CODE SHEETS AND CODING CATEGORIES

DATA SHEET SURVEY - POLL INSTRUMENT
<u>CODE SHEET</u>

Study ID [1] _____

Researcher's Name [2]

Study Name [3]

Date of Study [4]

How Reported [5]   UNAL   MARGINAL   CURSORY   DETAILED   OTHER   NOINFO

Comments   *

Type of Study [6]   PANEL   SINGLE   OVERTIME   POLL   OTHER   NOINFO

Comments   *

Sample Scope [7]   NATIONAL   REGIONAL   STATE   SMSA   CITY   TRACTS
                    FOREIGN   SPECIAL   OTHER   NOINFO

Comments   *

Population Sampled [8]   ADULT   POOR   MINORITY   BUSINESS   YOUTH   OTHER   NOINFO

Comments   *

Sample Type [9]   PROB   QUOTA   PURPOSE   OTHER   NOINFO

Comments   *

Sample N [10]

Demographics [11]   NONE   LESS   STANDARD   MORE   NOINFO

Comments   *

Reported Variables [12]   NONE   SOME   MANY

Comments   *

Unit Sampled [13]   HOUSE   PERSON   OTHER   NOINFO

Comments   *

Focus [14]   DIRECT   PARTIAL   MINOR   NOINFO

Comments   *

Related Publications [15]

Researcher's Description [16]

Additional Comments [17]

Question Sheet
<u>CODE SHEET</u>

Study ID _____

Page _____ Of _____

Question Verbatim   [18.   ]

Response to Question   [19.   ]

Coding of Question   [20.   ]

Question Verbatim   [18.   ]

Response to Question   [19.   ]

Coding of Question   [20.   ]

CLASSIFICATION OF SURVEY - POLL QUESTIONS
CODING CATEGORIES

Codes: ⌞__⌟ ⌞__⌟ ⌞__⌟ ⌞__⌟   All codes = 4 digits, although last 2 could be "∅"

⌞_1_⌟ I. Demographics

  ⌞_1_⌟ A. General background characteristics (e.g. age, sex, race,
              party affiliation, etc.)

  ⌞_2_⌟ B. Locational information (specific parts of the city,
              neighborhoods) '

  ⌞_3_⌟ C. Other

        Note: Areas II and III include only those variables which
        ───── involve the specific sub-areas and have a specific
               crime referent. For general non-crime related behaviors
               see area V.

⌞_2_⌟ II. Experiences With Crime

  ⌞_1_⌟ A. Direct Experiences - (self plus anyone in the household)

    ⌞_1_⌟ 1. as a victim

    ⌞_2_⌟ 2. as a witness

    ⌞_3_⌟ 3. as an offender

    ⌞_4_⌟ 4. other

  ⌞_2_⌟ B. Vicarious

    ⌞_1_⌟ 1. interpersonal - (e.g. a relative, friend, neighbor
               was victim, witness, offender - anyone outside of
               immediate household)

    ⌞_2_⌟ 2. impersonal

      ⌞_1_⌟ a) media - crime specific information (see V, A for other)

      ⌞_2_⌟ b) other impersonal (e.g. police, anti-crime association,
                 politicians, etc.)

    ⌞_3_⌟ 3. other

⌞_3_⌟ III. Reactions to Crime

  ⌞_1_⌟ A. Individual responses (e.g. locks, dogs, insurance,
              shopping patterns, transportation, etc.)

  ⌞_2_⌟ B. Communal responses (e.g. involvement in citizen patrols,
              block watching, victim assistance, any organized group
              response)

Codes: |___| |___| |___| |___|

___3___ C. Avoidance reactions

___4___ D. Other

___4___ IV. Attitudes and Perceptions Regarding the Crime Problem

___1___ A. Perceptions of others behaviors and attitudes toward crime
(e.g. How many people in this area do you think always lock
their doors? or How many people in this area do you think
have been a victim of a crime during the past year?)

___2___ B. Magnitude of Crime

___1___ 1. personal fear

___2___ 2. perceived rate

___3___ 3. perception of risk

___4___ 4. ranking of crime as a social problem

___1___ a) national

___2___ b) local

___5___ 5. other

___3___ C. Causes, Control of Crime

___1___ 1. perceived causes

___2___ 2. how to control

___3___ 3. how to protect self

___4___ 4. other

___4___ D. Agencies and Agents of C.J.S.

___1___ 1. police

___2___ 2. courts

___3___ 3. penal system

___4___ 4. other governmental agencies (e.g. legislature)

___5___ E. Attitudes toward specific forms of crime - (includes hypothetical
questions, e.g. if ..... happened would you .....?)

___6___ F. Other

Codes: |___| |___| |___| |___|

    |_5_| V. Other Important Variables

       |_1_| A. Media - general

       |_2_| B. Behavior - general

       |_3_| C. Neighborhood characteristics and evaluation

       |_4_| D. General evaluations and perceptions

       |_5_| E. Attitudes toward government and officials - (not crime related)

       |_6_| F. Other

    |_6_| VI. Other Variables

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF <u>RIQS</u> INPUT DATA

(1) STUDY ID
013
(2) RESEARCHERS NAME
SURVEY RESEARCH PROGRAM AND HARTFORD INSTITUTE OF CRIMINAL AND
SOCIAL JUSTICE
(3) STUDY NAME
HARTFORD CRIME SURVEY I - GENERAL AREA
(4) DATE OF STUDY
SEPTEMBER 1973 ◆ 7309
(5) HOW STUDY WAS REPORTED
NOINFO
(6) TYPE OF STUDY
NOINFO
(7) SAMPLE SCOPE
CITY ◆ HARTFORD,CONNECTICUT
(8) SPECIAL POPULATION SAMPLED
NOINFO
(9) SAMPLE TYPE
NOINFO
(11) DEMOGRAPHICS CONTAINED IN STUDY
MORE
(12) OTHER REPORTED VARIABLES
SOME
(13) UNIT SAMPLED
NOINFO
(14) RELEVANCE TO REACTIONS TO CRIME PROJECT
PARTIAL.
(18) VERBATIM QUESTIONS
1.   IN THE PAST YEAR, DO YOU REMEMBER SEEING ANY STRANGERS IN
YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD WHOSE BEHAVIOR MADE YOU SUSPICIOUS? ◆ 2.   DID
THIS HAPPEN ONCE OR MORE THAN ONCE? (ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES IN THE
PAST YEAR?) ◆ 3.   DID YOU DO ANYTHING, LIKE CALL A NEIGHBOR, ASK
THE STRANGER WHAT HE WAS DOING, OR CALL THE POLICE? ◆ 4.   WHAT DO
YOU THINK YOUR NEIGHBORS WOULD DO IF THEY SAW SOMEONE SUSPICIOUS
OUTSIDE YOUR DOOR - DO YOU THINK THEY WOULD PROBABLY CHECK ON THE
SITUATION OR CALL THE POLICE, OR WOULD THEY PROBABLY IGNOREIT? ◆
6.   HOW MANY OF THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THIS AREA DO YOU THINK
ALWAYSLOCK THEIR DOORS DURING THE DAYTIME - ALL OF THEM, MOST OF
THEM, SOME OFTHEM, A FEW OF THEM, OR ALMOST NONE? ◆ 7.   HOW MANY
OF THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THIS AREA DO YOU THINK WOULD REPORT A
CRIME TO THE POLICE, SUCH AS A BURGLARY, IF THEY SAW IT HAPPENING
TO SOMEONE THEY DIDN'T KNOW - ALL OF THEM, MOST OF THEM, SOME OF
THEM, A FEW OF THEM, OR ALMOST NONE? ◆ 8.   BURGLARY AS YOU MAY
KNOW INVOLVES SOMEONE ILLEGALLY ENTERING A HOME TO STEAL
SOMETHING.   DO YOU THINK THERE IS MORE BURGLARY HERE IN THIS
NEIGHBORHOOD THAN IN THE REST OF THE CITY, IS THERE LESS
BURGLARY, OR IS IT ABOUT THE SAME HERE AS IN THE REST OF
HARTFORD? ◆ 9.   HOW ABOUT CRIMES SUCH AS ROBBERY - TAKING
SOMETHING FROM PEOPLE BY FORCE - IS THERE MORE HERE, LESS, OR

ABOUT THE SAME AS IN THE REST OF HARTFORD? ♦ 10. IN THE DAYTIME, HOW WORRIED ARE YOU ABOUT BEING HELD UP ON THE STREET, THREATENED, BEATEN UP OR ANYTHING OF THAT SORT IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD? WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE VERY WORRIED, SOMEWHAT WORRIED, JUST A LITTLE WORRIED, OR NOT AT ALL WORRIED? ♦ LL. AND HOW ABOUT AT NIGHT, HOW WORRIED ARE YOU ABOUT THAT SORT OF THING IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD -- VERY WORRIED, SOMEWHAT WORRIED, JUST A LITTLE WORRIED, NOT AT ALL WORRIED? ♦ 12. AND, HOW WORRIED ARE YOU ABOUT YOUR HOME BEING BROKEN INTO OR ENTERED ILLEGALLY IN THE DAY TIME WHEN NO ONE IS HOME? WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE VERY WORRIED, SOMEWHAT WORRIED, JUST A LITTLE WORRIED, OR NOT WORRIED AT ALL? ♦ 13. AND HOW ABOUT AT NIGHT, HOW WORRIED ARE YOU ABOUT YOUR HOME BEING BROKEN INTO THEN WHEN YOU'RE NOT AT HOME -- VERY WORRIED, SOMEWHATWORRIED, JUST A LITTLE WORRIED, OR NOT WORRIED AT ALL? ♦ THINK OF A SCALE FROM 0 TO 10. ZERO STAND FOR NO POSSIBILITY AT ALL AND TEN STANDS FOR EXTREMELY LIKELY. DURING THE COURSE OF A YEAR, HOW LIKELY IS IT THAT... ♦ 15. DURING THE DAYTIME, IF SOMEONE WAS TRYING TO ROB YOU - THAT IS, TAKE SOMETHING FROM YOU BY FORCE OR THREAT OF FORCE - WHEN YOU WERE WALKING IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD, NEAR YOUR HOME, HOW LIKELY WOULD IT BE THAT HE WOULD SUCCEED IN GETTING YOUR PURSE OR WALLET? LET 0 STAND FOR NO POSSIBLITY AT ALL THAT HE WOULD GET YOUR PURSE/WALLET AND 10 STAND FOR EXTREMELY LIKELY THAT HE WOULD GET YOUR PURSE/WALLET. ♦ 16. HOW ABOUT IF SOMEONE TRIED TO ROB YOU ON THE STREET IN YOUR AREA AFTER DARK? ♦ 17. HOW HARD DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE FOR SOMEONE TO BREAK INTO YOUR HOME AT NIGHT WHEN NO ONE WAS HOME, WITHOUT MAKING A LOT OF NOISE OR DOING A LOT OF DAMAGE? LET 0 BE EXTREMELY EASY, AND 10 STAND FOR EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. WHICH NUMBER FROM 0 TO 10 DESCRIBES HOW HARD IT WOULD BE. ♦ 18. DURING THE DAY WHEN NO ONE WAS HOME, HOW HARD WOULD IT BE FOR A STRANGER TO BREAK INTO YOUR HOME WITHOUT A NEIGHBOR BEING SUSPICIOUS AND CALLING THE POLICE? AGAIN, LET 0 STAND FOR EXTREMELY EASY, AND 10 STAND FOR EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. ♦ 19. HOW BAD DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE FOR YOU IF A THIEF BROKE INTO YOUR HOME WHEN NO ONE WAS THERE AND STOLE WHAT HE COULD CARRY AWAY? LET 0 BE NO PROBLEM AT ALL, AND 10 BE A TERRIBLE LOSS TO YOU. WHICH NUMBER FROM 0 TO 10 DESCRIBES HOW BAD A LOSS IT WOULD PROBABLY BE FOR YOU? ♦ 20. CONSIDERING HOW MUCH MONEY AND OTHER VALUABLES YOU USUALLY CARRY, HOW BAD WOULD IT BE IF YOUR PURSE/WALLET WERE TAKEN ON THE STREETASSUMING YOU WERE NOT HURT AT ALL? LET 0 STAND FOR NO PROBLEM AT ALL AND LET 10 STAND FOR A TERRIBLE LOSS TO YOU. ♦ 21. I AM GOING TO READ YOU A LIST OF CRIME-RELATED PROBLEMS THAT EXIST IN SOME AREAS. FOR EACH, I WANT YOU TO TELL ME WHETHER IT IS A BIG PROBLEM, SOME PROBLEM, OR ALMOST NO PROBLEM IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD. ♦ 23. HAVE YOU OR ANY OF YOUR NEIGHBORS TRIED TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT (THIS/THESE) PROBLEMS? ♦ 24. WHAT HAVE YOU DONE? ♦ 25A. HOW ABOUT STEALING CARS? IS THAT A BIG PROBLEM, SOME PROBLEM, OR ALMOST NO PROBLEM? > ♦ 25B. HOW ABOUT BURGLARY - BREAKING INTO PEOPLE'S HOMES? IS THAT A BIG PROBLEM, SOME PROBLEM OR ALMOST NO PROBLEM? ♦ 25C. HOW ABOUT ROBBING PEOPLE ON THE STREET? IS THAT A BIG PROBLEM, SOME

PROBLEM, OR ALMOST NO PROBLEM? ♦ 25D. HOW ABOUT HOLDING UP AND
ROBBING SMALL STORES OR BUSINESSES?IS THAT A BIG PROBLEM, SOME
PROBLEM, OR ALMOST NO PROBLEM? ♦ 25E. HOW ABOUT PEOPLE BEING
BEATEN UP OR HURT ON THE STREETS? IS THAT A BIG PROBLEM, SOME
PROBLEM, OR ALMOST NO PROBLEM? ♦ 26. OVERALL, WHAT DO YOU THINK
IS THE MOST IMPORTANT CRIME PROBLEM IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD? ♦ 27.
VICTIMIZATION QUESTIONS. ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ 31. I'M
GOING TO READ YOU A LIST OF THINGS PEOPLE HAVE TO PROTECT THEIR
HOMES. WHICH OF THESE THINGS DO YOU (YOUR FAMILY) HAVE TO
PROTECT YOUR HOME? ♦ 32. WHEN YOU GO OUT IN THIS AREA DO YOU
EVER TAKE (ANY OF THE FOLLOWING) TO PROTECT YOURSELF? ♦ 35. HAVE
YOU HAD OCCASION TO CALL THE HARTFORD POLICE DEPARTMENTFOR HELP
OR ABOUT A CRIME IN THE LAST YEAR OR SO? ♦ 41. WHERE DO YOU GET
MOST OF YOUR INFORMATION ABOUT CRIME AND OTHER THINGS THAT HAPPEN
IN HARTFORD : FROM TELEVISION, NEWSPAPERS, FROMTALKING TO OTHER
PEOPLE, OR WHAT? ♦ 42. FROM WHAT YOU'VE HEARD, HAVE CRIMES LIKE
ROBBERY AND BURGLARY GONE UP IN HARTFORD, GONE DOWN OR STAYED
ABOUT THE SAME OVER THE PAST YEAR OR SO?
(19) RESPONSE TO QUESTION
SOMEONE WOULD BREAK INTO YOUR HOUSE/APARTMENT WHEN NO ONE IS
HOME, SOMEONE WULD BREAK INTO YOUR HOME WHEN SOMEONE IS HOME,
YOUR PURSE/WALLET WOULD BE SNATCHED IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD, SOMEONE
WOULD TAKE SMETHING FROM YOU ON THE STREET BY FORCE OR THREAT IN
YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD, SOMEONE WOULD BEAT YOU UP OR HURT YOU ON THE
STREET IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD. ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦
♦ PEOPLE SELLING ILLEGAL DRUGS, PEOPLE USING ILLEGAL DRUGS,
GROUPS OF TEENAGERS AROUND IN THE STREETS OR PARKS, GROUPS OF MEN
IN THE STREETS OR PARKS, DRUNKEN MEN, PROSTITUTION. ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦
♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ SPECIAL LOCK ON DOORS (ON ALL
DOORS OR JUST SOME?), SPECIAL LOCK ON WINDOWS (ON ALL WINDOWS OR
JUST SOME?), AN ALARM THAT RINGS, SILENT ALARM, GUN THAT COULD BE
USED FOR PROTECTION, OTHER WEAPONS-SOMETHING YOU COULD USE TO
PROTECT YOURSELF (WHAT KIND),SPECIALLY TRAINED ATTACK OR GUARD
DOG, ORDINARY DOG, BARS OR WIRE MESH ON DOORS, BARS OR WIRE MESH
ON WINDOWS, HAVE YOU VALUABLES ENGRAVED WITH YOUR NAME OR SOME
IDENTIFICATION IN CASE THEY ARE STOLEN, PRIVATE PATROLMAN OR
SECURITY GUARD MAKING REGULAR CHECKS, ANYTHING ELSE YOU HAVE TO
PROTECT YOU HOME. ♦ GUN, KNIFE OR OTHER SHARP INSTRUMENT, CLUB OR
OTHER BLUNT INSTRUMENT, TEAR GAS OR OTHER PROTECTION SPRAY,
WHISTLE OR OTHER NOISE MAKER, DOG, ANYTHING ELSE.
(20) CODING OF QUESTION
2140. ♦ 2140. ♦ 2140. ♦ 4100. ♦ 4100. ♦ 4100. ♦ 4242. ♦ 4242. ♦
4210. ♦ 4210. ♦ 4210. ♦ 4210. ♦ 4230. ♦ 4250. ♦ 4250. ♦ 4250. ♦
4250. ♦ 4250. ♦ 4250. ♦ 4242. ♦ 3300. ♦ 3300. ♦ 4500. ♦ 4242. ♦
4500. ♦ 4500. ♦ 4500. ♦ ♦ 2110. ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ 4410.
♦ ♦ 4220. ♦ 3100. ♦ ♦ 2221.

CHAPTER 7

FINAL REFLECTIONS ON THE

REACTIONS TO CRIME PROJECT

By

Albert Hunter

Organization and Orchestration of the Project

This chapter presents a thematic analysis of the organization of the research project as it related to the coordination and conduct of the research itself. The project's scale, as noted in Chapter 1, would seem to justify a full scale, in-depth analysis of the project itself as a case study in the social organization of science. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this paper, but I will present here an integrated thematic analysis of the major characteristics of the organization and orchestration of the research, themes which I hope will be useful for the design and implementation of future research.

I have purposefully included the metaphor "orchestration" for three reasons. First the project had a number of diverse themes—both as to content and method—being performed by individual virtuosos and sections that required coordination. And secondly, the project extended over a period of time with shifting time signatures that required coordination among these diverse activities. A third characteristic, however, stretches that metaphor from a symphony orchestra to a jazz ensemble, and that is the "jamming quality" of the research where the evolving themes and counter-themes resulted more from playing off one another than following a set score.

The following analysis is both inductive and deductive. Inductively, I have a working familiarity with the field data, secondary survey data, and primary survey data collected by the project. As well, I have reviewed the "official history" of the project as portrayed in proposals and reports sent to the funding agency. I have not been intensively involved as a principal investigator of the Project, but

have had a working involvement at various points throughout its four year history. I am, in effect, a marginal man—a position which some (McCall and Simmons, 1969) maintain provides an optimal vantage point for good participant-observer research—a critical mixture of subjectivity and objectivity.

Deductively, I have decided to draw upon Peter Blau (1955) and W. Richard Scott's (1961) general themes for the analysis of organizations—themes which they see as central dilemmas in any purposefully organized group: (1) coordination vs. communication, (2) bureaucratic discipline vs. professional expertise, and (3) managerial planning vs. initiative. In applying these to any concrete situation as organizing principles of analysis one quickly discovers that they are not empirically distinct. Instead, in any particular situation these dilemmas are highly interrelated. Therefore I will focus upon some of the specific organizational and orchestration dilemmas encountered by the RTC Project and show how they exemplify those more general themes.

A central dilemma at the initial phase of the Project centered upon the need to pursue a common conceptual research agenda—in contrast to the diverse interest that researchers brought from their professional biographies. The dilemma was manifest to varying degrees throughout the project. Most initiative and autonomy among groups (survey, field, media, etc.) existed at the data gathering stage of the research, and it was here that the divisions among camps along methodological lines became obvious. Although in the analysis stage of the research each substantive and methological group by and large stuck to their own data, the sharing of ideas was

much more apparent. Professional technical training and expertise with respect to specific methods produced the greatest working autonomy for each group, but problem definition and analysis required more coordination and interchange among them.

In contrast to the problems of coordination among groups, the routinized aspects of data collection within groups assumed a more bureaucratic structure. However, within the field research specifically the problem of centralized planning versus individual initiative was particularly acute throughout the research process. Some of these problems have been described in Chapter 2, above. The "tolerance of ambiguity," the "suspension of purpose," "faith in the outcome"--in general, the requirement that field research remain open and initially unfocused--often produces tension, especially for those researchers who tend to be extremely goal oriented. People continuously ask how what you are doing now (the means) contributes to the realization of research objectives for new knowledge (the ends). When the specific ends are unknown, as was the case in early stages of the project, such questions are difficult to answer. But vague and unspecified ends are precisely the openness that is required for the serendipity of new discovery through participant observation. This is the logic of discovery, not of hypothesis testing.

With a multi-disciplinary, multi-method research design these tensions often work out within the day to day interactions among participants, and though the tension has personal costs, the requirement that methods and strategies legitimate themselves, can be mutually beneficial and enlightening for all concerned. Within the RTC Project this questioning did at times produce personal tensions. The division

of uncompromising camps was more apparent among the second-level staff,
however, than among the faculty investigators. At that level, though
differences existed as to strategy, method or style, there was by and
large a mutual respect for the intellectual competence and professional
expertise of colleagues within their respective domain.

For field research, the multi-site, large-scale character of the
project produced two identifiable tensions in central control and
planning versus individual autonomy. First, given the multi-site
design--where sites were picked precisely because they were different--
it was expected that field researchers would display a professional
autonomy in pursuing those substantive issues that were significant
for understanding crime and residents' reactions to it within a given
site, even though it might not be a focus of concern within any of the
other sites. For example, only in Wicker Park, in Chicago did the
issue of arson emerge as a focus of field research. To have ignored
this issue because it was not strictly comparable to the other sites
would have been grossly misleading.

The obverse of this autonomy is the desire for control over data
collection such that similar data are generated for comparative purposes
across sites. In fact, field workers initially kept asking for more
direction. The admonition to "go out," "hang around and observe" when
countered by "Hangout when, where and observe what?" produced a contin-
uing tension at this early stage. Dilemmas in the field research
were further compounded by a second characteristic of its organization,
the hierarchical division of labor created by the multi-site design.
This is particularly pertinent to the issue of coordination versus
communication. Three levels of staffing emerged--field workers in

each site, field site directors within each city, and field work faculty directing the overall field work from Evanston. This structure was a significant departure from the usual field research design because data gathering became separated from data analysis. Field research, in contrast to survey research, usually has a more continuous, unfolding, emergent interplay between data gathering and analysis. The ideal of the constant comparative method--the formulation of hypotheses, following them up with further observations, and refining the hypotheses in the light of new data--was difficult to achieve. Information would be lost in transmission both up and down these levels; the time delay in transmission often produced discontinuities in both data gathering and analytic activities. The field sites would not stand still. The routines and activities of people could not be controlled and decisions by each field worker were required--whether or not to interview this or that person, attend this or that meeting, or observe this or that situation.

For the central research staff the analytical responses and formulation of research directives were delayed by the cumbersome process of attempting to pore through copious field notes, shipped weekly to the central offices, and the difficulty of comparing findings from several different sites. The search for common threads produced shifting directives, such that field researchers were encouraged to pursue activities and make autonomous decisions while at the same time receiving directives to investigate this or that particular phenomena. The process was equally frustrating for the central staff given a lack of daily involvement within the settings. Details in the heads of field workers were not in the field notes being read--details that would

have answered this or that minor point. This produced dilemmas
similar to those encountered when doing secondary analysis of other
people's data.

It should be noted, that given the physical distance, the field
staffs within San Francisco and Philadelphia were relatively more
autonomous and internally cohesive compared to the Chicago field site.
At one point serious consideration was given to moving the Chicago
site office into the city to separate it from the sometimes confusing
deliberations and conflicting directives being considered by the
senior research faculty at the Center for Urban Affairs.

Attempts to overcome this dilemma focused primarily upon giving
the senior staff opportunities to experience the field sites first
hand through site visits. Only limited attempts were made to engage
the field workers in analysis. The primary mechanisms of the latter
were debriefing of field workers by faculty researchers during site
visits, and a few meetings held at the Center among all field
workers from all sites. A second set of mechanisms used to engage
field workers in analysis were requests for topical summaries (e.g.
organizational activity) and preparation of summary community profiles.
Furthermore, the three site directors were asked to prepare summaries
of the overall field experiences.

This produced another dilemma. To coordinate activities by
assuming each field worker would independently analyze his/her field
site and that then these separate analyses would result in a comparative
analytic whole is highly unlikely. On the other hand, to divorce data
gathering from data analysis is to separate the eye from the mind, to
turn field workers into mechanical instruments (tape recorders and

cameras) while narrowing the data analysts to computers whose output was totally dependent on the quantity and quality of input fed to them. There is no obvious solution to this dilemma.

For the survey research staff there was a direct continuity of both personnel and interest from the early phase of gathering and evaluating secondary data sets to the fielding and analysis of the Project's own telephone survey. The three dilemmas of organization were, by and large, more routinely handled within this project than within the field staff. This reflects more upon the differing nature and number of personnel than upon the cast of characters involved. The initial concern over substantive focus of the survey and search for common themes for the entire project have been touched on already. It should be noted that the cross fertilization among groups occurred quite early, and was not the simplified text-book sequence of field research inductively generating hypothesis, that were later deductively tested by survey research. For example, analysis of the secondary data on "dimensions of fear," and "social integration" produced early findings that fed directly into the field research. Even initial concerns about site selection had one eye cocked to the future in terms of producing a feasible and worthwhile sampling frame for the survey data.

The major point of coordination for the survey as it related to the field research, the media study, and the Rape Project, was in instrument construction and in sampling. The instrument development involved general discussions during a series of meetings among faculty and second level staff to establish the broad substantive areas to be covered. These often assumed the nature of advanced

seminars on the art of questionnaire construction. Research staff were also asked individually to submit items, and then the director of the survey with a few staff engaged in the actual construction of items. Towards this end, extensive use was made of the literature review and of the secondary data files to ensure comparability to previous research.

The decision to subcontract the survey generated a different set of dilemmas for the data gathering phase of the survey compared to the field research. Here interorganizational problems centered upon negotiating feasibility, costs, supervision, and accountability. As can be expected this phase was characterized by highly centralized decision making. Faith in the specialized professional expertise of one's colleagues kept this a relatively autonomous endeavor.

The data collection phase and especially the data preparation phase (cleaning, coding, etc.) are particularly laborious, mechanical tasks--especially for those with a substantive intellectual problem eager to find the answer in the ensuing analysis. Within the RTC Project both the field data and the media data were particularly time consuming in collection and preparation stages compared to the survey research.

Care must therefore be taken in describing the specific problems and procedures unique to each method. By and large this is an admonition not to comparatively evaluate methods on criteria of time alone. Furthermore, time should probably be allotted between the different phases of research for a reassessment of what has been accomplished and the direction that one is now prepared to take.

Once the survey data were delivered, analysis began in earnest. It should be noted that field work had ceased at this point—so analyses were going on simultaneously on both the field and survey data. Preliminary observations of field data were feeding into the survey data, e.g. the concept of incivility vs. crime; and vice-versa, e.g., the survey findings on differing rates of participation in organized reactions to crime were meshing with analyses of different types of organizations and their activities from the field data.

Communication and coordination during the analysis phase produced little in the way of dilemmas. Interchange of findings was facilitated via a series of brown-bag seminars at which preliminary analyses were presented in the form of working papers. A point of tension did emerge at this phase which focused more upon autonomy and bureaucratic dilemmas. This was the carving out of turf as to substantive problems and claims to data. By and large the various subgroups have had sufficient data for their own purposes, but some analyses required input from other data sets and other groups. This mundane problem becomes acute over professional authorship of final papers and reports. Bureaucratic decisions are probably of little use in this regard; more reliance and faith must be placed in the distributive justice of one's colleagues.

Conclusion

I have stayed away from the personal and interpersonal problems that inevitably arise in an endeavor of this scale. Though fascinating material, it would provide little in the way of constructive analysis that might guide the orchestration of future research.

Doubtless, this report would have benefitted from a more detailed and possibly quantified analysis of the Projects' own records as to budget, personnel, and recorded activities ranging from air travel by whom, to where, for what purpose; to papers given by whom on what topic to what gathering; or parties thrown for whose departure, or whose new baby.

Above all, this paper has stressed the structural dilemmas and limits that are faced as a group of people gather to carry out common pieces of social science research on a socially important issue. The final dilemma—that organizational needs demand a deadline for products that may conflict with professional self-assessment of the adequacy of the analysis—can only be resolved pragmatically by submitting these reports, at this time, to the judgement of our peers.

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