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Citizen crime patrols and their effect on fear of crime in urban neighborhoods

Rouse, John Jay, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1988

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CITIZEN CRIME PATROLS AND THEIR EFFECT ON
FEAR OF CRIME IN URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS

by

John Jay Rouse

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Criminal Justice in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York

1988

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Abstract

CITIZEN CRIME PATROLS AND THEIR EFFECT ON
FEAR OF CRIME IN URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS

by

John Jay Rouse

Adviser: James P. Levine

This study examines the literature on local voluntary organizations with special emphasis on citizen anti-crime groups. It also discusses evaluations of various kinds of programs. Fear of crime and its relationship to the crime rate, quality of life, demographics and citizen crime prevention organizations are also analyzed.

The primary data for this study has three parts: 1) a telephone survey of 500 residents living within the areas covered by six citizen crime patrols in New York City, 2) census data pertaining to demographic characteristics of the survey population and 3) New York City Police Department crime data.

Three major hypotheses regarding the effect of citizen crime patrols and the types of areas where they operate were examined. The first hypothesis was that citizen crime patrols do not have a major impact on local crime rates. However the data revealed lower crime rates for

five out of six of the patrol areas compared to citywide rates. Since this was not a controlled experiment, the extent to which the citizen crime patrols were responsible for these lower crime rates is not clear. The second hypothesis was that the citizen crime patrols would reduce area residents' fear of crime. The data showed that many respondents felt safer due to the patrols but at the same time there was no correlation between perception of safety when out alone at night in one's neighborhood and the presence of the patrols. The third hypothesis was that increased homogeneity would create greater social control which in turn should help suppress crime. The data did not show this effect for the areas studied.

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PART I

COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION

Chapter 1

Introduction

One of the major concerns facing any community is its rate of crime. In the United States there have been many attempts over the years by local communities to aid the police in controlling the local crime rate. Some of these endeavors have included neighborhood watch programs, citizen patrols and block associations. These efforts have met with varying rates of success. Many of these programs have not been evaluated. For many programs that have been evaluated often the evaluations consist of nothing more than anecdotal information and impressionistic assessments concerning impact on local crime.

The major purpose of this study is to examine six citizen crime patrols in New York City to determine what effect they have on fear of crime in the neighborhoods in which they operate. The second half of this paper is primarily a program evaluation of the six patrols. Respondents to a telephone survey of residents living in the six study areas were asked questions about awareness of the patrol, participation in the patrol, level of safety when out alone in their neighborhoods and household and neighborhood crime incidents.

In studying fear of crime it is important to know

whether the level of fear is related to the objective reality of the crime rate in an area or related to community involvement in combatting crime or perhaps simply to neighborhood exchange of gossip regarding crimes in an area. The most important thing is what people feel about the crime problem in their area because people's feelings often become an inner reality that cannot be shaken even by contravening data that may indicate that the problem is not so bad. A community overwhelmed by fear of crime may be a lost cause when it comes to doing something collectively about the problem. Reasons for this include resignation to the thought that the situation will not improve and simple incapacitation caused by the fear itself.

Much has been written about the impact that a close-knit community can have on lowering crime rates. Specifically, a watchful community can be expected to have some impact on lowering the number of robberies, burglaries, rapes and auto thefts. This is the expectation though quite often it is not realized. Community crime prevention seems to work if the residents of an area care about their neighbors and the quality of life in their neighborhood. Active, organized communities are likely to be in closer contact with the police both to obtain information and to provide information about crime in their areas.

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However, residents of these communities are also keenly aware that they cannot leave all the responsibility for crime control to the police. A number of years ago Jane Jacobs recognized this fact when she wrote:

The first thing to understand is that the public peace - the sidewalk and street peace - of cities is not kept primarily by the police, necessary as police are. It is kept primarily by an intricate, almost unconscious, network of voluntary controls and standards among the people themselves, and enforced by the people themselves. In some city areas - older public housing projects and streets with very high population turnover are often conspicuous examples - the keeping of public sidewalk law and order is left almost entirely to the police and special guards. Such places are jungles. No amount of police can enforce civilization when the normal casual enforcement of it has broken down.¹

Jacobs examined the impact that social controls and social cohesiveness have on crime rates and fear of crime. This paper examines social cohesion in several ways. The level of homogeneity or heterogeneity in an area is examined to see whether this phenomenon imparts any inherent social cohesiveness to a community. Many questions in the telephone survey are also concerned with social cohesion. These questions include such things as frequency of visiting and being visited by neighbors, level of loaning and borrowing among neighbors and response to witnessing graffiti being done in one's neighborhood.

¹Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, New York: Vintage, 1961, pp. 31-32.

The conclusions drawn from this study rely primarily on statistical analysis of data collected from three sources - - the telephone survey, demographic information from census surveys and New York City Police Department crime figures. Multiple regression and correlations are the primary statistical techniques used.

Chapter 2

Social Control Theory and Findings

Theory of Social Control

Historically people lived and worked in the same neighborhood and as a result informal social cohesion was enhanced because the same people were always in the same area and everybody knew everybody else. With the Industrial Revolution and attendant advances in transportation and communications residence and workplace have become separated to a large extent, thus weakening the intrinsic social control that had characterized life for so long.

Social control theory argues that it is more important to answer the question of why more people do not commit crime than why some people do. This position is based on the assumption that it is more attractive to violate norms, for excitement, profit, power, etc., than to remain law-abiding.

There are three basic types of social control:

1) family - characterized by admonishments for undesired behaviors and encouragement for desired behaviors;

2) neighborhood and community - characterized by rumor, ostracization, social avoidance, loss of respect

and loss of rewards;

3) state - characterized by punishment, stigma and physical and emotional separation from the rest of society.

This study is concerned with the second form of social control - - neighborhood and community.

Some writers attribute lawlessness to our highly mobile, urban society. Suzanne Keller has written:

The decline of a general consensus goes hand in hand with a decline in a general, standardized morality and the power of its collective representatives. Where each is free to live as he chooses, the opinions of neighbors carry less effective weight. Social disapproval is, of course, still unpleasant, but it is far less scathing a weapon than it was in the villages and towns of an earlier era. The very same forces that have decreased the need for mutual aid among neighbors have also undermined their power to control one another's manners and morals.²

The effect that crime has on informal social control also needs to be examined in some depth. Emile Durkheim believed that the occurrence of crime draws the people of a community closer together because they feel united in the common objective of preventing further crime and reaffirming the rule of order in the community.³ This view is not shared by John E. Conklin who argued that:

... crime is more likely to generate interpersonal

²Suzanne Keller, The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective, New York: Random House, 1968, p. 56.

³Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, New York: The Free Press, 1965.

distrust, feelings of insecurity, and dislike for one's neighborhood than to produce feelings of solidarity. This distrust and suspicion stems as much from the unpredictability of crime and the sense of invasion of private space as from the direct harm produced by offenders.⁴

Conklin stated that crime reduces interpersonal trust and social solidarity. He also argued that group solidarity causes the crime rate to go down. It is not clear from his writings whether he believes the precipitating factor is level of group solidarity or the crime rate. For example, if an area with a high level of social solidarity starts to have a higher crime rate, does this in turn diminish the level of solidarity and thus lead to an even higher rate of crime? Or if an area with low solidarity and high crime tries to bring itself together to fight crime does this higher level of solidarity portend a lower crime rate? Or is it possible that both can be true?

Conklin also disagreed with Durkheim's view that increased solidarity following crime is normative - - people coming together to reaffirm group norms and values.⁵ He argued that any such coming together is

⁴John E. Conklin, The Impact of Crime, New York: Macmillan, 1975, p. 9.

⁵Ibid., p. 68.

functional - - it is based on the need for mutual self-protection.

It is Conklin's belief that the formal social controls of the state are less important than the informal social controls of the neighborhood.⁶ He cited as reasons for this view the nonreporting of crimes to the police, the unlikelihood of arrest, the greater unlikelihood of conviction and the still greater unlikelihood of imprisonment.

Studies of Social Control

Susan Tax Freeman's research has shown how a community form of social control still exists in a small Spanish village.⁷ The village, Valdemora, has a population of less than 200. She notes that:

What might seem to be the primary machinery of control - the explicitly political and judicial faces of the community - are in reality only secondary forces in urban life.⁸

A person's freedom to create and manipulate his own image is hampered by his omnipresent neighbors, by

⁶Ibid., p. 131.

⁷Susan Tax Freeman, Neighbors: The Social Contract in a Castilian Hamlet, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.

⁸Ibid., p. 83.

their tendency to commit him to an image supported by accumulated public information about him, and by their power as a group to make of him an outcast. These factors help to militate against quarreling within families as well as between vecinos (neighbors), for such affairs always become known and color family reputations.⁹

Richard D. Schwartz has studied the effects of formal controls and informal controls on two Israeli agricultural settlements.¹⁰ Both communities believed in basically the same ideas of legal control. One settlement was a collective or kvutza which had no formal means of social control. The other was a semi-private settlement, a moshav, which had a judicial committee to settle disputes. The collective provided for frequent daily contact among the residents. The semi-private settlement had less interaction among its residents and hence less opportunities for the exercise of informal social controls. The type of informal social control that would be found in a tightly knit neighborhood or small town was found in the collective but not in the semi-private settlement although both were about the same size. According to Conklin, "... it is the structure of social interaction and social relation-

⁹Ibid., p. 89.

¹⁰Richard D. Schwartz, "Social Factors in the Development of Legal Control: A Case Study of Two Israeli Settlements," in Lawrence M. Friedman and Stewart Macaulay, editors, Law and the Behavioral Sciences, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1969, pp. 509-522.

ships rather than size alone which determines the degree of informal social control in a community."¹¹

Clinard and Abbott studied social control in a high crime rate community and a low crime rate community in Kampala, Uganda.¹² In the low crime rate community they found greater social solidarity, greater participation in community groups and less family strife. The low crime area also had greater cultural homogeneity and stronger tribal and kinship bonds. Clinard and Abbott also found that offenders were less likely than nonoffenders to have received aid from a tribal member, a friend or a relative when they came to the city.

Maccoby, Johnson and Church looked at two communities in Cambridge, Massachusetts, one with a high rate of juvenile delinquency and one with a low rate.¹³ The demographic background of the residents of the two communities was very similar. The high delinquency area was

¹¹John E. Conklin, The Impact of Crime, New York: Macmillan, 1975, p. 140.

¹²Marshall B. Clinard and Daniel J. Abbott, Crime in Developing Countries: A Comparative Perspective, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973.

¹³Eleanor E. Maccoby, Joseph P. Johnson and Russell M. Church, "Community Integration and the Social Control of Juvenile Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, Volume XIV, June, 1958, pp. 38-51.

less integrated. There was more diversity in ethnic and religious backgrounds in the high delinquency areas. Furthermore residents of the high delinquency area knew less of their neighbors by name and they expressed greater dislike for their neighborhood. Residents of the high delinquency area were also less likely to do anything if they witnessed a delinquent act being committed.

In studying the Pruitt Igoe housing project in St. Louis and the Piggeries housing project in Liverpool, Moore and Brown found that crime, dilapidated housing and the lack of informal social controls were all related.¹⁴ In these instances crime and the deteriorating environment led to community disorganization but it is not clear how these problems reached a threshold level beyond which redemption was no longer possible. Obviously a certain level of community disorganization must already exist to set the stage for even bigger future problems.

The presence of people in a community who care about others and who are willing to take action to prevent crimes or stop crimes in progress indicates social controls are operating effectively on a neighborhood level. Gans, Spergel and Suttles have shown that informal social control in low-income communities is linked to frequent

¹⁴Colin Moore and John Brown, Community Versus Crime, London: Bedford Square Press, 1981.

face-to-face interaction among people made possible by residential stability and the institutional dominance of one ethnic group over others.¹⁵

Homogeneity v. Heterogeneity

Merry studied a low to moderate income housing project that had a high degree of residential stability (average length of residence was eight years) and was populated by a Chinese majority (fifty-five percent).¹⁶ However she found that the Chinese had little or no contact with the other residents in the project. Most of the Chinese residents' social contacts were with Chinese who lived outside of the facility. There was substantial distrust among the Chinese and the Blacks, Whites and Hispanics who lived there. There were no local institutions to bridge the gap among these different groups. Fear and distrust were the norm for these project residents who

¹⁵Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers, New York: Free Press, 1962; Irving Spertzel, Racketville, Slumtown, Haulberg, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964; Gerald D. Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.

¹⁶Sally Engle Merry, Urban Danger: Life in a Neighborhood of Strangers, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981 and "Defensible Space Undefined," Urban Affairs Quarterly, Volume 16, Number 4, 1981, pp. 397-422.

were forced to live near each other because of the only thing they shared in common, economic necessity.

Lewis studied four neighborhoods in Chicago and found no consistent pattern between the level of homogeneity or heterogeneity and the level of neighborhood social integration.¹⁷ The highest level of social integration was found in the most homogeneously Black area and the lowest level in the most homogeneously White area. Lewis also found no consistent pattern between the level of homogeneity or heterogeneity and concern about such incivilities as teenagers hanging out, abandoned buildings, illegal drugs and vandalism. However, the Black area generally had higher levels of concern for these problems.

Gans and Whyte found in their studies of new suburban developments that residential stability was not a prerequisite to informal social control.¹⁸ Other research has shown that residential areas that were homogeneous with regard to race, property values and types of build-

¹⁷Dan Albert Lewis, "Sociological Theory and the Production of a Social Problem: The Case of Fear of Crime," dissertation, History of Consciousness Program, University of California at Santa Cruz, June, 1980.

¹⁸Herbert J. Gans, The Levittowners, New York: Pantheon Books, 1967 and William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1957.

ings (single-family, multi-family) tended to have lower burglary rates than heterogeneous areas.¹⁹

Population Density

There are two opposing points of view regarding the relationship between population density and social interaction. One view, espoused by Wirth and Simmel, holds that density leads to withdrawal and isolation.²⁰ The other view, shared by Jacobs, Weber and Rohe, is that high density tends to promote greater social interaction.²¹

Kasarda and Janowitz, using survey data from England, found that the size and density of urban communities does not weaken bonds of kinship and friendship.²² Length of

¹⁹P.L. Brantingham and P.J. Brantingham, "A Topological Technique for Regionalization," Environment and Behavior, Volume 10, Number 3, 1978, pp. 335-353.

²⁰Louis Wirth, The Ghetto, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928 and George Simmel, "Group Expansion and the Development of Individuality," in D.N. Levin, editor, George Simmel: On Individuality and Social Forms, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971.

²¹Jane Jacobs, op. cit.; A.F. Weber, The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century, New York: Atheneum, 1967; W. Rohe, "Models of Residential Density and their Impact on Planning," Urbanism: Past and Present, Volume 7, Number 1, 1982, pp. 15-27.

²²John D. Kasarda and Morris Janowitz, "Community Attachment in Mass Society," American Sociological Review, Volume 39, Number 3, June, 1974, pp. 328-339 using data from Research Services, Ltd., Community Attitudes Survey: England, London: HMSO, 1969.

residence seemed to be the most important factor in developing close personal ties. However, in another study, Fischer asked this question: "About how many people in this neighborhood do you know by name?"²³ In nonmetropolitan settings only three percent said fewer than three. Seventy percent said they knew over twenty or all of their neighbors. For large cities twenty-two percent said they knew less than three. Twenty-seven percent said they knew twenty or all.

Crenson found the effect of living in a single-family building, whether owned or rented, seemed to have as much influence on behavior as home ownership.²⁴ Apparently a greater sense of belonging and responsibility was instilled in residents of single-family dwellings. For example, they knew that if they did not clean the street in front of their house it probably would not get cleaned. This is unlike the situation in an apartment building where responsibility is diffuse. Crenson also found that residents of single-family units, both owned and rented, were more likely to scold unruly neighborhood children and to watch

²³Claude S. Fischer, The Urban Experience, Second Edition, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984, p. 129.

²⁴Matthew A. Crenson, Neighborhood Politics, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983.

the homes of neighbors who were away.

Residential Stability and Social Interaction

Using telephone interview research data collected by the Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University in Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco in 1977 (n 1,328) Riger and Lavrakas looked at two indices of community ties: rootedness and social bonding.²⁵ They measured rootedness by looking at such factors as the number of years the person has lived in the neighborhood, whether they owned their home or rented and whether they expected to be living in the neighborhood in two years. Social bonding was measured by the ability to tell if someone was a stranger in the neighborhood, feeling a part of the neighborhood and knowing the names of children in the neighborhood. The study found that the group members lowest in both kinds of attachment were young adults with higher educational levels. They were also the least likely to be members of community groups. Persons high in social bonding but low in rootedness were young, less

²⁵Stephanie Riger and Paul J. Lavrakas, "Community Ties: Patterns of Attachment and Social Interaction in Urban Neighborhoods," American Journal of Community Psychology, Volume 9, Number 1, February, 1981, pp. 55-66.

educated adults with children at home and more likely to be Black. Persons with high levels of rootedness but low levels of social attachment were older adults who were less likely to have children living at home. Persons with high levels of rootedness and high levels of social attachment were older adults who were likely to still have children living at home; and they had relatively less education but the highest income of the groups studied. They were also the most likely to be members of community groups.

Unger and Wandersman did a study of social interaction on the neighborhood level in Nashville.²⁶ They based their research on interviews with 702 adults in 1978. The sample was sixty-one percent Black and thirty-nine percent White. They found that the blocks with the greatest number of neighbors who socialized and interacted with each other were characterized by neighbors who had a sense of community (showing concern about what happens in the area), residential stability, higher levels of participation in community organizations, class homogeneity and were middle-aged or older.

²⁶Donald G. Unger and Abraham Wandersman, "Neighboring in an Urban Environment," American Journal of Community Psychology, Volume 10, Number 5, October, 1982, pp. 493-509.

Social Class

Some research in Canada indicates that there is a class and neighborhood stability component at work in determining whether formal or informal means of social control are utilized in dealing with unruly teenagers.²⁷ Hackler et al. studied responses on 1,929 questionnaires collected from twelve census tracts in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. The sample represented a variety of social classes and ethnicities. One of the questions was: "You have seen some teenagers slash the tires on your car. What would you do if you don't know their address, but you know where they live in the neighborhood, and you learn their names?" Hackler et al. showed that respondents in upper class areas were more likely to answer that they would use informal means of intervention such as talking to the teenagers' parents or to the teenagers themselves rather than using formal means such as contacting the police. Measuring social cohesion by such factors as frequency of talking with neighbors, frequency of borrowing items from neighbors, etc. the researchers found the upper class areas to

²⁷James C. Hackler, Kwai-Yiu Ho and Carol Urquhart-Ross, "The Willingness to Intervene: Differing Community Characteristics," Social Problems, Volume 21, Number 3, 1974, pp. 328-344.

be more cohesive than the lower class areas. Areas that were less stable, i.e. changing socioeconomic status of residents and lower residential stability, tended to have higher levels of alienation. It was also found that "unstable" areas with higher levels of neighborliness were more likely to use formal means of intervention.

A Test of Informal Social Control

An interesting test of informal social control was conducted by two researchers in Tuscaloosa, Alabama.²⁸ In an experiment on witness intervention, Formby and Smykla found that of sixteen staged auto burglaries in Tuscaloosa, Alabama in May, 1980 in broad daylight only two were verbally noticed by citizens. In both cases no intervention occurred. In five instances passers-by helped the "thieves." These passers-by assumed that the people breaking into the cars owned them. Eighty-three people walked by during the sixteen staged incidents. Excluding the seven incidents mentioned previously, citizen reactions consisted of a quick glance (fifty-three percent),

²⁸William A. Formby and John Ortiz Smykla, "Citizen Awareness in Crime Prevention: Do They Really Get Involved,?" Journal of Police Science and Administration, Volume 9, Number 4, December, 1981, pp. 398-403.

a five-second stare (thirty-one percent) or no attention at all (sixteen percent).

Summary and Conclusions

In a widely cited essay Wilson and Kelling described the symbolic strength of a broken window:

Social psychologists and police officers tend to agree that if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken. This is as true in nice neighborhoods as in run-down ones. Window-breaking does not necessarily occur on a large scale because some areas are inhabited by determined window-breakers whereas others are populated by window lovers; rather, one unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares, and so breaking more windows costs nothing.²⁹

As can be seen from this review of the literature it appears that neighborhood social control does at times prevent local crime and the obverse also appears to be true. Studies of the effects of homogeneity and heterogeneity have not been consistent. Sometimes a higher level of homogeneity produced a higher level of social interaction but this was not always the case. Similarly this was also true for various levels of population density. For

²⁹James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling, "Broken Windows," The Atlantic Monthly, Volume 249, Number 3, March, 1982, pp. 29-38.

the most part residential stability was associated with a sense of community and greater participation in community organizations. People of higher social status have been found to exercise informal means of social control more frequently than people of lower social statuses.

Despite the seemingly important role that social control plays there has not been a large amount of research on what its effects actually are. One of the reasons for this may be because it is a particularly elusive phenomenon when it comes to measuring it quantitatively.

Chapter 3

Participation in Voluntary Organizations

People join organized groups for various reasons. Sometimes they merely want to socialize. Other times they may be interested in achieving a specific personal goal or a goal that would benefit their community. It would make sense first to examine why people join any local voluntary association in order to understand the processes by which a citizen anti-crime organization is formed and why people join.

Much research has been done on the theory and operations of groups. Carron et al. noted that:

The study of groups falls under the rubric of group dynamics - a term initially advanced by Kurt Lewin to represent two principal processes occurring within groups. One of these, cohesion, is concerned with the development and maintenance of the group. The second, locomotion, is the activity by which the group seeks to achieve its objectives. Cattell pointed out that these two major group functions are stochastic (i.e., without group maintenance there can be no group locomotion).³⁰

Cartwright and Zander argue that a person's initial

³⁰A.V. Carron and L.R. Brawley, "The Development of an Instrument to Assess Cohesion in Sport Teams: The Group Environment Questionnaire," Journal of Sport Psychology, Volume 7, 1985, pp. 244-266 citing Kurt Lewin, A Dynamic Theory of Personality, New York: CcGraw-Hill, 1935 and R.B. Cattell, "Concepts and Methods in the Measurement of Group Syntality," Psychological Review, Volume 55, 1948, pp. 48-63.

desire to join a group is based on four interacting factors: 1) personal motivations, 2) group incentives, 3) expectation of desired outcomes and 4) favorable comparison with other alternatives.³¹

In their research on block organizations Giamartino and Wandersman found that groups whose members were satisfied with the progress of the organization and who enjoyed their membership were found to be more cohesive.³² These groups were also characterized by better understanding of group rules and norms and better leadership. Strong organizations had leaders who showed concern for their members. Good interpersonal relations and strong and supportive leadership were found to be the keys to viable block organizations.

With regard to political participation Verba and Nie found that people with higher economic and social status tended to be the most active.³³ This held true whether

³¹Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, editors, Group Dynamics, Third Edition, New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

³²Gary A. Giamartino and Abraham Wandersman, "Organizational Climate Correlates of Viable Urban Block Organizations," American Journal of Community Psychology, Volume 11, Number 5, October, 1983, pp. 529-541.

³³Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America, New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

level of education, income or occupation was being used as the basis for measuring social status. Erbe found that socioeconomic status and organizational involvement were positively correlated with political participation.³⁴

Who Joins Groups?

Axelrod found that group membership in Detroit in 1952 was positively related to income and education.³⁵ Bell and Force obtained the same results in their study in San Francisco in 1953.³⁶ Many studies have found a strong link between ties to the community, such as home ownership, economic investment, children in school, and participation in neighborhood organizations including anti-crime organizations.³⁷

³⁴William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, Volume 29, Number 2, April, 1964, pp. 198-215.

³⁵Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Volume 21, Number 1, February, 1956, pp. 13-18.

³⁶Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," American Sociological Review, Volume 21, Number 1, February, 1956, pp. 25-34.

³⁷These studies include: D. Emmons, "Neighborhood Activists and Community Organizations: A Critical Review of the Literature," Evanston, IL: Center for Urban Affairs,

A review of the literature on formal voluntary organizations indicates that those most likely to join are people with high incomes, males, married persons, Protestants and Blacks.³⁸ Crenson's research showed that people of higher socioeconomic status who were also homeowners were about eleven times more likely to belong to community organizations than people of low socioeconomic status who were also renters.³⁹ He also found that homeownership and social status were at least somewhat independent of each other. Homeowners, regardless of social status, were more likely to be members of community organizations. Likewise high-status people, regardless of whether they owned their homes or not, were more likely

Northwestern University, 1979; L.A. Wilson and A.L. Schneider, "Investigating the Efficacy and Equity of Public Initiatives in the Provision of Public Safety," Eugene, OR: Institute of Policy Analysis, 1978; Abt Associates, Seattle Community Crime Prevention Program: Supplementary Report, Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates, 1977; Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Crime Control, Minnesota Crime Watch, St. Paul: State of Minnesota, 1976; George J. Washnis, Citizen Involvement in Crime Prevention, Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1976; Frederic DuBow and Aaron Podolefsky, "Participation in Collective Responses to Crime," Evanston, IL: Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University, 1979.

³⁸Aida K. Tomeh, "Formal Voluntary Organizations: Participation, Correlates and Interrelationships," Sociological Inquiry, Volume 43, Numbers 3-4, 1973, pp. 89-122.

³⁹Crenson, op. cit., p. 211.

to belong to such organizations than low-status people.

Crenson's research also showed that neighborhoods that are split along factional lines generally reflect a higher rate of high-status group participation in community organizations and a much lower rate for low-status members.⁴⁰ This is probably because, when the high-status groups organize, their areas of interest do not seem to accommodate those of the low-status groups. In fact members of the latter group may be perceived as part of the threat that spurred organization in the first place.

Dotson studied working-class families in New Haven in 1951 and found that most working-class people do not belong to voluntary associations.⁴¹ Piven found low levels of participation in local voluntary organizations in areas with lower socioeconomic status were due to factors such as necessity of satisfying survival needs, low regard of personal ability to effect change, lack of knowledge, lack of leadership abilities and organizational and professional skills.⁴²

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 226-227.

⁴¹Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-Class Families," American Sociological Review, Volume 16, Number 5, October, 1951, pp. 687-693.

⁴²Frances Fox Piven, "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community-Action Programs," in H.B. Spiegel, editor, Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Volume 1, Washington, D.C.: NTL Institute, 1968.

Lavrakas and his colleagues surveyed 1,803 residents in the Chicago metropolitan area and found that 58.3%⁴³ belonged to at least one voluntary organization. They also found that Blacks and homeowners were much more likely to belong to a block association or community group than Whites and renters. Blacks, males and single adults were the most active members of the groups to which they belonged.

Baldassare found that areas with higher population densities tended to have lower participation rates with local voluntary organizations but that this was largely a function of lower socioeconomic status.⁴⁴ He also found that high density did not produce social isolation since he found no correlation between density and number of friends or frequency of contacts with friends.

Another finding by Baldassare was that higher density was associated with less talking to and visiting with neighbors. Baldassare felt that this was due to a psychic overload phenomenon in which people practice

⁴³Paul J. Lavrakas et al., Factors Related to Citizen Involvement in Personal, Household, and Neighborhood Anti-Crime Measures, United States Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, November, 1981, p. 5.

⁴⁴Mark Baldassare, "Residential Density, Household Crowding, and Social Networks," pp. 101-115 in Claude S. Fischer et al., Networks and Places: Social Relations in the Urban Setting, New York: The Free Press, 1977.

selective social withdrawal, preferring to spend more rewarding time with friends than less meaningful contacts with neighbors.

Using a sample of 700 adults interviewed in-person in Wayne County, Michigan in 1957, Tomeh found more participation in local voluntary associations for areas with greater homogeneity and for residents with greater residential stability.⁴⁵ Residential stability did not seem to be a factor when the participation rates of people with higher education were examined. Tomeh found that suburban areas had higher participation rates than urban areas.

Carr et al., studied an older residential area consisting largely of single-family homes in an unspecified Southern city.⁴⁶ In-person interviews were conducted on randomly selected households. The sample size was 120. 17.5% of respondents were members of a local self-help organization, 52.5% had heard of it and 30% were unfamiliar with the organization. Members and acquainted non-

⁴⁵Aida K. Tomeh, "Empirical Considerations on the Problem of Social Integration," Sociological Inquiry, Volume 39, Number 1, Winter, 1969, pp. 65-76.

⁴⁶Thomas H. Carr, Michael C. Dixon and Robert M. Ogles, "Perceptions of Community Life which Distinguish between Participants and Nonparticipants in a Neighborhood Self-Help Organization," American Journal of Community Psychology, Volume 6, Number 4, December, 1976, pp. 357-366.

members were about evenly split regarding whether their length of residency was more or less than five years. However sixty-nine percent of the unfamiliar group were residents for less than five years. Members of the organization gave their neighborhood, as a place to live, higher ratings than the other two groups. It can be inferred from this that the members of the organization did not join in an effort to make a bad environment better but rather to make a good environment even better. Residents with a low opinion of their neighborhood tended not to join the organization. These people also had less close relationships with their neighbors, did not feel that the organization could achieve its goals, and had more friends who lived outside the neighborhood.

The organization members tended to view their neighbors, their own future and the organization as stable. Length of residency did not seem to be a factor in these attitudes. Statistically significant differences for the attitudes were found only between the members and the unacquainted.

DuBow and Emmons have written that in highly integrated, homogeneous communities local community organizations may be superfluous.⁴⁷ They argued that:

⁴⁷Fred Dubow and David Emmons, "The Community Hypothesis," pp. 167-181 in Dan A. Lewis, editor, Reactions to Crime, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1981.

In highly integrated neighborhoods, formal community organizations may be weak or nonexistent because they are not needed. The homogeneous Italian area of South Philadelphia is an example of such a locale. It is highly integrated, but lacks much formal community organizational life. The community organization may be most active in neighborhoods that are moderately integrated. Here, there is enough social support for these organizations and not so much of the informal social life that renders them unnecessary.⁴⁸

Ahlbrandt and Cunningham did a study of local voluntary organizations in Pittsburgh and found a positive relationship between participation in these organizations and the participants' levels of informal social interaction in their neighborhoods.⁴⁹ They found that the participants tended to have more friends in their neighborhoods and they also tended to visit the homes of friends more frequently.

Litwak did a survey involving 920 married white women with at least one child who had moved into the suburbs of Buffalo, N.Y. within the last three years prior to the survey (June - October, 1952).⁵⁰ The results showed an assymetrical curvilinear relationship between

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 174-175.

⁴⁹R.S. Ahlbrandt, Jr. and J.V. Cunningham, A New Public Policy for Neighborhood Preservation. New York: Praeger, 1979.

⁵⁰Eugene Litwak, "Voluntary Associations and Neighborhood Cohesion," American Sociological Review, Volume 21, Number 2, April, 1961, pp. 258-271.

neighborhood integration and membership in local voluntary associations. The lowest membership levels were for the group that had no relatives in town and who had been living in the area nine months or less. These people were busy just settling in - - new jobs, new schools, getting to know the area, etc. The highest membership levels were for the group that had no relatives in town but who had lived there for over nine months. These people joined local organizations in order to make friends. The group with the intermediate level of membership were those people who had relatives in town and who had lived there for more than nine months. These people had been living in the area long enough to make friends.

Gerson et al., found a strong relationship between neighboring, involvement in local organizations and having friends in the neighborhood.⁵¹ They found that residents of higher social status tended to have higher rates of participation in local organizations and more contacts with neighbors but they were less likely to have friends or family living in their neighborhood. The researchers also speculated that length of residence may increase involvement in an area but length of residence may also be

⁵¹Kathleen Gerson, C. Ann Stueve and Claude S. Fischer, "Attachment to Place," pp. 139-161 in Claude S. Fischer et al., Networks and Places: Social Relations in the Urban Setting, New York: The Free Press, 1977.

a result of such involvement because it makes it more difficult for people to move. This may be due to a sense of duty to the organization or it could be because of strong friendships developed over many years of association.

It should be noted that people join organizations for expressive reasons as well as instrumental ones. Bell and Boat discovered that informal associations were a rich source of close personal friendships.⁵² Over fifty-one percent of respondents in a study said that they had nine or more close personal friends in associations to which they belonged.

Crenson studied six predominantly white middle-class neighborhoods and their neighborhood organizations in Baltimore.⁵³ He found that residents who had close-knit neighborhood friendship networks, where most of their friends lived in their neighborhood and knew one another, were least likely to know about community organizations. Residents who said that most of their friends lived out-

⁵²Wendell Bell and Marion D. Boat, "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations," American Journal of Sociology, Volume LXII, Number 4, January, 1957, pp. 391-398.

⁵³Matthew A. Crenson, "Social Networks and Political Processes in Urban Neighborhoods," American Journal of Political Science, Volume 22, Number 3, August, 1978, pp. 578-594.

side the neighborhood, whom Crenson called cosmopolitans, were more likely to know of community organizations. Residents who were most likely to know about community organizations were those that belonged to loose-knit friendship networks where most of their friends lived in the neighborhood but did not know each other. This was apparently due to the fact that these people were apt to obtain different kinds of information from a variety of sources.

One question asked of neighbors concerned what they would do if confronted with the problem of noisy neighbors who were keeping them awake at night. It was found that the residents with loose-knit friendship networks were the ones who were most likely to call the police. This was because if a complaint was made directly it might be seen as a personal affront. Cosmopolitans, whose friends lived outside the area, were more inclined to intervene directly because they were not in danger of losing friends. The residents with close-knit friendship networks might intervene because they would feel that the noisy neighbors and they might have mutual friends and acquaintances and that the noisy neighbors would not want to be subject to unfriendly gossip.

Crenson found that the origins of neighborhood organizations were also different for the three types of

groups under study. The cosmopolitan and close-knit areas were influenced to organize by the actions of some outside authority, e.g., zoning changes, location of an alcoholic treatment center, etc. The loose-knit areas were prompted to organize for internal reasons: cleanliness of streets and sidewalks, planting of trees, etc.

Issues on the agendas of community organizations in neighborhoods with close-knit friendship networks were least likely to conform to the concerns of neighborhood residents among the three types of neighborhoods studied. This was apparently due to the same reasons that made it difficult for residents in close-knit areas to learn about community organizations.

The strongest friendships among organization members were found for the organizations in the loose-knit and cosmopolitan communities. Members of organizations in close-knit areas already had extensive friendship networks and did not need to turn to neighborhood organizations to make friends. Ironically the strong friendships in the loose-knit organizations were often accompanied by internal strife.

Crenson argued that:

Loose-knittedness in a neighborhood seems to set the stage for destructive conflict in a community organization. When community residents are loosely knit together, their neighborhood organizations tend to become enclaves of close friendship, and

friendship ... can be an inconvenience when neighbors have business to transact with one another. Loose-knit residents, in fact, seem to have been especially vulnerable to these inconveniences, and their inclination to turn to community associations may have represented an attempt to diminish the encumbrances of friendship. If so, their efforts appear to have backfired. The close personal ties that developed in organizations representing loose-knit neighborhoods helped to convert seemingly minor disputes into explosive and unmanageable conflicts.⁵⁴

Wandersman and Giamartino have done research on the factors involved in the initial participation in a local voluntary organization. They conducted in-person interviews with residents from two adjacent blocks in Nashville in 1977.⁵⁵ On one of the blocks the organizer could not get a single resident to agree to host a block meeting. When a meeting was scheduled at a local office, no one from the block came. On the other block a meeting was held in the home of one of the residents and about half of the adult residents of the block attended. The results of the survey showed differences between the two blocks. On the block where the meeting was held more people were already active in the community, including in leadership positions; more people engaged in neighboring behaviors and more

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 591-592.

⁵⁵Abraham Wandersman and Gary A. Giamartino, "Community and Individual Difference Characteristics as Influences on Initial Participation," American Journal of Community Psychology, Volume 8, Number 3, April, 1980, pp. 217-228.

people felt that they could help improve their block.

Unger and Wasndersman studied seven blocks of a neighborhood in Nashville in 1977 and 1978.⁵⁶ The area was sixty percent Black, forty percent White, had variety in socioeconomic status and was composed primarily of one- and two-family homes. They found that the blocks that successfully developed block organizations were the ones where there had already been a lot of interaction with neighbors. Members of the block organizations tended to have less contact with neighbors before the block organization than nonmembers. However members were more involved in community organizations. Members were also found to have more contacts with neighbors six months after joining the block organization as compared to nonmembers and residents on control blocks.

A poll of 434 members of thirty block associations in New York City found that the members reported these benefits most frequently: 1) improving the block as a place to live, 2) fulfilling a sense of responsibility and 3) meeting new people and making friends.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Donald G. Unger and Abraham Wandersman, "Neighboring and Its Role in Block Organizations: An Exploratory Report," American Journal of Community Psychology, Volume 11, Number 3, June, 1983, pp. 291-300.

⁵⁷"Block Booster Reports on Block Association Participation," Citizens Report, Volume 10, Number 1, Winter, 1986, pp. 1-2.

Summary

This review of the literature has revealed that people with higher incomes, homeowners, Blacks and people with extensive friendship networks were more likely to join local voluntary organizations. The studies also show that whether the reason is expressive (social) or instrumental (getting results) people join local voluntary organizations because they feel that they will personally benefit by doing so. Indeed any voluntary organization needs to meet this basic requirement if it is to be successful.

Citizen crime prevention organizations are similar to other voluntary groups in that they require time, dedication, strong leadership and opportunities to socialize. However they have one specific goal in mind: a reduction in the local crime rate. They must elicit strong interest among neighborhood residents in achieving this goal if they are to become viable organizations.

Chapter 4

Citizen Crime Prevention Programs

The Extensiveness of Citizen Crime Prevention Efforts

One study has noted that there are over 20,000 communities and approximately five million people involved in neighborhood watches and citizen patrols in the United States.⁵⁸ In 1985 Matt Peskin of the National Association of Town Watch, a clearinghouse for information on community crime prevention organizations, estimated that there were ten million Americans involved in anti-crime organizations.⁵⁹

Yin et al. estimated in 1977 that there were over 800 resident patrols in the United States.⁶⁰ Many were created after increases in local crime rates and they typically lasted from 4 to 5½ years.

⁵⁸Donald MacGillis and ABC News, Crime in America, Radnor, Pennsylvania: Chilton Book Company, 1983, p. 82.

⁵⁹Ted Gest, "Street Crime - People Fight Back," U.S. News and World Report, Volume 98, Number 14, April 15, 1985, pp. 42-46.

⁶⁰National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, United States Department of Justice, Citizen Patrol Projects, Robert K. Yin, Mary E. Vogel, Jan M. Chaiken and Deborah R. Both, January, 1977, p. vii.

This study also noted that:

The field interviews and review of existing literature on patrols revealed that patrol activities are difficult to document and have not undergone formal evaluation. Nevertheless, the preliminary evidence suggested that resident patrols can serve as a potentially effective deterrent to residential crime, require small amounts of money to be operated, and generally enjoy good support from local police as well as other residents.⁶¹

Skogan and Maxfield found that in the three cities that they studied, Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco, 13.5% of the respondents said that they were involved in a neighborhood anti-crime group.⁶² 17% of respondents in Chicago answered affirmatively, 12% in Philadelphia and 11% in San Francisco. Nehnevajsa and Karelitz reported 3% involvement in a statewide Maryland survey.⁶³ O'Neil found 35% involved in a neighborhood group in Chicago and 17% in a neighborhood anti-crime group.⁶⁴

Feins surveyed a sample of twenty-two cities nation-

⁶¹Ibid., p. iii.

⁶²Wesley G. Skogan and Michael G. Maxfield, Coping with Crime: Individual and Neighborhood Reactions, Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1981, p. 227.

⁶³J. Nehnevajsa and A.P. Karelitz, The Nation Looks at Crime: Crime as a National, Community, and Neighborhood Problem, Pittsburgh: University Center for Urban Research, University of Pittsburgh, 1977.

⁶⁴M.J. O'Neil, "Calling the Cops: Responses of Witnesses to Criminal Incidents," Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1977.

wide, choosing one crime prevention program in each of the cities.⁶⁵ She found that twenty-one of the twenty-two programs used block or apartment watches and that thirteen of them used street patrols.

Types of Patrols

Community patrols can take various forms depending on local conditions and needs. Four types of community patrols have been identified:⁶⁶

1) Community protection patrols: these patrols have as their main objective the monitoring of police activities. They are often brought about by those who feel harassed by the police.

2) Building patrols: these are concerned with providing protection in a specific building or group of buildings. This is done through stationary guard posts, mobile patrols or a combination of both.

3) Neighborhood patrols: these patrols cover a wider geographic area and may use both foot patrol and car patrol.

⁶⁵Judith D. Feins, Partnerships for Neighborhood Crime Prevention, United States Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, June, 1983.

⁶⁶Citizen Patrol Projects, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

4) Social service patrols: these patrols include normal patrol functions but they also include some social service functions such as youth employment, drug counseling, etc.

Community Involvement

The presence or absence of community anti-crime efforts varies widely from one area to another. One of the motivating factors may be a belief by the residents that they can make an impact on the crime problem by organizing. In 1967 residents of one police precinct in Washington, D.C. were asked whether they had "ever gotten together with other people around here, or has any group or organization you belong to met and discussed the problem of crime or taken some sort of action to combat crime?"⁶⁷ Twelve percent answered "yes" and seventeen percent thought they could do something about neighborhood crime.

A survey of about 500 residents in Boston found that

⁶⁷Stephen Cutler and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Crimes Against Public and Quasi-Public Organizations in Boston, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.," in Albert J. Reiss, Jr., editor, Studies in Crime and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas, U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice Field Survey III, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

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over fifty percent supported patrols. Greater support was found among Blacks, the less educated and the young. Those saying that they were most likely to join such a group were Blacks, youths, the less educated, Catholics, Protestants and those of Irish and Italian descent.

Podolefsky and DuBow surveyed ten urban neighborhoods in Chicago, San Francisco and Philadelphia and found that twenty percent of the people surveyed belonged to neighborhood organizations, thirteen percent belonged to neighborhood organizations that were involved with crime prevention and ten percent were involved in community anti-crime activities.⁶⁹

The Minneapolis Community Crime Prevention Program made a concerted effort to organize block watches in a variety of areas of the city.⁷⁰ The results were quite

⁶⁸Gary T. Marx and Dane Archer, "Picking up the Gun: Some Organizational and Survey Data on Community Police Patrols," paper presented at the Symposium on Studies of Public Experience, Knowledge and Opinion of Crime and Justice, Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., Washington, D.C., March, 1972.

⁶⁹Aaron Podolefsky and Frederic DuBow, The Reactions to Crime Papers: Volume II: Strategies for Community Crime Prevention, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, Center for Urban Affairs, 1980.

⁷⁰Dennis P. Rosenbaum, "The Theory and Research Behind Neighborhood Watch: Is It a Sound Fear and Crime Reduction Strategy,?" Crime and Delinquency, Volume 33, Number 1, January, 1987, pp. 103-134.

disappointing. On average, twenty-five hours of organizing effort were devoted to each block and eighty-five percent of all blocks in the target areas were included. However only twenty percent of households responded to the call to action with less than nine people per block attending block watch meetings. Particular emphasis was devoted to organizing block watches in low-income, heterogeneous areas but the results were even more disappointing in these areas.

The city of Palo Alto, California tried an anti-crime program which consisted of enlisting individuals and companies with citizen band radios to call the police if they witnessed a crime or knew of an emergency.⁷¹ Participants included cab drivers, truck drivers, utility workers and citizen band operators. Twenty-six individuals and companies were recruited by the Palo Alto, California Police Department. From November, 1973 to May, 1974 215 calls were made to the police department. These calls resulted in fourteen arrests - - six for drunk driving, six for hit and run accidents, one for auto theft and one for burglary.

Shernock studied three parishes in southeastern

⁷¹Richard M. Blackwell, "Community Radio Watch: Public Safety's Additional Eyes and Ears," Crime Prevention Review, Volume 2, Number 2, January, 1975, pp. 35-38.

Louisiana in an attempt to get a better understanding of the community crime prevention activist.⁷² The area studied was a mix of rural, small-town and suburban communities. Forty-eight captains or coordinators of neighborhood watch organizations and seventy-one nonparticipants in neighborhood watch were interviewed by telephone. The results showed that community crime prevention activists were more likely to be White, older, married, have higher incomes and belong to more voluntary associations. Sex and employment status were found not to be significant factors in differentiating between activists and nonparticipants.

Shernock found no significant correlation between activism and victimization. The same was true for activism and fear of crime. However more activists than nonparticipants perceived the crime rate as increasing. Curiously though more activists than nonparticipants perceived their own neighborhoods to be less dangerous than other neighborhoods in the area. Activism was the dependent variable in this relationship. Activists were apparently motivated by a desire to maintain the relative safety of their neighborhoods. Another indication of motivation was the

⁷²Stanley K. Shernock, "A Profile of the Citizen Crime Prevention Activist," Journal of Criminal Justice, Volume 14, Number 3, 1986, pp. 211-228.

greater propensity of activists to attribute crime in their area to outsiders. It was also found that more activists than nonparticipants were likely to rate police performance as good. In this instance activism was found to be the independent variable.

Troyer and Wright studied two middle-class areas of Des Moines, Iowa that had civilian crime patrols: the campus of Drake University and a residential neighborhood.⁷³ Questionnaires were sent in the mail in 1981 and 1982 to students and to the neighborhood residents. Participation in the neighborhood patrol was measured by whether residents paid a thirty-five dollar fee for the operation of the patrol. For the residential patrol it was found that length of residency, age, victimization and fear of crime did not distinguish participants from nonparticipants. Both groups also felt that the police were doing a good job. Statistically insignificant results were obtained when respondents were asked whether the patrols made them feel safer and how they perceived the seriousness of crime as a problem.

The literature on citizen crime prevention efforts

⁷³Ronald J. Troyer and R. Dean Wright, "Community Response to Crime: Two Middle-Class Anti-Crime Patrols," Journal of Criminal Justice, Volume 13, Number 3, 1985, pp. 227-241.

repeatedly notes that these efforts are more likely to be found in areas with higher socioeconomic status. In most cases citizen patrols are instituted in order to prevent a serious crime problem from developing rather than to cope with a problem that already exists.

Many studies have looked into the relationship between the nature of a community, its anti-crime efforts and their effectiveness. One study noted that:

The effectiveness of the crime prevention projects was related to the nature of the neighborhood in which they were operating. It was considerably more difficult to promote significant citizen involvement in low-income, deteriorated neighborhoods than in those which were relatively stable.⁷⁴

Roehl and Cook used intermediate assessment criteria, i.e. the level of citizen involvement and the ability to create functioning anti-crime programs. The ultimate goal, reduction in crime, was not even addressed.

The Citizens Committee for New York City found a strong correlation between people's satisfaction with their blocks and sense of community and their participation in collective responses to crime such as citizen crime patrols.⁷⁵ The Committee's findings suggest that

⁷⁴Janice A. Roehl and Roger F. Cook, Evaluation of the Urban Crime Prevention Program - - Executive Summary, United States Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, February, 1984, p. v.

⁷⁵Citizens Committee for New York City, "Block Booster Project: Building Better Block Associations," Annual Report to the Ford Foundation, 1985, p. 2.

people who like where they live do not become complacent. Instead, people actively strive to maintain the character of their communities.

In Washington, D.C., one study found that:

... blocks that have a higher number of white residents, more homeowners, more expensive rental housing, fewer children, and fewer elderly persons are more likely to have formed a neighborhood watch. The figures also suggest that participating blocks are more likely to fit the pattern associated with gentrification: a sharper than average increase in housing costs, an increase in the percentage of residents that are white, and a decline in the number of children.⁷⁶

The relationship between class and participation in anti-crime activities should not be underestimated. As noted previously, Verba and Nie and Erbe found a strong correlation between higher socioeconomic status and political participation. Axelrod and Bell and Force found the same relationship applied generally to membership in groups. Economic stability, higher levels of education and desire to maintain neighborhood quality of life are characteristics associated with citizen crime prevention efforts.

There are various approaches that can be tried in an attempt to control a local crime problem. Podolefsky and

⁷⁶Jeffrey R. Henig, Citizens Against Crime: An Assessment of the Neighborhood Watch Program in Washington, D.C., Center for Washington Area Studies, George Washington University, December, 1984, p. 18.

DuBow argued that the approach to the problem is related to the degree of social integration in an area.⁷⁷ The indicators of social integration that they used included frequency of visits to neighbors' homes, presence of children in the family, home ownership and length of residency. They argued that if there is high social integration in a neighborhood there will more likely be a social problems approach to crime. This would include such things as drop-out prevention programs, drug counselling and recreational programs for youths. If there is less social integration, there will be more of a crime prevention approach through such means as Whistlestop, citizen patrols and target hardening (improved security).

In their studies of neighborhoods in Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco Skogan and Maxfield found that owners and residents of single-family homes were much more likely than renters and residents of large buildings to report that they kept an eye on the street in front of their homes.⁷⁸ They were also more likely to ask a neighbor to keep an eye on their place if they were going to

⁷⁷Aaron Podolefsky and Frederic DuBow, Strategies for Community Crime Prevention, Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1981.

⁷⁸Skogan and Maxfield, op. cit., p. 214.

be away for more than a day. Sixty-nine percent of residents of single-family homes said that they were able to recognize strangers as opposed to thirty-seven percent of those living in large buildings.⁷⁹ Skogan and Maxfield also reported that higher levels of involvement in neighborhood social activities and longer residency were both positively correlated with involvement in anti-crime efforts.⁸⁰

Skogan and Maxfield also uncovered a negative correlation between involvement in neighborhood anti-crime groups and perceptions of crime problems, perceptions of social order problems and fear of crime.⁸¹ Areas with low levels of crime were more likely to have higher levels of citizen involvement. This is in accordance with Conklin's point of view that crime is incapacitating.

Skogan and Maxfield found five factors to be linked: high neighborhood integration, high participation in neighborhood organizations, low rate of crime, low rate of disorder and low fear of crime.⁸² However, they felt that integration and participation were antecedents for

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 215.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 218.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 240.

⁸²Ibid., p. 264.

the other three factors. They tended to agree with Conklin that crime is "incapacitating."

In February, 1984 a Victimization Risk Survey (VRS), a supplement to the National Crime Survey, was administered to 21,016 people age sixteen and older in 11,198 households.⁸³ Nineteen percent of the respondents reported that a neighborhood watch existed in their area. For those areas where a program existed they found that thirty-eight percent of households participated. Blacks were more likely to participate in neighborhood watch programs (ten percent) than Whites (seven percent) or Hispanics (five percent). Ten percent of home owners participated in neighborhood watch programs compared to four percent of renters. Households with four to five people (ten percent) were twice as likely to participate compared to single-person households (five percent). People living in single-family homes were three times as likely to participate when compared with people living in buildings with four or more units (three percent).

The levels of participation for metropolitan areas, suburbs and rural areas were nine percent, eight percent

⁸³Catherine J. Whitaker, "Crime Prevention Measures," United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, March, 1986.

and five percent respectively. The levels of participation for those whose highest educational attainment were elementary school, high school and college were four percent, six percent and ten percent respectively. People with incomes of \$50,000 or more were about four times as likely to participate compared to those whose incomes were less than \$7,500.

Blacks were more likely than Whites or Hispanics to report having a neighborhood watch program in their area. Homeowners were more likely than renters to report having such programs. Those with incomes of \$50,000 or more were more than twice as likely to have such programs compared to those whose incomes were below \$7,500. Metropolitan areas were more than twice as likely than non-metropolitan areas to have such programs. For those areas with a neighborhood watch the more likely participants were Blacks, those with higher incomes, four to five person households, homeowners and residents of single-family homes. All of these characteristics of participation are consistent with earlier studies.

In his study of ten communities in Oregon, Wilson found a consistent relationship between higher income levels and greater levels of private behaviors aimed at preventing crime.⁸⁴ This was true despite the fact that

⁸⁴Leonard Albert Wilson, II, "Private and Collective

the lower income areas had much higher crime rates. People in the higher income areas also reported a higher satisfaction level with police services. This was probably due to greater resources made available to local police departments.

It therefore appears that areas with higher socioeconomic status spend more money on household security, collective voluntary efforts and police. However, Rosenbaum found that blocks and neighborhoods in Chicago exposed to the block watch program did not differ from unexposed neighborhoods and blocks with regard to social interaction, surveillance behavior, home security, personal security and intervention.⁸⁵ His study does not support most other work in this area.

Lavrakas found that less than ten percent of the adults he surveyed had ever participated in a group anti-crime activity.⁸⁶ He also found that neither fear of crime

Choice Behavior in the Provision of Personal Security from Criminal Victimization," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of Oregon, 1976.

⁸⁵Dennis P. Rosenbaum, "The Theory and Research Behind Neighborhood Watch: Is It a Sound Fear and Crime Reduction Strategy,?" Crime and Delinquency, Volume 33, Number 1, January, 1987, pp. 103-134.

⁸⁶Paul J. Lavrakas et al., Factors Related to Citizen Involvement in Personal, Household, and Neighborhood Anti-Crime Measures, United States Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, November, 1981, pp. 9-10.

nor crime victimization were motivating factors for anti-crime efforts. Rather, anti-crime activity developed from the work of existing community organizations. He also found that most of these organizations were not started for the purpose of crime prevention but rather were formed primarily for reasons of community revitalization, economic development and neighborhood stabilization.

Some of the other major findings of Lavrakas and his associates were:

- Organized anti-crime efforts are more likely to occur in densely populated, low-income, nonwhite areas. This contravenes most of the other research in this field.

- City anti-crime efforts were more likely to be reactive in that they were instigated by an already existing crime problem. Suburban anti-crime efforts were more likely to be proactive in that they were designed to prevent crime from becoming a serious problem.

- The lower the rate of involvement required of citizens in anti-crime efforts the higher the level of citizen participation.

- Most people who were aware of anti-crime efforts did not get involved. Forty percent reported lack of time as their reason, twenty to twenty-five percent claimed lack of interest and twenty to twenty-five percent claimed that they were not given the opportunity.

- Blacks were significantly more likely to be participants in anti-crime efforts compared to other groups. (This coincides with data from the Victimization Risk Survey and other sources. Although Blacks are overrepresented in those of lower socioeconomic status and it is in the higher socioeconomic status areas where organized citizen crime prevention efforts are more frequently found, it therefore appears that Blacks, when given the chance to do so, more frequently become involved in neighborhood anti-crime efforts).

- Anti-crime efforts were more likely to be found in low-income areas but it was the people with the highest incomes in these areas who were the most likely to get involved in these efforts.⁸⁷ (The finding here that it was more likely that neighborhood anti-crime prevention efforts would be found in lower-income areas does not coincide with most other research).

Lavrakas and Herz conducted telephone interviews with 1,803 residents of Chicago and its suburbs in 1979 in order to find out why people become involved in neighborhood crime prevention.⁸⁸ The respondents were asked whether

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

⁸⁸ Paul J. Lavrakas and Elicia J. Herz, "Citizen Participation in Neighborhood Crime Prevention," Criminology, Volume 20, Numbers 3 and 4, November, 1982, pp. 479-498.

the following anti-crime methods were used in their neighborhoods (percentages are for those answering yes):

neighborhood crime prevention meetings 24.9%

citizen patrols 11.6%

neighborhood escort 4.4%

block watch / neighborhood watch programs 8.6%

Beat Representative program 4.8%

WhistleSTOP program 8.7%

other kinds of programs 3.5%⁸⁹

The interviews revealed that city rather than suburban residents were far more likely to report neighborhood anti-crime efforts. Higher-income, lower-crime densely populated urban areas with a greater proportion of non-whites were the most likely areas to have neighborhood anti-crime efforts. In most cases group efforts were initiated to prevent crime from becoming a problem rather than reacting to a crime problem that already existed. This was particularly true for the suburban areas. Forty-nine percent of the meetings that were held to prevent crime from becoming a problem were held in the suburbs whereas eighty-three percent of the meetings that were held after crime had already become a problem were held in the city.⁹⁰

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 483-485.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 487.

Citizens who became involved in neighborhood anti-crime measures were most likely to participate in those areas that required the least involvement such as Whistle-STOP and block watch. 108 respondents said that there was a citizen patrol in their area.⁹¹ This was six percent of the total sample. Thirty-six of these people said that they participated in the patrol.⁹²

When nonparticipants were asked why they did not become involved twenty-four percent said that they had no time, another twenty-four percent said that they had no interest and thirteen percent said that they had no opportunity (were not aware of neighborhood anti-crime efforts).⁹³ These figures are for all forms of citizen crime prevention efforts. For citizen patrols specifically the percentages were: no time (38.3%), no interest (17.8%), and no opportunity (were not aware of patrol) (31.9%).⁹⁴ Less than three percent of all respondents participated in citizen patrols.⁹⁵ Another twelve percent knew of the patrols but did not get involved.⁹⁶ Seventy percent of the

⁹¹Ibid., p. 488.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 490.

⁹⁶Ibid.

patrol participants were men, primarily in their thirties and forties, college-educated and Black.⁹⁷ The researchers stated that they believed that Blacks participated in neighborhood anti-crime efforts more frequently because they were more likely to live in high-crime areas and that they had less confidence in the police when it came to fighting crime.

Fear of crime was not a factor in distinguishing participants from nonparticipants. Victims of crime (twenty-seven percent) were slightly more likely than nonvictims (twenty-one percent) to be participants.⁹⁸ Seventy-seven percent of community voluntary associations held community anti-crime meetings and sixty-two percent of these groups saw crime prevention as their major goal.⁹⁹

Lavrakas and Herz reported that only ten percent of their total sample were involved in some community anti-crime effort.¹⁰⁰ People became involved in community anti-crime efforts more often for instrumental reasons (wanting to achieve crime reduction) than expressive reasons (social affiliation). However, level of activity in the organiza-

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 490-491.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 493.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 494.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

tion and membership retention were closely linked to expressive motivations.

Characteristics of Successful Citizen Crime Prevention Organizations

Marx and Archer found three factors tended to characterize successful citizen crime patrol groups: 1) a sense of crisis in the community, 2) a powerful leader¹⁰¹ and 3) adequate financial support.

There are many factors that need to be addressed if a citizen patrol or neighborhood improvement association is to be effective. These include strong leadership, the ability to motivate a sufficient number of residents, the perception of problems as challenges rather than insurmountable obstacles, the use of technical assistance where appropriate and detailed program development and evaluation. The success or failure of any neighborhood association will depend on the extent to which these factors are dealt with.

Local organizations concerned with crime control may have several functional problems that must be dealt

¹⁰¹Gary T. Marx and Dane Archer, "Citizen Involvement in the Law Enforcement Process: The Case of Community Police Patrols," American Behavioral Scientist, Volume 15, Number 1, September/October, 1971, pp. 52-72.

with:

- The possibility of being or being perceived as being politically motivated rather than goal-oriented. This can include the fear that what is perceived as concerned citizens taking action by some people can be perceived as vigilantes by others.

- If results can only be achieved after a long period of time it will be difficult to motivate people who are not seeing the results of their efforts.

- The converse of the above is that citizen crime prevention organizations tend to lose their vitality when crime rates go down and it takes a sustained effort and strong leadership to maintain these organizations.

Summary

The establishment of a strong, effective community crime prevention organization is influenced by many factors, not least of which is the nature of the community itself with regards to social class, ethnicity, homeownership, property values, etc. The literature clearly shows that Blacks, homeowners, residents of single-family homes and people with higher incomes are more likely to participate in local anti-crime efforts. This coincides with the information in Chapter 3 pertaining to local

voluntary organizations in general. It is also clear that higher-income areas tend to act in a preventive mode to forestall crime from becoming a serious problem in their areas. People in lower-income areas generally cooperate to eliminate a pre-existing crime problem. It was also found that motivation, leadership, adequate funds and results play a very important role in determining the outcome of citizen crime prevention efforts.

Chapter 5

The Impact of Citizen Crime Prevention Efforts

Many times assessments of citizen crime prevention programs are based on assumptions and impressions and not on empirical data. An example of an anecdotal, impressionistic appraisal of a citizen crime patrol can be found in an opinion offered by the vice-president of the Belmont Radio Watch in Baltimore:

They have waged publicity campaigns to inform residents about various crime-prevention tactics, and members of the patrol themselves have been responsible for reducing crime in the neighborhood. Several burglaries in progress have been reported to the police, and a number of potential suspects have also been identified. Patrol members feel that a serious problem with drug dealing in a local park has subsided significantly since radio watch members began copying and transmitting to the police the license plate numbers of cars whose occupants appeared to be congregating in the park to engage in suspicious activity.¹⁰²

However, no statistical data is presented to substantiate these laudatory remarks.

In order for citizen crime patrol projects to determine if their efforts are having any deterrent effect on local crime it is necessary that they be kept informed

¹⁰²Robert K. Yin, Mary E. Vogel, Jan M. Chaiken and Debrah R. Both, Patrolling the Neighborhood Beat: Residents and Residential Security, Case Studies and Profiles, Santa Monica, CA: Rand, March, 1976.

of police follow-up of their contacts and that they compile statistics on the local crime rate. It would also be helpful if they did some surveying regarding their impact on residents' fear of crime.

The importance of rigorous evaluation procedures cannot be overemphasized . Anecdotal information and impressionistic assumptions can never substitute for collection and analysis of statistical data. Many studies simply involve interviewing community leaders and residents who state that crime has gone down since a particular program began. In many cases the crime figures themselves are never even checked. In fact one of the problems with this kind of research is getting reliable crime figures for a particular citizen patrol area which frequently encompasses an area below the size of a police precinct. Another problem with many studies is that little or no attention is paid to other factors which may have had an even greater impact on declining local crime rates.

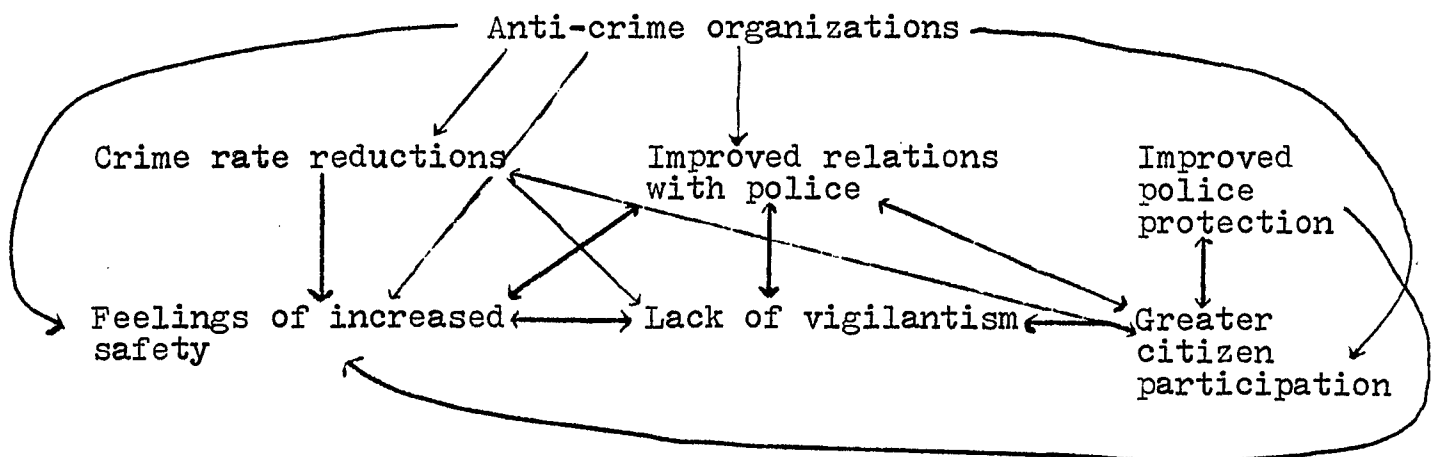
There is another caveat that must be kept in mind. One of the aims of neighborhood block watches is to increase the reporting of crimes to the police. After a block watch is started the official crime rate may go up but the actual crime rate can be the same or less simply due to the increased reporting of crimes. Time series analysis can help to clarify these issues some-

what because when a more extended period of time is examined it can isolate the effects of a spurt in crime reporting associated with the initiation of a new program.

In the literature on citizen crime prevention efforts six criteria have been used to assess the effectiveness of citizen anti-crime efforts:

- 1) crime rate reductions;
- 2) perception of increased safety by residents (reduced fear of crime);
- 3) improved relations between the police and the community;
- 4) improved police protection;
- 5) lack of vigilantism;
- 6) greater citizen participation.

The first two criteria are quantitative while the remainder are primarily qualitative. It is important to note how these measures of effectiveness influence each other. For example the interrelationships can be illustrated as:



Successful Citizen Crime Prevention Efforts

This section will report on some of the success stories found in the literature on citizen crime prevention. Neighborhood watches are not formally organized the way citizen patrols are but they also rely on the efforts of citizen volunteers. They primarily involve people agreeing to be extra vigilant in their communities including watching out for strangers and suspicious-looking people, watching the home of a neighbor who is away and calling the police if they witness any suspicious behavior or criminal activity. One of the most successful neighborhood watch programs was in Alexandria, Virginia where a 98.2% decrease in crime was reported.¹⁰³ This was accomplished with no additional police patrols.

A Neighborhood Responsibility Program in Orinda, California included neighborhood meetings throughout the community, use of etching pens to mark valuables and increasing understanding between the police and teenagers.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³Sandra Baxter and Richard R. Bennett, "Crime Control vs. Crime Prevention," Citizen Participation, Volume 6, Number 3, Summer, 1985, pp. 3, 25.

¹⁰⁴Shirley Henke and Stephanie Mann, Alternative to Fear: Guidelines for Safer Neighborhoods, Berkeley, California: Lodestar Press, 1975.

Between 1966 and 1969 burglaries in the community increased by more than one-hundred percent, with nearly 400 per year.¹⁰⁵ At the end of 1972, when the program had been in effect for 2½ years, burglaries had gone down by about fifty percent and they stayed down throughout 1974.¹⁰⁶ It should be noted however that both this study and the one in Alexandria were not strictly scientific studies. There may have been other factors connected to the reductions in crime that were not fully examined.

Another example of a crime watch reporting success is the Cambridgeport Residents Against Crime (CRAC) program in Cambridge, Massachusetts.¹⁰⁷ The founder of the group claimed that residential break-ins for the five late fall and winter months declined to one-third the level they were before the crime watch. However it is not clear whether there may have been other factors involved.

The Seattle Community Crime Prevention Program is one effort that has reported much success.¹⁰⁸ The Seattle

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Mark Levine, "Crimewatch in Cambridge: A Community Reconstruction," Citizen Participation, Volume 6, Number 3, Summer, 1985, pp. 12, 13 and 21.

¹⁰⁸Paul Cirel, Patricia Evans, Daniel McGillis and

program included the study of five census tracts. These included both areas that were treated (experimental areas) and those that were not treated (control areas). The treatment for the experimental areas consisted of a three-pronged approach:

1) neighborhood block watch - - making neighbors more alert in detecting suspicious activity and looking out for one another. This involved ten to fifteen neighbors who exchanged vacation schedules, mowed the lawn, took in mail and newspapers and generally watched the houses of their neighbors for prowlers.

2) property identification - - marking property with an owner identification number, usually a driver's license number.

3) home security survey - - inspecting a home in order to detect and correct flaws in homeowner security.

A forty-eight to sixty-one percent reduction in house-

Debra Whitcomb, An Exemplary Project: Community Crime Prevention Program: Seattle, Washington, Office of Technology Transfer, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, United States Department of Justice, September, 1977 and Betsy Lindsay and Daniel McGillis, "Citywide Community Crime Prevention: An Assessment of the Seattle Program," Chapter 3, pp. 46-67 in Dennis P. Rosenbaum, editor, Community Crime Prevention: Does It Work?, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1986.

hold burglaries was reported by participants in the Seattle program. This amounted to a reduction of about four burglaries per one-hundred households per year. No displacement effect was found either with nonparticipating residents in the program target area or in adjacent census tracts.¹⁰⁹

Program participants in the experimental areas more than halved their burglary rate compared to nonparticipants (2.43% to 5.65%).¹¹⁰ The control areas had burglary rates that were not significantly different before the study and after. The rates were: 1974 (pre-study): 10.43%;¹¹¹ 1975 (post-study): 9.95%.

Reporting rates did not differ significantly between experimental and control areas before the treatment. After the treatment reporting rates increased from 50.9% to 76.5% in the experimental areas.¹¹²

A telephone survey conducted by the Seattle Law and Justice Planning Office found these results:¹¹³

- no significant difference in burglary rates for CAPP participants (5%) and nonparticipants (6.1%).

¹⁰⁹Cirel et al., op. cit.

¹¹⁰Lindsay and McGillis, op. cit., p. 59.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 61.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 62.

- when LJPO data were combined with an earlier victimization survey a significantly lower burglary rate for CCPP participants (9.2%) compared to nonparticipants (11.1%) was found.

- non-CCPP participants living in treated areas had a significantly higher reporting rate than CCPP participants: 83% versus 72%. However no explanation was offered for this apparent anomaly.

Between November, 1980 and July, 1981 600 homes in a section of Cypress, California, a city of 40,000, were enlisted in a Neighborhood Watch.¹¹⁴ The crimes of burglary, theft and vandalism all declined between 1980 and 1981. The rate for these three crimes declined by a total of fifty-eight percent. Burglaries went from twenty-one to ten, thefts went from eleven to six and vandalism went from six to zero.¹¹⁵

By the end of 1981 much of the city of Cypress was recruited for Neighborhood Watch. The crimes of burglary, theft and vandalism declined by five percent between the first six months of 1981 and the first six months of 1982.

¹¹⁴Ronald E. Lowenberg and Robert A. Bandurraga, "Neighborhood Watch and the Community Resource," Journal of California Law Enforcement, Volume 16, Number 3, Summer, 1982, pp. 159-164.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

Burglaries went from 239 to 203, thefts went from 641 to 604 but instances of vandalism increased from 175 to 198.¹¹⁶

In Portland, Oregon the Crime Prevention Bureau (CPB) instituted a program that consisted of property identification (engraving with an identification number), recommendations to improve home security and increasing awareness of neighborhood security.¹¹⁷ An evaluation that was done found that program participants experienced a thirty-two percent decline in burglaries. Numerically the difference between participants and nonparticipants was about thirty burglaries per 1000 households. Burglary reporting increased from sixty-five percent for nonparticipants to eighty percent for participants. The overall incidence of burglary in Portland showed that in an average year about twenty percent of all homes could be expected to be burglarized. After the CPB program was implemented this declined to eight percent.

Some communities have whistlestop programs. These programs generally include the carrying of whistles by participants who blow the whistle, if possible, if they are being victimized or if they witness a crime.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Anne L. Schneider, "Neighborhood-Based Antiburglary Strategies: An Analysis of Public and Private Benefits from the Portland Program," Chapter 4, pp. 68-86 in Dennis P. Rosenbaum, editor, Community Crime Prevention: Does It Work?, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1986.

One year after Whistlestop was introduced in the Hyde Park-Kenwood section of Chicago purse snatchings went down by forty percent.¹¹⁸ The program had no impact on burglary rates. Also of 20,000 whistles distributed there were only thirty-seven recorded incidents in which people either blew whistles or responded to them. Ninety percent of respondents to a survey said that they were aware of the program. Fifty-two percent of respondents said that the streets were safer and sixty-five percent of people with whistles said that they personally felt safer after implementation of Whistlestop. This program was successful at least with regard to reducing purse snatchings and fear of crime.

Kohfeld et al. found in a study of neighborhoods in St. Louis that areas with community anti-crime programs had twenty percent less crime than areas without such programs.¹¹⁹ This study was able to control for such variables as race, unemployment, number of abandoned buildings and number of youth.

In July, 1977 Columbus, Ohio instituted a Citizens'

¹¹⁸David Everett Reed, "Whistlestop: A Community Alternative for Crime Prevention," dissertation, Sociology, Northwestern University, 1979.

¹¹⁹C.W. Kohfeld, B. Salert and B. Schoenberg, "Neighborhood Associations and Urban Crime," Community Action, November-December, 1981.

Crime Reporting Project which consisted of citizen foot
patrols with reports to the police of crimes in progress. 120
The patrollers were paid minimum wage and they received
training from the Columbus Police Academy. One year after
implementation an evaluation of the program showed declines
in six of the seven F.B.I. Type I offenses. The one ex-
ception was grand larceny. The Project was conducted in
a high crime area, yet experienced a ten percent reduction
in burglaries. This compared with a decrease of two per-
cent in one precinct control area and a nine percent in-
crease for another precinct control area. The city of Co-
lumbus experienced a two percent increase during the same
time period. For auto theft the Project area experienced
a two percent decline while the two precinct control areas
and the city of Columbus had increases of twenty-one per-
cent, fifteen percent and fourteen percent respectively.

Surveys both before and after implementation of the
Columbus program indicated that about ninety percent of
the respondents thought that the program would be a suc-
cess. A survey of police showed that their initial skep-
ticism about the program was replaced by favorable atti-

¹²⁰Edward J. Latessa and Harry E. Allen, "Using Citi-
zens to Prevent Crime: An Example of Deterrence and Com-
munity Involvement," Journal of Police Science and Admin-
istration, Volume 8, Number 1, March, 1980, pp. 69-74.

tudes after its implementation. Police opinion on whether the Citizens' Crime Reporting Project would be helpful in fighting crime went up from twenty-five percent to sixty-seven percent. Similarly police opinion on whether the program would interfere with the police in crime prevention declined from eighty-three percent to twenty-five percent.

Unsuccessful Citizen Crime Prevention Efforts

Many citizen crime prevention efforts have not been successful in either deterring crime or in lowering residents' fear of crime. There are many reasons for these failures including overoptimistic expectations, lack of resoluteness in pursuing results and participant burnout.

An Urban Crime Prevention Program (UCPP) in Chicago designated four neighborhood organizations in 1983 for a study on the effects of citizen crime prevention activities.¹²¹ The treatment for the four organizations con-

¹²¹Three publications reported on the results of this program. They are: 1) Dennis P. Rosenbaum, Dan A. Lewis and Jane A. Grant, "Neighborhood-Based Crime Prevention: Assessing the Efficacy of Community Organizing in Chicago," Chapter 6, pp. 109-133 in Dennis P. Rosenbaum, editor, Community Crime Prevention: Does It Work?, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1986; 2) Dennis P. Rosenbaum, Dan A. Lewis and Jane A. Grant, The Impact of Community Crime Prevention

sisted of door-to-door contacts, block meetings, neighborhood meetings, dissemination of educational materials and organizing block watches.

The researchers evaluated the four organizations by conducting 3,357 interviews at the beginning of the project and reinterviews with 1,652 of these subjects one year later.¹²² During the second interview period 1,172 respondents were interviewed as a control group. Marginally significant findings were uncovered for residents with organized block watches versus those without. These results included more home security, intervention in neighborhood problems and less optimistic opinions about neighborhood transition for residents in the organized areas. It was also found that the residents of blocks with block watches accepted more responsibility for crime prevention vis a vis the police than blocks without block watches.¹²³ It also became clear that block watch partici-

in Chicago: Can Neighborhood Organizations Make A Difference? Final Report: Volume One, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, September 20, 1985; 3) Dan A. Lewis, Jane A. Grant and Dennis P. Rosenbaum, The Social Construction of Reform: Crime Prevention and Community Organizations, Final Report: Volume Two, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, September 20, 1985.

¹²²Rosenbaum, Lewis and Grant, The Impact..., op. cit., pp. iv and vi.

¹²³Lewis, Grant and Rosenbaum, The Social..., op. cit., p. 142.

pation was often associated with feelings of being effective in fighting crime but these feelings declined over time with continued participation.¹²⁴

The evaluation of the Chicago program also found a 3.9% increase in attendance at neighborhood organization crime prevention meetings.¹²⁵ However this study also showed that residents did not feel that citizen crime prevention efforts were helpful in preventing crime. Two of the four neighborhoods studied experienced an increase in their crime rates during the course of the program. The study found no reduction in youth disorder regarding drugs, graffiti and gang activities. In one of the target neighborhoods there was an increase in youth disorder.

In three of four of the treated neighborhoods residents' fear of personal crime actually increased.¹²⁶ For property crime only one significant difference was found relative to the comparison neighborhoods and this was an increase in fear of being the victim of a property crime.¹²⁷

In three of the four neighborhoods residents reported

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 144.

¹²⁵Rosenbaum, Lewis and Grant, "Neighborhood-Based...", op. cit., p. 118.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 125.

¹²⁷Ibid.

a decrease in their level of optimism concerning neighborhood change.¹²⁸ The control areas also showed declining optimism but at a much slower rate. In two of the four neighborhoods residents reported a greater chance of moving relative to the control groups.

Participants in block watches felt that they could do more to fight crime in their neighborhoods before they got involved than afterwards.¹²⁹ Being involved in the block watch made people feel that community activism was a waste of time whereas not being involved did not produce these feelings.

The researchers have offered some possible explanations for the unexpected results of their study. One is that the implementation of the program heightened residents' fear of crime.¹³⁰ Also neighbors involved in crime prevention may become inured to the political process and feel helpless against the tide of crime.¹³¹ They may feel that neighborhood transition is something they cannot control. They may also feel that the police can successfully ignore their complaints. Another explanation for

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 126.

¹²⁹Lewis, Grant and Rosenbaum, The Social..., op. cit., p. 146.

¹³⁰Rosenbaum, Lewis and Grant, "Neighborhood-Based...", op. cit., p. 127.

¹³¹Rosenbaum, Lewis and Grant, The Impact ..., op. cit., pp. 168-169.

the results of the study is that the areas selected for participation in the study were already on the decline.¹³²

Finally people may just come to accept that criminal victimization is a random event that can potentially happen to anyone at any time in any place.¹³³

Assessing the overall failure of the program the researchers noted that:

The results indicate that, although residents' awareness and participation increased (indicating some success with program implementation), there was a consistent lack of support for the main hypotheses. That is, the large majority of comparisons revealed no significant differential change over time between the treated and untreated areas. Furthermore, the majority of the significant findings ran counter to the main hypotheses. Specifically, the three neighborhoods with the strongest evidence of program implementation showed significant increases in a number of problem areas, such as fear of crime, perceptions of the crime problem, vicarious victimization, and concern about the future of the neighborhood.¹³⁴

The one community organization that pursued organizing block watches as a means of preventing crime in the community, the Northwest Neighborhood Federation, produced three marginally significant results: 1) a greater amount of home security measures taken by residents, 2) an in-

¹³²Rosenbaum, Lewis and Grant, "Neighborhood-Based...., op. cit., p. 127.

¹³³Rosenbaum, Lewis and Grant, The Impact...., op. cit., pp. 168-169.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. iv.

crease in neighborhood problem solving and 3) a more pessimistic outlook on neighborhood change.¹³⁵

In assessing the results of their study the researchers noted that one of the problems may have been unrealistic expectations about the amount of treatment that would be needed to produce results.¹³⁶ They concluded that a one or two hour meeting once a month was not sufficient to bring about the type of change that was desired.

Another problem that needs to be anticipated by community crime prevention programs is complacency resulting from a short-term drop in the crime rate. In Pittsfield, Massachusetts a neighborhood watch was formed in 1979 when there were 682 burglaries.¹³⁷ In 1981 burglaries had declined to 547. Due to citizen complacency however burglaries went back up to 670 in 1982. According to Detective Edward Sherman the increase in 1982 was due to a "false sense of security. The neighborhoods thought that just having the neighborhood-watch poster up would do it," said Sherman.¹³⁸ "Their attitude is 'I'm all set

¹³⁵Rosenbaum, Lewis and Grant, "Neighborhood-Based...., op. cit., p. 129.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 131.

¹³⁷Donald MacGillis and ABC News, Crime in America, Radnor, Pennsylvania: Chilton Book Company, 1983, p. 84.

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 85.

now,' and they go back into their cocoons." ¹³⁹ However he noted that break-ins were not as frequent in areas that still had active watch programs.

Boredom among patrol members is probably the major reason for membership attrition. This along with sudden drops in the crime rate, can spell doom for any organized crime prevention effort because people will not have the necessary enthusiasm and morale needed for the task at hand. It has also been found that community organizations devoted exclusively to fighting crime are not as successful as multi-purpose organizations. ¹⁴⁰ This research has shown that fear of crime many times is not sufficient motivation to get people involved in a collective enterprise for any length of time.

¹³⁹Ibid.

¹⁴⁰Richard P. Taub, D. Garth Taylor and Jan D. Dunham, Paths of Neighborhood Change: Race and Crime in Urban America, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984, p. 184.

Summary and Conclusions

This review of citizen crime prevention organizations has revealed that the successful programs can be characterized by two indices: a decrease in certain crimes, particularly residential burglaries, and an increase in the number of crimes reported to the police. The unsuccessful programs did not have these outcomes. However no conclusions can be drawn as to why certain programs work and others do not. For example it is not clear from the studies presented here whether the racial composition or income level of a neighborhood affects the success of citizen crime prevention efforts. Also no firm conclusions can be made regarding whether either block watches or citizen patrols are the more effective deterrent.

It is clear that most unsuccessful programs are characterized by one or more of the following: lack of enthusiasm, boredom, overoptimistic expectations and increased sensitization to crime as a problem. This last item is almost inevitable when a group of people are brought together to fight crime because people tend to exchange victimization gossip. Fear of crime can become a serious problem if people start to believe that the rising tide of crime is beyond their control.

Chapter 6

Fear of Crime

The Significance of Fear of Crime

Much of the community crime prevention effort in the United States centers around reducing people's fear of crime. In some respects the level of fear of crime is more important than the actual level of crime because people's attitudes and opinions many times are more significant than objective realities. In fact Erskine found that a decline in the crime rate is not always accompanied by a declining level of fear of crime.¹⁴¹

People act on the basis of what they believe to be true. For instance senior citizens living in a low-crime area may become sensitized to crime if they hear that one of their friends or neighbors was mugged in their area. Even if this mugging was the only one in the last year people, particularly senior citizens, will be more fearful.

Paradoxically fear of crime is also more easily subject to control than the actual crime rate. If people can

¹⁴¹Hazel Erskine, "The Polls: Fear of Violence and Crime," Public Opinion Quarterly, Volume 38, Spring, 1974.

be made to see that they have unrealistic assumptions about the local crime rate then perhaps they will be less fearful. It is easier to do this than to prevent actual crimes because of the randomness with which crimes occur.

The Pervasiveness of Fear of Crime

When the American Institute of Public Opinion in 1965 asked: "Is there any area right around here - - that is, within a mile - - where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" seventeen percent of the men and forty-eight percent of the women responded affirmatively.¹⁴² In 1972 twenty percent of the men and fifty-eight percent of the women responded affirmatively to the same question.¹⁴³ Residents of large cities (500,000 plus) compared to residents of small towns (2,500 and below) had a higher fear of crime, forty-eight percent to twenty-one percent in 1965 and forty-eight percent to twenty-four percent in 1972.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴²R.L. Shotland, S. Hayward, C. Young, M. Signorella, K. Mindingall, J. Kennedy, M. Rovine and E. Danowitz, "Fear of Crime in Residential Communities," Criminology, Volume 17, Number 1, May, 1979, p. 25.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁴⁴Ibid.

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration had the U.S. Census Bureau do a series of sample surveys in 1972-1974 to gauge how safe residents felt being out alone at night in their neighborhoods.¹⁴⁵ Interviews were conducted with 10,000 people aged sixteen and older in twenty-six major cities. The mean for those answering somewhat or very unsafe was 44.3%. The mean for New York City was 49.3%.

A Gallup poll in January, 1982 found that forty-eight percent of people were fearful in their own neighborhoods.¹⁴⁶ This was up from forty-two percent in 1972 and thirty-four percent in 1965.

A New York Daily News poll in March, 1982 found that seventy-nine percent of respondents had become more afraid of crime in the last few years.¹⁴⁷ Seventy percent of respondents were afraid to go out at night. Ninety-two percent felt that crime was increasing over the last two years. Sixty-one percent had added door locks and twenty-six percent had installed window bars or burglar alarms.

¹⁴⁵ Wesley G. Skogan and Michael G. Maxfield, Coping with Crime: Individual and Neighborhood Reactions, Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1981, pp. 21-23.

¹⁴⁶ Research and Forecasts, Inc., America Afraid: How Fear of Crime Changes the Way We Live, New York: New American Library, 1983, p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

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Skogan found that victims of rape, robbery, burglary and personal theft were more likely than nonvictims to be afraid while walking the streets of their neighborhood.¹⁴⁸ This did not apply to victims of auto theft, assault and larceny.

Twenty-four percent of respondents to the Figgie Report on Fear of Crime revealed that fear of crime in their neighborhoods prevented them from going to some places that they used to go to.¹⁴⁹ The Figgie Report found that thirty-seven percent of residents of large cities do not go to some places because of fear of crime. The rates for residents of small cities and rural areas were twenty-one percent and sixteen percent respectively.

Conklin studied two communities, one urban and the other suburban, in an eastern metropolitan area.¹⁵⁰ 138 residents of the suburban community and 128 residents of the urban community were interviewed in the spring and summer of 1968. The urban area had a property crime rate

¹⁴⁸ Wesley G. Skogan, "Public Policy and Fear of Crime in Large American Cities," in John A. Gardiner, editor, Public Law and Public Policy, New York: Praeger, 1977.

¹⁴⁹ The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime: America Afraid, Parts I, II and III, New York: Research and Forecasts, Inc., 1980.

¹⁵⁰ John E. Conklin, "Dimensions of Community Response to the Crime Problem," Social Problems, Volume 18, Number 3, Winter, 1971, pp. 373-385.

about three times higher than the suburban area. The personal crime rate was nine times higher in the urban area. When making intergroup comparisons Conklin controlled for such social background characteristics as age, sex, race, education, income, religion and ethnicity. One of the measures used to compare the two groups was a scale of four trust items, the first two specific to the respondent's neighborhood and the second two general. Conklin found that the urban residents were considerably more distrustful than the suburban residents for both the neighborhood and the general questions.

In February, 1984 thirty-two percent of household respondents to a national Victimization Risk Survey felt that their neighborhood was very safe, fifty-nine percent felt it was fairly safe and ten percent felt it was unsafe.¹⁵¹ However about an equal number of those reporting very safe, fairly safe and unsafe also reported participation in a neighborhood watch. The figures were seven percent, eight percent and seven percent respectively.

In the summer of 1977 a survey on fear of crime was done in sixty neighborhoods in Rochester, N.Y., Tampa and

¹⁵¹Catherine J. Whitaker, "Crime Prevention Measures," United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, March, 1986.

St. Petersburg, Florida and St. Louis, Missouri.¹⁵² One of the questions the 12,054 respondents were asked was whether they stayed home at night because of fear of crime. Eleven percent said always and twelve percent said sometimes.

Four communities in Chicago were surveyed by telephone by Lewis and his fear of crime question was how safe people felt being out alone at night in their neighborhoods.¹⁵³ The responses ranged from a low of twenty-nine percent fearful to a high of fifty-four percent fearful. Thirty-two percent of a citywide sample of respondents were found to be fearful.

A study of 244 residents of Los Angeles in the fall of 1977 revealed that personal fear of crime was principally affected by whether or not the person had been a crime victim ($r = .22$).¹⁵⁴ Indirect experience (hearing

¹⁵²Stephen L. Percy, "Citizen Coproduction of Community Safety," pp. 125-134 in Ralph Baker and Fred A. Meyer, Jr., editors, Evaluating Alternative Law-Enforcement Policies, Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1979.

¹⁵³Dan Albert Lewis, "Sociological Theory and the Production of a Social Problem: The Case of Fear of Crime," dissertation, History of Consciousness Program, University of California at Santa Cruz, June, 1980, p. 64.

¹⁵⁴Tom R. Tyler, "Impact of Directly and Indirectly Experienced Events: The Origin of Crime-Related Judgments and Behaviors," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Volume 39, Number 1, 1980, pp. 13-28.

about relatives, friends and neighbors who were crime victims) accounted for only .12 of the variance in people's assessments of their personal vulnerability in this study. However people's perceptions of crime were strongly influenced by the media ($r=.34$).

In a second study in the fall of 1977 1,618 residents of Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco were interviewed by phone, using random digit dialing.¹⁵⁵ This study showed that both direct ($r=.10$) and indirect ($r=.27$) experience of crime were involved in people's assessments of their personal vulnerability, with the latter being much more significant. It was also found that perception of crime levels were primarily influenced by indirect experience ($r=.18$).

The Relationship between Fear of Crime and Crime Rate

In ten neighborhood in Minneapolis McPherson found strong correlations for fear of crime and actual crime rates for the crimes of burglary, robbery, purse snatching and pickpocketing, assault and sexual assault and rape.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, significant correlations were found

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Marlys McPherson, "Realities and Perceptions of Crime at the Neighborhood Level," Victimology, Volume 3, Numbers 3-4, 1978, pp. 319-328.

for actual crime rates and probability of victimization for robbery, assault and sexual assault. In the first case respondents were asked to assess how serious a problem certain crimes were in their neighborhoods: a big problem, some problem or almost no problem. In the second case respondents were asked to estimate the likelihood that they would be crime victims for certain crimes in the next year: almost no chance, less than a fifty percent chance, about a fifty percent chance, better than a fifty percent chance and almost certain to occur.

Furstenberg did a study in Baltimore and found an inverse relationship between fear of crime and crime rates.¹⁵⁷ Thirty-four percent of the people living in low crime areas thought that crime was the most important social problem, twenty-nine percent in medium crime areas and twenty-six percent in high crime areas. Residents of low crime areas were likely to see crime as a threat to the status quo of the social order. Residents of high crime areas were more concerned with unemployment, racial problems and education.

Lewis and Salem studied ten communities - - four in Chicago, three in San Francisco and three in Philadelphia

¹⁵⁷ Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr., "Public Reaction to Crime in the Streets," The American Scholar, Volume XL, Autumn, 1971, pp. 601-610.

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for a research project on fear of crime. Their research showed that some areas with lower crime rates consistently had higher levels of fear of crime and concern about victimization. They also found that some areas with higher crime rates exhibited lower levels of fear of crime and concern about victimization.

Hartnagel did a study based on telephone interviews with 341 residents of Edmonton, Alberta, Canada in 1977.¹⁵⁹ He found no correlation between perception of crime (trends in crime rates) and neighborhood social cohesion. Perception and fear of crime were not affected by victimization. Neither were neighborhood social cohesion and satisfaction with the community. Victimization was found to have no effect on fear of crime or perception of crime. However fear of crime was found to have a negative effect on satisfaction with the neighborhood and the city.

Skogan and Maxfield found the greatest level of fear of crime for those people with the weakest social ties to

¹⁵⁸Dan A. Lewis and Greta Salem, Crime and Urban Community: Towards a Theory of Neighborhood Security, Reactions to Crime Project, Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University, June, 1980.

¹⁵⁹Timothy F. Hartnagel, "The Perception and Fear of Crime: Implications for Neighborhood Cohesion, Social Activity and Community Affect," Social Forces, Volume 58, Number 1, September, 1979, pp.176-193.

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their community. The least fearful were those with the strongest ties.

Warr and Stafford wanted to test a hypothesis, namely that fear of crime is a function of both high perceived risk and high perceived seriousness.¹⁶¹ A mail survey, designed to measure attitudes about fear of victimization and the perceived risk and perceived seriousness of various crimes, was sent to 500 residents of Seattle. The data was computed on the basis of 339 completed surveys, using 11-point (0-10) Likert scales. The correlation between fear and perceived risk was found to be .03. The correlation between fear and perceived seriousness was found to be .31. Warr and Stafford also found that perceived risk and perceived seriousness offset each other, i.e. an increase in perceived risk can be offset by a decrease in perceived seriousness and vice versa. The researchers also found that the situation that produced the highest level of fear for respondents was having someone break into their home while they were away.

¹⁶⁰ Wesley G. Skogan and Michael G. Maxfield, Coping with Crime: Individual and Neighborhood Reactions, Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1981, p. 120.

¹⁶¹ Mark Warr and Mark Stafford, "Fear of Victimization: A Look at the Proximate Causes," Social Forces, Volume 61, Number 4, June, 1983, pp. 1033-1043.

Quality of Life, Incivilities and Fear of Crime

Garofalo and Laub have argued that fear of crime includes within it concern about quality of life in a neighborhood, i.e. alcoholics and drug addicts hanging around, existence of X-rated movie theaters, dirty streets, etc.¹⁶² Poveda found that much fear of crime in a small industrial town in California was due to fear of teenagers hanging out in the area.¹⁶³

Lewis found that the neighborhood that had the second lowest crime rate of the four neighborhoods he studied in Chicago also had the highest fear of crime.¹⁶⁴ He found that four factors largely accounted for neighborhood fear of crime. These factors were: teenagers hanging out on the streets, abandoned buildings, use of illegal drugs and vandalism. He called these factors incivilities. Where these factors are found in abundance it can be surmised that there is weakened or nonexistent informal social con-

¹⁶² James Garofalo and John Laub, "The Fear of Crime: Broadening Our Perspective," Victimology, Volume 3, Numbers 3-4, 1978, pp. 242-253.

¹⁶³ Tony Poveda, "The Fear of Crime in a Small Town," Crime and Delinquency, Volume 18, 1972, pp. 147-153.

¹⁶⁴ Lewis (1980) op. cit., pp. 102-144.

trol. People who live in these areas intuitively think and act on this basis and thus will tend to exhibit a high level of fear of crime even though the actual crime rate may be low.

Lewis and Maxfield studied four Chicago neighborhoods in 1976 and 1977 and they found that fear of crime was connected to the crime rate but also to such incivilities as Lewis (1980) identified.¹⁶⁵ Lewis and Maxfield found that areas with higher crime rates but low concern about incivilities had lower levels of fear of crime. Also areas with lower crime rates but high concern about incivilities had higher levels of fear of crime.

Demographic Characteristics of Who is Afraid

For their study on fear of crime Clemente and Kleiman used a sample of 2,700 nationwide respondents who were part of the 1973 and 1974 General Social Surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.¹⁶⁶ Their results showed that sex and size

¹⁶⁵Dan A. Lewis and Michael G. Maxfield, "Fear in the Neighborhoods: An Investigation of the Impact of Crime," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Volume 17, Number 2, July, 1980, pp. 160-189.

¹⁶⁶Frank Clemente and Michael B. Kleiman, "Fear of Crime in the United States: A Multivariate Analysis," Social Forces, Volume 56, Number 2, December, 1977, pp. 519-531.

of community were the strongest predictors of fear of crime meaning that females and residents of large cities (250,000 plus) were the most likely to report being afraid to walk alone within a mile of their home at night. Of the two sex was the strongest predictor. They also found that race, age, income and education were not strong predictors of who would be afraid of crime.

Skogan and Maxfield's study in Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco was particularly concerned with how fearful people are of crime.¹⁶⁷ One of the questions they asked was whether the respondents felt very unsafe when out alone at night in their neighborhoods. Females reported feeling very unsafe about $3\frac{1}{2}$ times more frequently than males. The least fearful age group was twenty-one to thirty-two and the most fearful was sixty and over. 20.1% of Blacks and 12.6% of Whites reported feeling very unsafe. The income range reporting the highest fear level was those earning under \$6,000: 27.4% and the lowest was for those earning \$15,000 to \$20,000: 6.5%.

Skogan came up with some paradoxical findings when his study showed the lowest fear level for the group with the highest level of victimization, young Black males.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷Skogan and Maxfield (1981), op. cit., p. 75.

¹⁶⁸Wesley G. Skogan, "Victimization Surveys and Criminal Justice Planning," University of Cincinnati Law Review, Volume 45, Number 2, 1976, pp. 167-206.

The highest fear levels were found for the group with the lowest level of victimization, elderly women.

Ortega and Myles used 1979 survey data from eight Chicago neighborhoods to determine whether the effects of age, race and gender on fear of crime were additive or interactive.¹⁶⁹ Five of the neighborhoods were high-crime areas and three were low-crime areas. Thirty-nine percent of the telephone interview respondents were Black, sixty-eight percent female and sixty-two percent resided in high-crime areas. The median age was forty-three. Only gender was found to have a significant independent effect, with females being more fearful than males. White females were found to be less fearful in relation to White males compared to the differences between Black females and Black males. It was also found that the level of fear increased faster with age for Blacks than for Whites. The most fearful group was found to be older Black females. The least fearful group was younger Black males. For Whites the level of fear was found to decline with age for both sexes, for Blacks it increased, again for both sexes. These results tend to show that the effects of

¹⁶⁹Suzanne T. Ortega and Jessie L. Myles, "Race and Gender Effects on Fear of Crime: An Interactive Model with Age," Criminology, Volume 25, Number 1, February, 1987, pp. 133-152.

age, race and gender are interactive and not simply additive.

When the variable of crime rate was added to the regression equation it was found that the difference between White males and Black males living in high-crime areas was more pronounced, with Whites being more fearful. Also older White females replaced older Black females as the most fearful group. Therefore the higher fear levels of Black females in the total sample are partly a function of the fact that they more frequently live in higher-crime neighborhoods where the chances of being a crime victim are greater. Another trend noted was that age differences for Whites leveled off in the high-crime areas. This did not happen for Blacks where increased age continued to play a role in the level of fear. Also in the low-crime areas it was found that only gender, and not race and age, played a significant role in the fear levels.

Stafford and Galle used data from the National Crime Survey (NCS) for Chicago for 1973 for a study on fear of crime.¹⁷⁰ 21,000 people from 10,000 households were interviewed concerning crime victimization in 1972. The results showed that fear of crime more strongly correlated with

¹⁷⁰Mark C. Stafford and Omer C. Galle, "Victimization Rates, Exposure to Risk, and Fear of Crime," Criminology, Volume 22, Number 2, May, 1984, pp. 173-185.

victimization when victimization was adjusted for exposure to risk. However, sex and age, in that order, were still found to be the most important factors in explaining fear of crime.

In his analysis of National Crime Survey data Balkin¹⁷¹ came to several conclusions:

- the higher levels of fear of crime for the elderly and women despite their lower rates of victimization were still rational because these groups exposed themselves to risk at a much lower rate.

- measured victimization rates can be both positively and negatively related to the actual risk of crime, again because exposure to crime was not factored in.

- when exposure was included there were higher correlations between fear of crime and victimization than most government studies indicate.

- exposure was negatively related to fear of crime.

It seems reasonable to conclude that age, race, gender, income, seriousness of crime and exposure to risk all interact with each other to determine what an individual's fear of crime level will be.

¹⁷¹Steven Balkin, "Victimization Rates, Safety and Fear of Crime," Social Problems, Volume 26, Number 3, February, 1979, pp. 343-358.

The Relationship between Citizen Anti-Crime Organizations
and Fear of Crime

There is conflicting evidence concerning the relationship between fear of crime and participation in neighborhood anti-crime activities. Skogan has noted that Greenberg found that community crime control programs are less likely to be found in heterogeneous areas and areas with already high levels of fear of crime.¹⁷²

Yaden et al. found that twenty-three percent of respondents in Portland, Oregon who reported a high level of apprehension about being victimized by crime also reported participation in neighborhood anti-crime efforts.¹⁷³ Only nine percent perceiving low risk reported involvement.

Lavrakas and Herz found a high correlation between concern about neighborhood crime, fear of personal victimization and attendance at anti-crime meetings in metro-

¹⁷² Wesley Skogan, "Fear of Crime and Neighborhood Change," pp. 203-229 in Albert J. Reiss, Jr. and Michael Tonry, editors, Communities and Crime, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986 citing Stephanie W. Greenberg, "External Solutions to Neighborhood-based Problems: The Case of Community Crime Prevention," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Law and Society Association, June, 1983.

¹⁷³ D. Yaden, S. Folkstand and P. Glazer, The Impact of Crime in Selected Neighborhoods: A Study of Public Attitudes in Four Portland Census Tracts, Portland, Oregon: Campaign Information Counselors, 1973.

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politan Chicago.

Pennell found that people involved in neighborhood crime prevention organizations generally exhibited greater fear of crime than those not involved. ¹⁷⁵ This is probably because they more often hear about incidents of crime.

Baumer and DuBow, however, found no link in Chicago between participation in neighborhood anti-crime efforts and perception of crime problems between participants and nonparticipants. ¹⁷⁶ Maxfield found no differences between attenders and nonattenders at neighborhood anti-crime meetings in Cincinnati and Portland and their feelings about neighborhood safety. ¹⁷⁷

Cohn, et al., found that participants in community organizations reported that they felt more in control of

¹⁷⁴ P.J. Lavrakas and E J. Herz, "An Investigation of Citizen Participation in Crime Prevention Meetings and Other Anti-Crime Activities," Evanston, IL: Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University, 1979.

¹⁷⁵ Frances E. Pennell, "Collective vs. Private Strategies for Coping with Crime: The Consequences for Citizen Perceptions of Crime, Attitudes towards the Police and Neighboring Activity," Journal of Voluntary Action Research, Volume 7, 1978, pp. 59-74.

¹⁷⁶ T.L. Baumer and F. DuBow, "Fear of Crime in the Polls: What They Do and Do Not Tell Us," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association of Public Opinion Research, Buck Hills Falls, Pennsylvania, May 20-22, 1977.

¹⁷⁷ Michael G. Maxfield, "Reactions to Fear," Evanston, IL: Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University, 1977.

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 crime and less fearful than nonparticipants. The re-
 searchers got responses concerning fear of crime from
 eighty-one people (thirty-one men and fifty women) in a
 White working class neighborhood in Philadelphia. Twenty-
 four respondents belonged to a community organization
 working to improve life in the area, including preventing
 crime. Forty respondents also reported avoidance behaviors
 such as staying out of dangerous areas. The people who re-
 ported more avoidance behaviors also had more fear and
 felt less control over crime.

The Citizens Committee for New York City found that
 neighborhood watchfulness, particularly for times when
 people were away, was associated with lower fear of crime.¹⁷⁹
 They also found an inverse relationship between informal
 social control and fear of crime on the block level.

In a random sample of residents living in areas with
 block watches in Washington, D.C. eighty-three percent of
 them said that they felt safer after the watch was started.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸Ellen S. Cohn, Louise H. Kidder and Joan Harvey,
 "Crime Prevention vs. Victimization Prevention: The Psy-
 chology of Two Different Reactions," Victimology, Volume
 3, Numbers 3-4, 1978, pp. 285-296.

¹⁷⁹Citizens Committee for New York City, "Block Boo-
 ster Project: Building Better Block Associations," Annual
 Report to the Ford Foundation, September, 1985, p. 2.

¹⁸⁰Jeffrey R. Henig, Citizens Against Crime: An
 Assessment of the Neighborhood Watch Program in Washing-
 ton, D.C., Center for Washington Area Studies, George
 Washington University, December, 1984, p. 28.

Not all community anti-crime organizations report positive results regarding fear of crime. Lewis et al. noted that of the five community organizations in Chicago that they studied closely fear of crime remained the same in two and actually increased in three.¹⁸¹

Skogan and Maxfield found that nineteen percent of people who were victims of burglary within the last two years in Chicago, San Francisco and Philadelphia were members of community anti-crime groups.¹⁸² Twelve percent of nonvictims were also members. Conversely fifteen percent of people who said that they felt safe in their neighborhoods reported being involved with a neighborhood anti-crime organization. Only ten percent of those feeling unsafe reported such involvement.

As Skogan and Maxfield have pointed out, the first example above follows the theory of Emile Durkheim who predicted greater community cohesion against law violators.¹⁸³ The second set of statistics support the view of John Conklin who stated that crime immobilizes people

¹⁸¹Dan A. Lewis, Jane A. Grant and Dennis P. Rosenbaum, The Social Construction of Reform: Crime Prevention and Community Organizations, Final Report: Volume Two, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, September 20, 1985, pp. 146-147.

¹⁸²Skogan and Maxfield, op. cit., p. 232.

¹⁸³Ibid., pp. 232-233.

rather than activates them.

The significance of perceptions over realities can be seen in the Skogan and Maxfield study where many more people reported being fearful of crime than reported direct involvement with crime and the highest levels of fear were found in the areas with the lowest rates of victimization.¹⁸⁴

Summary

From this review of the literature on fear of crime it seems apparent that the greatest influences on fear of crime are sex, age, size of community and vicarious victimization (hearing about crimes from neighbors, friends and relatives and through the media). Fear of crime may be obviated somewhat by participation in a community anti-crime organization because the participants may feel more in control over what happens in their neighborhoods. However, fear of crime may be increased by participation because the participants are exposed to more criminal incidents.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., p. 257.

PART II

SIX CITIZEN CRIME PATROLS IN NEW YORK CITY

Chapter 7

Background on Patrols

This research project looked at six neighborhoods in New York City that have citizen crime patrols. Two of the patrols, Assumption and Williamsbridge, are in the Bronx, three of them, Pratt, Midwood and Nottingham, are in Brooklyn and one, Rochdale, is in Queens.

One variable of this study is neighborhood homogeneity/heterogeneity. It was included in order to determine whether it had any effect on patrol success and fear of crime. An effort was made to select areas that represented a variety of ethnically homogeneous and heterogeneous possibilities. For example, the Assumption and Pratt patrols operate in moderately heterogeneous areas. Williamsbridge is in a highly heterogeneous area. Nottingham and Midwood represent homogeneous White areas and Rochdale is in a homogeneous Black area. Table 1 describes the racial mix of these various patrol areas. All of the patrol areas are middle class; Nottingham has the highest mean income of the six areas.

Assumption

The Assumption Security Patrol was started in 1975

Table 1 Racial Composition of Six Citizen Crime Patrol Areas in New York City

Patrol	White(N)	%	Black(N)	%	Hispanic(N)	%
Assumption	41,786	76.4	4,203	7.7	12,090	22.1
Williams- bridge	14,413	38.3	19,023	50.6	7,523	20.0
Nottingham	8,881	93.1	358	3.8	254	2.7
Midwood	45,652	93.7	824	1.7	2,251	4.6
Pratt	9,568	18.6	35,687	69.3	8,526	16.6
Rochdale	1,577	11.2	12,282	86.9	439	3.1

Source: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts, New York, N.Y. - N.J. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Section 1, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, August, 1983.

Note: The totals may exceed 100% because persons of Hispanic origin may be of either race.

and it operates in the northwestern part of the Bronx in the Norwood and Bedford Park sections. It has a daytime patrol from 12 P.M. to 4 P.M.; evening patrols operate from 7 P.M. to 9 P.M. and 9 P.M. to 11 P.M. The patrol has two cars each of which patrols a different section of the patrol's boundaries. There are usually two people in each car on patrol. The patrol currently has about

seventy-five active volunteers. The patrol is supported largely through private donations.

The population of the area served by the patrol is 54,663.¹⁸⁵ It is about seventy-six percent White.¹⁸⁶ In 1980 the area had a mean income of \$14,921.¹⁸⁷

Williamsbridge

The Williamsbridge Community Mobile Patrol operates in the Williamsbridge section of the Bronx which is the north central part of the borough. The patrol was started in 1976 when a young Black boy in the neighborhood was killed while he was being robbed of his sheepskin jacket. The patrol has ten active volunteers. The patrol does not have its own cars but rather seven to eight of its volunteers use their cars during their various patrol shifts. Two to three cars go out Monday through Friday from 7 P.M. to 10 P.M.

The patrol area has a population of 37,590.¹⁸⁸ About

¹⁸⁵1980 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts, New York, N.Y. - N.J. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Section 1, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, August, 1983.

¹⁸⁶Ibid.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., Section 2.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., Section 1.

fifty-one percent of the residents are Black, thirty-eight percent are White.¹⁸⁹ Also about twenty percent are Hispanics with members belonging to both primary racial groups.¹⁹⁰ The mean income of the area in 1980 was \$15,503.

Midwood

The Midwood Civic Action Council operates in the central part of Brooklyn. The patrol was started in 1979. During the daytime, from 10 A.M. to 6 P.M., there is a paid patrol. At night, from 8 P.M. to 11 P.M., there is a volunteer patrol. The high crime rate in the area spurred the residents to start the patrol. The patrol has only one car. It has 250 to 300 active volunteers which means that people are called upon only once or twice a year to go out on patrol. The patrol is supported by contributions from residents and merchants in the area. Besides crime prevention the Midwood Civic Action Council is involved in monitoring sanitation, potholes and the area's buses and subways.

The patrol area has a population of 45,652.¹⁹¹ About

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., Section 2.

¹⁹¹Ibid., Section 1.

ninety-four percent of the people are White, primarily Jewish.¹⁹² There are about two percent Black and five percent Hispanic living in the area as well.¹⁹³ The mean income of the area in 1980 was \$19,357.¹⁹⁴

Nottingham

The Nottingham Association also operates in the Midwood section of central Brooklyn; however, its boundaries and those of the Midwood Civic Action Council do not overlap. The Nottingham patrol was started in 1977. During the summer the patrols start at 11 A.M. and end at midnight. The patrol has about 280 volunteers which means that the volunteers are asked to serve about twice a year.

The patrol area has a population of 9,538.¹⁹⁵ Ninety-three percent of the residents are White, primarily Jewish.¹⁹⁶ About four percent of the residents are Black and three percent are Hispanic.¹⁹⁷ In 1980 the mean in-

¹⁹²Ibid.

¹⁹³Ibid.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., Section 2.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., Section 1.

¹⁹⁶Ibid.

¹⁹⁷Ibid.

come for the area was \$26,217.¹⁹⁸

Pratt

The Pratt Area Community Council (PACC) is located in the northwestern part of Brooklyn in the neighborhoods of Fort Greene and Clinton Hill. PACC was started in 1964. Housing issues were and still are the dominant concern. The crime patrol was initiated in September, 1985 after an increase in burglaries and robberies in the area. PACC volunteers use their own cars and patrol in teams. The patrols go out Monday through Friday in two shifts, each two hours (7 P.M. to 9 P.M. and 9 P.M. to 11 P.M.).

The area has a population of 51,471.¹⁹⁹ Sixty-nine percent of the residents are Black, nineteen percent are White and seventeen percent are Hispanic, the latter belonging to both primary racial groups.²⁰⁰ In 1980 the area had a mean income of \$13,499.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸Ibid., Section 2.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., Section 1.

²⁰⁰Ibid.

²⁰¹Ibid., Section 2.

Rochdale Village

The Rochdale Village Patrol operates in the Rochdale Village housing complex which is located in Springfield Gardens in the southeastern section of Queens. Rochdale Village has twenty buildings. The patrol was started in 1980 because of an increase in auto thefts in the housing complex parking lots. The patrol has one car; two people patrol in the car. The patrol has twenty volunteers.

The area's population is 14,134.²⁰² Eighty-seven percent of the people are Black, eleven percent are White and three percent are Hispanic.²⁰³ In 1980 the area had a mean income of \$16,433.²⁰⁴

²⁰²Ibid., Section 1.

²⁰³Ibid.

²⁰⁴Ibid., Section 2.

Chapter 8

Hypotheses and Methodology

This research project was undertaken to examine several hypotheses concerning community crime prevention efforts. Among these are:

- Citizen patrols, block watch programs and block associations do not have a significant effect on the crime rate. There are many anecdotal and impressionistic studies that suggest that citizen programs reduce crime rates but few empirical studies support these claims. Many crimes that are committed randomly and spontaneously are not likely to be reduced by citizen patrols just as increased police patrols have been found to be largely ineffective in controlling crime.²⁰⁵

- Citizen crime prevention efforts do significantly decrease the fear of crime of neighborhood residents

²⁰⁵Some of the studies that indicate this include: James P. Levine, "The Ineffectiveness of Adding Police to Prevent Crime," Public Policy, Volume 23, 1975, pp. 523-545; Jan M. Chaiken, What's Known About Deterrent Effects of Police Activities, Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation, 1977; Geroge Kelling et al., The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment, Washington, D.C.: Police Foundation, 1974; S. James Press, Some Effects of an Increase in Police Manpower in the 20th Precinct of New York City, Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation, 1971; Peter B. Bloch and David I. Specht, Evaluation of Operation Neighborhood, Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1973; John Jay Rouse, "The Relationship between Police Presence and Crime Deterrence," The Police Journal, Volume LVIII, Number 2, April-June, 1985, pp. 118-131.

primarily because program participants feel more in control of what is going on in their area.

- Social control in a neighborhood is related to the level of homogeneity in the area but its impact is not overwhelming. Ethnic homogeneity and its effect on social control is an intervening variable, not an independent variable.

The following census data was collected for the six communities studied:

- 1) total population
- 2) population, 15-24 years old
- 3) population that is White, Black and Hispanic
- 4) ethnic composition of population
- 5) mean income levels

New York City Police Department precinct maps were used to match precincts, sectors and posts with the appropriate census tracts. Department post analysis reports were used to obtain crime data for the precincts, sectors and posts under study. For the purposes of this research the crime data are an independent variable.

The research for this dissertation also included contacting the leaders of the six community patrols to obtain answers to the following questions:

- What programs exist?
- How are they implemented?

- When did the patrol start?
- What was the impetus for its formation?
- What are the geographic boundaries of the patrol area?
- How many active volunteers are involved in the patrol?

A six-page telephone survey questionnaire was developed to administer to 500 randomly selected residents living in the patrol areas. Each patrol area represented one-sixth of the total sample. The first three digits of each phone number, the telephone exchange, were obtained through the use of reverse telephone directories that are arranged geographically by street rather than alphabetically by name. Once all of the relevant three-digit telephone exchanges were obtained for the six target areas the remaining four numbers were obtained through the use of a table of random numbers. Random digit dialing techniques, suggested by Dillman and Tuchfarber and Klecka, were used. 206

The purpose of the questionnaire was to obtain information pertaining to respondents' beliefs, behaviors and attributes. Of the fifteen variables all but four of them,

206
Don A. Dillman, Mail and Telephone Surveys, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978; Alfred J. Tuchfarber and William R. Klecka, Random Digit Dialing: Lowering the Cost of Victimization Surveys, Police Foundation, 1976.

the crime rate, level of homogeneity/heterogeneity, the number of fifteen to nineteen year olds and twenty to twenty-four year olds were measured through the use of the survey questionnaire.

The level of homogeneity/heterogeneity was measured from information found in census data. Census data includes the number of Whites, Blacks and Hispanics in each census tract. It also includes data on the number of fifteen to nineteen year olds and twenty to twenty to twenty-four year olds in each census tract.

The eleven variables that were measured through the questionnaire were:

- 1) Fear of crime (level of safety felt at night and during the day)
- 2) Awareness of the patrol
- 3) Participation in patrol
- 4) Patrols' effects on feelings of safety
- 5) Social cohesion (level of borrowing and loaning among neighbors, level of visiting and being visited by neighbors, response to graffiti, recognition of strangers)
- 6) Age
- 7) Race
- 8) Ethnic background
- 9) Education
- 10) Income

11) Sex

All of these variables are independent except for fear of crime, victimization and social cohesion which are dependent. Standard regression was done to determine the level of variance explained by each of the independent variables.

The crime rate is based on N.Y.P.D. post analysis reports. These reports, available at police headquarters, summarize precinct reports of crimes that occurred within each precinct. Seventeen crime categories are covered. The reports are stored in a central computer file. At the end of each month a computer printout is produced showing the number of crimes in each precinct for that month and the cumulative number of crimes for year to date. Precinct crime statistics are reported by precinct sectors and posts.

The Telephone Survey

The telephone survey was conducted from October, 1986 to February, 1987. The survey resulted in 500 completed questionnaires. The calls were made on weekday evenings and on weekend days and nights. Altogether about 5,000 phone calls were made in order to obtain the 500 completed surveys. Many calls, about 4,500, included

refusals, commercial establishments, no answers, busy signals, hang ups and answering machines.

The two patrols in the Bronx, Assumption and Williams-bridge, had the same three-digit telephone exchanges which created an uneven distribution in the number of completed surveys for these two areas. The same was true for two out of three of the Brooklyn patrols, Midwood and Nottingham.

The questionnaire used in the survey can be found in the appendix.

Chapter 9

Six Citizen Patrols and Fear of Crime

Respondent Demographics

Table 2 shows the number of survey respondents by patrol area.

Table 2 Respondent Frequency Distribution Among Six Citizen Crime Patrols

Patrol	Number of Respondents	Percent
Assumption	117	23.4
Williamsbridge	50	10.0
Midwood	123	24.6
Nottingham	43	8.6
Pratt	83	16.6
Rochdale	84	16.8
All patrols	500	100.0

The phone survey included many questions concerning the demographic characteristics of the survey population. The first of these questions dealt with the respondent's type of residence. 60.7% of respondents rented, 20.6% owned a condominium or a cooperative and 18.6% owned a private house. While renting was the predominant type of

residence, Rochdale stands out as an exception among the patrol areas studied since it is a cooperative complex. Table 3 contains data on type of residence.

Table 3 Type of Residence by Patrol Area

Patrol	Own private house		Own condo or co-op		Rent	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Assumption	11	9.4	3	2.6	103	88.0
Williamsbridge	11	22.0	8	16.0	31	62.0
Midwood	40	33.9	2	1.7	76	64.4
Nottingham	18	41.9	1	2.3	24	55.8
Pratt	12	14.6	9	11.0	61	74.4
Rochdale	0	0.0	79	94.0	5	6.0

13.2% of respondents live in single-family residences. This ranged from a low of 0% of Rochdale and 1.2% of Pratt area residents to 34.9% of Nottingham area residents. These figures do not correspond to the figures in Table 3 because some people who own private houses rent out a part of their house.

Respondents were also asked about the number of people in their household. This information can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4 Number of People in Household

Number of people	#	%
1	96	19.9
2	123	25.5
3	93	19.3
4	78	16.1
5	52	10.8
over 5	41	8.5
Totals	483	100.0

Respondents were asked to give their age. The youngest respondent was twelve and the oldest was ninety. Only 368 (73.6%) of respondents would give their age. The vast majority of those unwilling to disclose their age were women. Of those respondents who gave their age 55.4% were age forty or younger.

Two-thirds of all respondents were female. No attempt was made to try to get an equal number of male and female respondents. The person who answered the phone was the one who was asked to participate in the survey. The greater number of female participants is probably a result of the fact that 1) women answered the phone more frequently and 2) women often live alone particularly in older age.

Whites comprised 44.9% of all respondents, Blacks, 38.7%, Orientals, 3.4% and Other, 13.0%. The vast majority of the Other category are actually Hispanics, many of whom identified themselves as neither White nor Black.

The largest ethnic representations in the survey were Jewish (17.0%) and Hispanic (12.8%). No other ethnic group had over ten percent representation in the total sample.

College graduates made up about twenty-seven percent of the total sample. High school graduates made up about eighty percent of the total. About eleven percent of respondents had either some high school or were still in high school. Ten percent of respondents had either some elementary school or were still in elementary school.

Only 379 respondents were willing to give information about their income. Of those answering, the income categories were as follows:

Under \$10,000	16.6%
\$10,000 to \$20,000	22.2%
\$20,000 to \$30,000	27.2%
\$30,000 to \$40,000	12.7%
\$40,00 and over	21.4%

Of the 500 respondents only half (253) knew the name of the neighborhood in which they lived. The percentage who knew their neighborhood's name varied considerably from one patrol area to another. Table 5 presents this data.

Table 5 Respondent Frequency Distribution Regarding Knowledge of Neighborhood Name Among Six Citizen Crime Patrol Areas

Patrol	Know of Name	%	Do Not Know of name	%
Assumption	30	25.6	87	74.4
Williamsbridge	9	18.0	41	82.0
Midwood	69	56.1	54	43.9
Nottingham	22	51.2	21	48.8
Pratt	49	59.0	34	41.0
Rochdale	74	88.1	10	11.9
All patrols	253	50.6	247	49.4

Knowledge of Patrols

Less than half of the respondents, 42.8%, knew that there was a citizen crime patrol in their area. More female respondents, 44.6%, were aware of the patrol than male respondents, 39.2%. Knowledge about the patrols varied considerably from one patrol area to another.

Table 6 presents these results.

Multiple regression indicates that only three variables are salient predictors regarding knowledge of the patrols. This can be seen in Table 7.

Table 6 Respondent Frequency Distribution Regarding Knowledge of Patrol Among Six Citizen Crime Patrol Areas

Patrol	Know of Patrol	%	Do Not Know of Patrol	%
Assumption	40	34.2	77	65.8
Williamsbridge	10	20.0	40	80.0
Midwood	54	43.9	69	56.1
Nottingham	32	74.4	11	25.6
Pratt	11	13.3	72	86.7
Rochdale	67	79.8	17	20.2
All patrols	214	42.8	286	57.2

Table 7 Salient Predictors Regarding Knowledge of the Patrols

Independent variables	Simple		Semipartial		Incremental	F	p
	r	r ²	r	r ²			
HISP	.40	.16	.52	.270	.163	30.18	.0001
TOTCP86	.39	.15	.73	.533	.255	26.28	.0001
Patrols*	.27	.07	-.69	.476	.733	140.23	.0001

Code: HISP - percentage of Hispanics in census tracts of patrol areas.

TOTCP86 - total number of crimes in 1986 for precinct sectors and posts in which the patrol areas are located.

PATROLS - interpatrol differences between Pratt and Rochdale

* dummy coded variable

It can be seen from Tables 6 and 7 that the most im-

portant variable explaining knowledge of the patrols was which of the six patrol areas was being examined. The number of Hispanics living in the pertinent census tracts and the total crimes for the applicable precincts for 1986 together explained about a quarter of the variance.

Among the 214 respondents who knew of the patrols' existence about fifty-five percent knew the name of the patrol in their area. Only thirty-two percent knew how long the patrol had existed. Out of the 500 respondents in the survey only ten (two percent) answered that they or a member of their household were an active member of a patrol. Pratt was the only patrol area that failed to produce even a single patrol member. This is not surprising given that only thirteen percent of the respondents in the area even knew that the patrol existed. One possible explanation for this is that Pratt is the newest of the six patrols studied. The Pratt patrol started a little over a year before the telephone survey was done.

Feelings of Safety

With regard to the patrols' effect on feelings of safety, 200 of the 214 respondents who knew of the patrol in their area had an opinion: 14% felt much safer due to the patrol; 55.5% felt somewhat safer; and 30.5% did not

feel any safer. The increased sense of safety existed despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of people did not personally participate in the patrols. However there was a sharp contrast in the answers of male and female respondents. Table 8 clearly shows this. Females reported the highest levels of feeling much safer whereas males reported the highest levels of not feeling any impact.

Table 8 Perceptions of Safety by Gender for Six Citizen Crime Patrols (%)

Gender	Feel Much safer	Feel somewhat safer	Do not feel any safer
Male	7.9	52.4	39.7
Female	16.8	56.9	26.3

The two variables that are salient predictors through multiple regression are: 1) whether the respondent knew of a neighbor who had been victimized by crime in the last five years and 2) the gender of the respondent. These two variables accounted for about a fifth of the variance for the dependent variable of patrols' effect on feelings of safety. This can be seen in Table 9.

Table 9 Salient Predictors Regarding Patrols' Effect on Feelings of Safety

Independent variables	Simple		Semi-partial		Incre-mental	F	p
	r	r ²	r	r ²	r ²		
NEIVCT5	-.24	.06	-.24	.058	.06	4.59	.036
GENDER	-.44	.19	-.44	.194	.19	4.54	.046

Code: NEIVCT5 - respondent knowledge of a neighbor or neighbors who had been crime victims in the last five years.

Victimization

The next question in the survey had to do with whether anyone in the respondent's household had been a crime victim in the last year. Fifty-seven respondents (11.4%) answered this question affirmatively.

Because of small sample size in individual categories all four questions pertaining to victimization were combined for the multiple regression equation. The four categories of victimization were: household victimization in the last year, neighbor victimization in the last year, household victimization in the last five years and neighbor victimization in the last five years. The only variable that was a predictor in the regression equation was the length of time respondents had lived at their current addresses. However, as can be seen in Table 10 length of

residency accounted for less than three percent of the variance.

Table 10 Salient Predictor for Victimization
(Four Categories)

Independent variable	Simple		Semi-partial		Incre- mental	F	p
	r	r ²	r	r ²	r ²		
TIMLIV	-.16	.02	-.16	.026	.025	3.93	.049

Of those reporting household crime victimization in the last year, the distribution by crime category is shown in Table 11.

Table 11 Respondent Household Crime Victimization
in the Last Year by Type of Crime

Crime	Number	%
Burglary	11	19.6
Robbery	13	23.2
Assault	5	8.9
Auto Theft	7	12.5
Vandalism	7	12.5
Variety of crimes	4	7.1
Other	9	16.1
All crimes	56	100.0

Table 12 indicates the distribution by crime category for those reporting household crime victimization in the last five years.

Table 12 Respondent Household Crime Victimization in the Last Five Years by Type of Crime

Crime	Number	%
Burglary	36	39.6
Robbery	21	23.1
Assault	1	1.1
Auto Theft	5	5.5
Vandalism	5	5.5
Variety of crimes	10	10.9
Other	13	14.3
All crimes	91	100.0

Many more people mentioned being burglarized in the last five years compared to the last year whereas the number of robberies remained about the same.

The frequency of respondents knowing of neighbors who were crime victims in the last year was 37.3%. These figures include six respondents who said that they knew of a homicide involving a neighbor. The most frequently mentioned crimes involving neighbors in the last year

were burglary, 40.1%; robbery, 22.0%; and reports of many different kinds of crimes, 20.3%.

One-hundred and seventy respondents, 34.5%, reported knowing of a neighbor who was a crime victim in the last five years. This was less than for the last year but there are two explanations for this:

1) People were asked not to include the crimes which they knew of involving neighbors in the last year.

2) People tend to remember what has happened over the most recent period of time.

For the last five years the most frequently mentioned crimes regarding neighbors were burglary, 37.0%; instances of many crimes, 31.5%; and robbery, 18.8%. The responses were very similar for household and neighbor victimization in the last five years for the crimes of burglary and robbery.

Crime Trends

With regard to the question as to whether within the last year or two people felt that crime in their area had increased, decreased or remained about the same, the responses were as follows:

Crime has increased 29.1%

Crime has decreased 8.8%

Remained the same 47.9%
 Do not know 14.2%

Fear of Crime

Half of the respondents in the survey reported feeling either very unsafe or somewhat unsafe when out alone at night in their neighborhoods. Table 13 shows these results.

Table 13 Levels of Fear When Out Alone at Night in Neighborhood

Perception	#	%
Very unsafe	128	25.7
Somewhat unsafe	123	24.6
Somewhat safe	170	34.1
Very safe	78	15.6
Totals	499	100.0

Multiple regression indicates that four variables are predictors for the level of safety felt by respondents when they are out alone at night in their neighborhoods. These variables are: gender of the respondent, mean income of the respondent, age of the respondent and how the respondent would react to unknown fifteen to seventeen

year olds seen doing graffiti. These data are in Table 14.

Table 14 Salient Predictors for Level of Safety Felt by Respondents when they are Out Alone at Night in their Neighborhoods

Independent Variables	Simple		Semi-partial		Incremental r^2	F	p
	r	r^2	r	r^2			
Gender	-.29	.08	-.26	.068	.084	14.04	.0001
MINC	.25	.06	.26	.068	.150	13.36	.0001
AGE	-.24	.06	-.22	.048	.213	13.64	.0001
GRAF2	-.24	.06	-.16	.026	.241	11.90	.0001

Code: MINC - mean income of the applicable census tracts for 1980.

GRAF2 - how the respondent would react to unknown fifteen to seventeen year olds doing graffiti.

Level of safety when out alone at night in one's neighborhood is associated positively with mean income and negatively with gender, age and response to unknown fifteen to seventeen year olds doing graffiti. Altogether these four variables account for about a quarter of the total variance for this variable. The data indicates that more women than men report feeling unsafe at night. More older people feel unsafe. Also more people who would not intervene, compared to those who would, if they witnessed

unknown fifteen to seventeen year olds doing graffiti, report feeling unsafe. People who live in higher income areas report less fear when out alone at night in their neighborhoods.

The two areas where people felt the most safe when out alone at night were Midwood and Nottingham, both in the Midwood section of Brooklyn. One reason for this may be that these two areas had among the lowest robbery rates in 1985 and 1986 among the six patrol areas studied. This can be seen in Table 15.

Table 15 Rates for Robbery and All Crimes per 1000 by Patrol Area and Citywide for 1985 and 1986

Patrol	1985		1986	
	Robberies	All crimes	Robberies	All crimes
Assumption	5.9	73.8	6.6	71.8
Williams- bridge	2.6	26.6	2.4	29.8
Midwood	3.8	62.3	3.6	72.6
Nottingham	5.2	61.6	3.8	64.5
Pratt	28.4	151.9	28.0	163.8
Rochdale	7.4	68.8	5.2	67.1
Citywide	11.0	116.0	11.1	125.4

Source: New York Police Department, Post Analysis Reports, 1985 and 1986.

Note: The patrol area crime rates are based on the rates for the precinct sectors and posts that correspond to the patrol areas.

One interesting finding is that the respondents in the Williamsbridge patrol area reported levels of fear clearly in excess of the amount of crime in their area. Respondents in the Williamsbridge patrol area also reported the lowest incidence of household crime victimization in the last year and the second lowest for the last five years. Pratt patrol area residents experienced levels of fear that one would expect given the high amount of crime in their area.

In Table 15 it is clear that five out of six of the patrol areas experienced a decline in robberies from 1985 to 1986. Assumption was the only patrol area with an increase. However only two patrol areas, Assumption and Rochdale, experienced a decline in crimes of all kinds from 1985 to 1986. At the same time the citywide rate was slightly increasing.

Table 16 presents a comparison of respondent victimization rates and actual crime rates for 1986. In this table it can be seen that only in the case of Rochdale are the two rates close to each other. In four out of six of the patrol areas the respondent victimization rates are higher than the actual rates. In the Nottingham patrol area the respondent victimization rate is over three times greater than the actual crime rate. These figures seem to suggest that there is significant underreporting of crimes

Table 16 Comparison of Respondent Victimization Rates for the Last Year and 1986 Actual Crime Rates per 1000 for All Crimes

Patrol	Respondent Victimization Rates	Actual Crime Rates
Assumption	111.1	71.8
Williamsbridge	80.0	29.8
Midwood	130.1	72.6
Nottingham	209.3	64.5
Pratt	120.5	163.8
Rochdale	60.2	67.1

in these four areas. This could mean that the "actual" crime rates are somewhat less than actual or it could be that the phone survey, despite its randomness, just happened to reach more crime victims than would normally be expected. Probably a combination of these possibilities is at work here.

Table 17 examines perceptions of safety by gender in greater detail. It is clear from these figures that more women than men feel unsafe when out alone at night in their neighborhoods.

Further examining the role that age played on this question indicates that the elderly definitely comprised

Table 17 Levels of Fear by Gender When Out Alone at Night in Neighborhood (%)

	Very unsafe	Somewhat unsafe	Somewhat safe	Very safe
Female	32.4	27.6	29.1	10.8
Male	12.7	18.1	44.0	25.3

the greatest number answering yes. As one would expect the elderly felt more vulnerable to crime. The mean ages for responses to this question were as follows:

Very unsafe	52.6
Somewhat unsafe	40.6
Somewhat safe	37.4
Very safe	40.1

Table 18 presents respondents' answers to the question of whether they felt safe when out alone during the daytime in their neighborhoods.

Table 18 Levels of Fear When Out Alone during Daytime in Neighborhood

Perception	#	%
Very unsafe	15	3.0
Somewhat unsafe	23	4.6
Somewhat safe	163	32.8
Very Safe	296	59.6
Totals	497	100.0

Only two variables, number of fifteen to nineteen year olds living in the neighborhood and response to unknown fifteen to seventeen year olds doing graffiti, are associated with the level of safety felt when out alone in one's neighborhood during the day (Table 19). Both of these are negative associations. Altogether though they only account for about a tenth of the variance for this variable.

Table 19 Salient Predictors for Level of Safety Felt when Out Alone during the Day in One's Neighborhood

Independent variables	Simple		Semi-partial		Incremental	F	p
	r	r ²	r	r ²			
FIFT	-.26	.07	-.25	.063	.067	10.96	.001
GRAF2	-.18	.03	-.16	.026	.096	8.02	.0001

Code: FIFT - percentage of fifteen to nineteen year olds living in area based on 1980 census.

GRAF2 - response to unknown fifteen to seventeen year olds doing graffiti.

The next question in the survey dealt with the respondents' attitudes about what was the most serious crime problem in their areas. Table 20 shows these results.

Table 20 Opinion of Most Serious Crime Problem in Area

Crime Problem	#	%
Crack	40	8.1
Drugs in general	115	23.4
Muggings/purse snatchings	93	18.9
Burglary	77	15.7
Car Theft	19	3.9
Car break-ins and car vandalism	22	4.5
Assault	4	0.8
Other	19	3.9
Do not know	101	20.6
All crimes	490	100.0

Clearly the drug problem was most troubling to the respondents in this survey. When the responses to crack and drugs in general were added together, they represented about a third of the answers regarding the most serious crime problem.

Table 21 breaks out these results according to the six patrols. It is obvious from this table that there were some significant differences among the patrol areas with regard to what the respondents believed to be the most

Table 21 Opinion of Most Serious Crime Problem in Area by Patrol Area

Patrol Area

Crime Problem	Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Crack	14	12.2	10	20.0	3	2.5	0		7	8.8	6	7.1
Drugs in general	34	29.6	15	30.0	12	10.0	5	11.9	15	18.8	34	40.5
Muggings/purse snatchings	19	16.5	5	10.0	18	15.0	4	9.5	26	32.5	21	25.0
Burglary	23	20.0	2	4.0	33	27.5	14	33.3	2	2.5	3	3.6
Car Theft	3	2.6	2	4.0	6	5.0	1	2.4	3	3.8	4	4.8
Car break-ins and car vandalism	5	4.3	0		9	7.5	5	11.9	3	3.8	0	
Assault	1	0.9	0		3	2.5	0		0		0	
Other	3	2.6	5	10.0	4	3.3	1	2.4	4	5.0	2	2.4
Do not know	13	11.3	11	22.0	32	26.7	12	28.6	19	23.8	14	16.7
Totals	115	100.0	50	100.0	123	100.0	42	100.0	79	100.0	84	100.0

serious crime problems in their areas. The crack problem ranged from no concern in the Nottingham area to 20% of the respondents in the Williamsbridge area. Concern about drugs in general ranged from 10% in Midwood to 40.5% in Rochdale. Similar ranges can be seen for muggings/purse snatchings and burglaries. It is curious to note that in four out of six of the patrol areas more than 20% of the respondents did not have any opinion regarding the most serious crime problem in their area.

Few differences were found between male and female respondents to this question. Table 22 shows these results. The only differences with regard to gender were that more females than males were concerned about purse snatchings and muggings. Also, about three and a half times more men than women were concerned about car break-ins and car vandalism.

Table 23 presents data on the residential stability of the respondents. As can be seen there was no overwhelming bunching of responses within particular time frames.

Table 24 separates residential stability by patrol area. The three patrol areas with the greatest residential stability were all in Brooklyn. Nottingham obviously had the greatest residential stability with 34.1% of respondents reporting residency of twenty years or more in the same location and 43.9% reporting sixteen or more years.

Table 22 Opinion of Most Serious Crime Problem in Area by Gender (%)

	Crack	Drugs in general	Muggings/ purse snatchings	Burglary	Car Theft	Car Break- ins and car vandal- ism	Assault Other and do not know
Female	8.5	24.1	21.6	14.6	3.4	2.4	25.4
Male	7.4	22.7	12.9	17.8	4.9	8.6	25.7

Table 23 Respondent Residential Stability

Time Frame	#	%
2 years or less	78	15.7
3-5 years	88	17.7
6-10 years	139	28.0
11-15 years	64	12.9
16-19 years	34	6.9
20 or more years	93	18.8
Totals	496	100.0

It is interesting to note that Pratt had 32.9% reporting sixteen or more years at the same location, the second highest of the six patrols, while at the same time Pratt had by far the highest crime rate. Residential stability by itself does not necessarily indicate that the crime rate will be affected. Also note that Williamsbridge had the lowest level of residential stability, 42% reporting residency of five years or less. At the same time it enjoyed the lowest crime rate of the six areas studied.

Respondents were next asked to rate how they felt about living in their neighborhoods. Table 25 shows these results. Examining neighborhood satisfaction by patrol area it can be seen that when the two positive responses

Table 24 Respondent Residential Stability by Patrol Area

Time Frame	Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
2 years or less	22	18.8	11	22.0	24	19.7	4	9.8	7	8.5	10	11.9
3 to 5 years	27	23.1	10	20.0	25	20.5	2	4.9	9	11.0	15	17.9
6 to 10 years	37	31.6	17	34.0	27	22.1	14	34.1	24	29.3	20	23.8
11 to 15 years	14	12.0	2	4.0	11	9.0	3	7.3	15	18.3	19	22.6
16 to 19 years	3	2.6	5	10.0	5	4.1	4	9.8	5	6.1	12	14.3
20 years or more	14	12.0	5	10.0	30	24.6	14	34.1	22	26.8	8	9.5
Totals	117	100.0	50	100.0	123	100.0	43	100.0	83	100.0	84	100.0

Table 25 Levels of Respondent Satisfaction with Neighborhood

Level of satisfaction	#	%
Very satisfied	171	34.8
Somewhat satisfied	210	42.8
Somewhat dissatisfied	70	14.3
Very dissatisfied	40	8.1

are combined all six patrol areas had two-thirds or respondents either very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with where they live (Table 26). Note that when the totals of very dissatisfied and somewhat dissatisfied are compared for Williamsbridge and Pratt they are almost identical - - 34.0% for Williamsbridge and 33.8% for Pratt. This is a curious phenomenon with regard to Williamsbridge since it had such a low crime rate. As for Pratt these figures are not surprising at all given the serious crime problem in the area.

Of the 110 respondents indicating that they were either somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their neighborhood sixty-eight gave reasons. The overwhelming reason was crime in the area, 79.4% gave this reason. 4.4% gave dirty streets as the reason and 16.2% mentioned a variety of other reasons.

Table 26 Level of Respondent Satisfaction with Neighborhood by Patrol Area

Level of Satisfaction	Patrol											
	Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Very satisfied	29	25.2	12	24.0	55	45.8	26	60.5	24	30.0	25	30.1
Somewhat satisfied	51	44.3	21	42.0	50	41.7	13	30.2	29	36.3	46	55.4
Somewhat dissatisfied	20	17.4	13	26.0	6	5.0	3	7.0	17	21.3	11	13.3
Very dissatisfied	15	13.0	4	8.0	9	7.5	1	2.3	10	12.5	1	1.2
Totals	115	99.9	50	100.0	123	100.0	43	100.0	80	100.0	83	100.0

Summary and Conclusions

One of the findings in this chapter is that feelings of safety regarding the patrols seems to be a function of knowing about a neighbor who had been a crime victim in the last five years. It is also curious that for four out of six of the patrols the household crime victimization rates in the last year were much higher than the precinct crime figures which suggests a significant underreporting of crimes to the police.

Other findings include more women than men felt unsafe when out alone at night in their neighborhoods. The problem with drugs is the predominant crime concern reported by most people. It is interesting that residential stability was found not to be related to the level of crime in the six areas studied. The next chapter will examine the connection between social cohesion and local crime.

Chapter 10

Social Cohesion

The next part of the telephone survey was concerned with social cohesion in the neighborhoods being studied. The only study from the literature review that is related to this discussion was the work by Riger and Lavrakas who examined social bonding.²⁰⁷ They found young adults with higher education had the lowest levels of social bonding. Those high in social bonding were less educated adults of all ages with children living at home. Other researchers mentioned earlier, such as Jacobs, Durkheim and Conklin discuss social cohesion as being informal social control but they do so in very general terms. They do not present empirical evidence other than a social trust scale discussed by Conklin who found more distrust of neighbors in a high crime urban area compared to a low crime suburban area.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷Stephanie Riger and Paul J. Lavrakas, "Community Ties: Patterns of Attachment and Social Interaction in Urban Neighborhoods," American Journal of Community Psychology, Volume 9, Number 1, February, 1981, pp. 55-66.

²⁰⁸John E. Conklin, "Dimensions of Community Response to the Crime Problem," Social Problems, Volume 18, Number 3, Winter, 1971, pp. 373-385.

Four areas were covered in the phone survey in measuring social cohesion. The four areas are:

- 1) frequency of loaning and borrowing among neighbors.
- 2) response to children and teens seen doing graffiti.
- 3) ability to recognize strangers in the neighborhood.
- 4) frequency of visiting with and being visited by neighbors.

The first area examined was the level of loaning and borrowing among neighbors. Any kind of item could be included in this category. Among the most frequently mentioned items were sugar, milk, other types of food, records, videotapes and athletic equipment.

Table 27 shows the level of loaning among neighbors for all the patrol areas. Multiple regression did not produce any predictors for this dependent variable. Table 28 examines the borrowing habits among respondents and neighbors of the six patrol areas. Borrowing was even less likely according to these figures. Again no predictors were indicated by multiple regression.

The second measure of social cohesion dealt with whether the respondents would be willing to say anything if they witnessed graffiti being done in their area. The questions were divided into seven parts:

- 1) whether the respondents had seen younger kids they did not know doing graffiti in their neighborhoods.

Table 27 Frequency of Loaning to Neighbors
in the Last Year

Frequency	#	%
0	351	72.2
1	22	4.5
2	12	2.5
3	76	15.6
4-10	19	3.9
11 or more	6	1.2
Totals	486	100.0

Table 28 Frequency of Borrowing from Neighbors
in the Last Year

Frequency	#	%
0	387	79.1
1	23	4.7
2	13	2.7
3	54	11.0
4-10	7	1.4
11 or more	5	1.0
Totals	489	100.0

2) whether the respondents had seen older kids they did not know doing graffiti in their neighborhoods.

3) whether the respondents had seen younger kids they knew doing graffiti in their neighborhoods.

4) whether the respondents had seen older kids they knew doing graffiti in their neighborhoods.

5) whether there actually was graffiti in the respondents' neighborhoods.

6) whether the respondents had actually seen graffiti being done in their neighborhoods.

7) whether the respondents actually said anything if they saw graffiti being done in their neighborhoods.

Questions 5-7 are questions that entail gaining specific information but they are also test questions to determine whether the theoretical responses to questions 1-4 are actually valid.

The first question of this section dealt with whether respondents would say something to younger kids they did not know who were doing graffiti. These results can be seen in Table 29. Multiple regression indicates only one salient predictor for this variable and that is an inverse relationship with the level of safety felt when out alone at night in one's neighborhood. However, as can be seen in Table 30 this variable accounts for less than four percent of the variance.

Table 29 Likelihood of Saying Something to Unknown Young Kids Doing Graffiti in Respondents' Neighborhoods

Level of likelihood	#	%
Very likely	220	45.4
Somewhat likely	65	13.4
Somewhat unlikely	17	3.5
Very unlikely	183	37.7
Totals	485	100.0

Table 30 Salient Predictor for Likelihood of Saying Something to Unknown Young Kids Doing Graffiti in Respondents' Neighborhoods

Independent variable	Simple		Semi-partial		Incremental r^2	F	p
	r	r^2	r	r^2			
NITESAF	-.19	.03	-.19	.036	.035	5.54	.02

Code: NITESAF - the level of safety felt by respondents when out alone at night in their neighborhoods.

The next table (Table 31) is concerned with whether the respondents would say anything to fifteen to seventeen year olds that they did not know who were doing graffiti in their neighborhoods. As can be seen in Table 31 the age of the graffiti scrawlers caused the percent of those very unlikely to respond to go up fifteen percent compared to the younger group.

Table 31 Likelihood of Saying Something to Fifteen to Seventeen Year Old Strangers Doing Graffiti in Respondents' Neighborhoods

Level of likelihood	#	%
Very likely	157	32.4
Somewhat likely	54	11.1
Somewhat unlikely	20	4.1
Very unlikely	254	52.4
Totals	485	100.0

Multiple regression indicates inverse relationships for response to fifteen to seventeen year olds doing graffiti and level of safety felt when out alone at night in one's neighborhood and the number of people in

one's household. As can be seen in Table 32 they together account for less than a tenth of the variance.

Table 32 Salient Predictors for Likelihood of Saying Something to Fifteen to Seventeen Year Old Strangers Doing Graffiti in Respondents' Neighborhoods

Independent variables	Simple		Semi-partial		Incremental	F	p
	r	r ²	r	r ²			
NITESAF	-.24	.06	-.22	.048	.059	9.49	.002
PEOPLE	-.19	.04	-.16	.026	.085	6.99	.001

Code: NITESAF - level of safety felt by respondents when out alone at night in their neighborhoods.

PEOPLE - the number of people in respondent's household.

The next question is concerned with whether the respondents would say something to younger kids they knew who were doing graffiti in their neighborhoods. This data is in Table 33. Obviously knowing the kids doing the graffiti made the respondents feel much more secure. 29.3% more respondents said they would be very likely to say something to young kids they knew compared to young kids they did not know.

Multiple regression shows that two independent variables are predictors: percentage of Blacks in the appli-

Table 33 Likelihood of Saying Something to Known Young Kids Doing Graffiti in Respondents' Neighborhoods

Level of likelihood	#	%
Very likely	363	74.7
Somewhat likely	49	10.1
Somewhat unlikely	3	0.6
Very unlikely	71	14.6
Totals	486	100.0

cable census tracts and level of safety felt when out alone during the daytime in one's neighborhood. As can be seen in Table 34 together these two variables accounted for less than a tenth of the variance.

Table 34 Salient Predictors for Likelihood of Saying Something to Known Young Kids Doing Graffiti in Respondents' Neighborhoods

Independent variables	Simple		Semi-partial		Incremental	F	p
	r	r ²	r	r ²			
BLACK	-.20	.04	-.23	.053	.038	6.13	.014
DAYSAFE	-.15	.02	-.19	.036	.074	6.06	.003

The final group that respondents were asked about was fifteen to seventeen year olds that they knew. Table 35 presents a summary of this data. Again, knowing the fifteen to seventeen year olds seemed to be an important factor. Twice as many respondents said they would be very likely to say something to fifteen to seventeen year olds they knew compared to those they did not know.

Table 35 Likelihood of Saying Something to Known Fifteen to Seventeen Year Olds Doing Graffiti in Respondents' Neighborhoods

Level of likelihood	#	%
Very likely	309	63.8
Somewhat likely	46	9.5
Somewhat unlikely	7	1.4
Very unlikely	122	25.2
Totals	484	100.0

Multiple regression indicates that there are three predictors for this variable: the percentage of Blacks in the applicable census tracts, the educational level of the respondent and the age of the respondent. As can

be seen in Table 36 together these three variables account for eleven percent of the variance.

Table 36 Salient Predictors for Likelihood of Saying Something to Known Fifteen to Seventeen Year Olds Doing Graffiti in Respondents' Neighborhoods

Independent variables	Simple		Semi-partial		Incremental r^2	F	p
	r	r^2	r	r^2			
BLACK	-.21	.04	-.19	.036	.044	7.15	.008
EDLEV	-.21	.04	-.17	.029	.084	7.03	.001
AGE	.19	.03	.16	.026	.11	6.28	.0001

The next question dealt with whether in fact there was graffiti in the respondents' neighborhoods. This question and the next two were added when the survey was about one-third complete. It was felt that these questions should be added to obtain more complete information regarding what was actually happening in the study neighborhoods. However the robustness of this question is obviously weakened. Table 37 contains data on the presence or absence of graffiti in the respondents' neighborhoods.

Table 37 Presence/Absence of Graffiti in Midwood,
Nottingham, Pratt and Rochdale Patrol Areas*

	#	%
Yes	133	45.2
No	161	54.8
Totals	294	100.0

*The total yes includes four respondents from the Assumption patrol area who volunteered this information.

Table 38 contains data on the presence or absence of graffiti for each of the four patrol areas involved.

Table 38 Presence/Absence of Graffiti in Midwood,
Nottingham, Pratt and Rochdale Patrol Areas

Row Totals	Patrol								
	Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Yes	129	34	34.3	9	32.1	40	50.0	46	55.4
No	161	65	65.7	19	67.9	40	50.0	37	44.6
Totals	290	99	100.0	28	100.0	80	100.0	83	100.0

The difference in the positive answers between the Midwood and Nottingham respondents and the Pratt and Rochdale respondents is apparently due to the fact that the former live in areas where there are more private houses and where graffiti is less likely to be found. Graffiti is certainly a quality of life issue since about twice as many people reported feeling very safe when out alone at night in their neighborhoods for areas where there was no graffiti compared to areas where it existed.

The next area of the survey dealt with whether respondents had actually seen graffiti being done in their neighborhoods. This data is in Table 39. Regression indicates that there are three predictors for this variable. As can be seen in Table 40 the likelihood of witnessing graffiti being done was related to which patrol area was being examined, the number of fifteen to nineteen year olds living in the area and how a person would respond to unknown fifteen to seventeen year olds doing graffiti. These three variables account for about thirteen percent of the variance for witnessing graffiti.

The witnessing of graffiti being done ranged from about six percent in the Nottingham patrol area to about thirty-one percent in the Midwood patrol area. Surprisingly, regression indicates that there is an inverse relationship between having seen kids doing graffiti and

Table 39 Witnessing of Graffiti Being Done in the Midwood,
Nottingham, Pratt and Rochdale Patrol Areas

	Patrol									
	Row Totals		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	36	12.8	11	11.3	2	7.4	10	13.2	10	12.3
No	246	87.2	36	38.7	25	92.6	66	86.8	68	87.2
Totals	232	100.0	97	100.0	27	100.0	76	100.0	78	100.0

Table 40 Salient Predictors for Likelihood of Seeing Graffiti Being Done

Independent variables	Simple		Semi-partial		Incremental r^2	F	p
	r	r^2	r	r^2			
PATROLS	-.22	.048	-.22	.048	.050	6.11	.015
15-19	-.17	.029	.21	.044	.092	5.82	.004
GRAF2	.21	.044	.19	.036	.129	5.61	.001

Code: GRAF2 - how respondent would react to unknown fifteen to seventeen year olds doing graffiti in respondent's neighborhood

the number of fifteen to nineteen year olds living in an area. Perhaps it is the younger kids who are doing the graffiti. The data also indicates that more people who said they would say something to unknown fifteen to seventeen year olds seen doing graffiti have actually seen it happen. This tends to indicate that people will do what they say they will do.

The final survey question dealing with graffiti was concerned with whether the respondents actually said anything if they witnessed graffiti being done in their neighborhoods. Table 41 contains this data. Twenty-nine out of the forty-six respondents who said they saw graf-

Table 41 Respondents Saying Something to Any Kids Who Were Seen Doing Graffiti in the Midwood, Nottingham, Pratt and Rochdale Patrol Areas*

	Row Totals		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	29	63.0	9	47.4	2	40.0	9	90.0	6	66.7
No	17	37.0	10	52.6	3	60.0	1	10.0	3	33.3
Totals	46	100.0	19	100.0	5	100.0	10	100.0	9	100.0

fiti being done said something to the kids doing it. This is a very respectable 80.6%. The number of subjects is too small for this item to make any meaningful inter-patrol comparisons.

Recognition of Strangers

The next item in the survey was concerned with the ability of respondents to recognize strangers in their neighborhoods. Table 42 contains this data. About half of all respondents said that they would be very unlikely to recognize strangers in their neighborhoods.

Table 42 Likelihood of Stranger Recognition

Level of likelihood	#	%
Very likely	152	31.2
Somewhat likely	73	15.0
Somewhat unlikely	18	3.7
Very unlikely	244	50.1
Totals	487	100.0

Regression indicates that two variables, the number of people in the respondent's household and the percentage of Blacks in the applicable census tracts are predictors for stranger recognition (Table 43). These two predictors account for about nine percent of the variance.

Table 43 Salient Predictors for Ability to Recognize Strangers in Respondents' Neighborhoods

Independent variables	Simple		Semi-partial		Incremental	F	p
	r	r ²	r	r ²			
PEOPLE	-.22	.05	-.23	.052	.045	7.56	.007
BLACKS	.19	.04	.21	.044	.089	7.48	.001

Code: PEOPLE - the number of people in the respondent's household.

BLACKS - the number of Blacks in the applicable census tracts.

The data indicates that as the number of people in the respondent's household declines the ability to recognize strangers increases. This seems counterintuitive but perhaps it indicates that people living alone, especially older women, are more wary of unknown people in their immediate neighborhood. The data also indicates that stranger recognition increases as the number of

Blacks in an area increases.

Visiting with Neighbors

The fourth and final topic used to measure social cohesion was the amount of visiting among neighbors. The first question asked in this part of the survey was the number of times the respondent was in a neighbor's home in the last month (Table 44).

Table 44 Frequency of Visiting with
Neighbors in the Last Month

Frequency	#	%
0	236	48.7
1	36	7.4
2	48	9.9
3	30	6.2
4 to 10 times	93	19.2
11 or more times	42	8.7
Totals	485	100.0

Only about half of all respondents visited a neighbor at least once in the last month. There were no predictors for this variable.

The next area examined was the amount of visiting with neighbors in the last year. This data is in Table 45.

Table 45 Frequency of Visiting with
Neighbors in the Last Year

Frequency	#	%
0	129	27.2
1	32	6.8
2	52	11.0
3	26	5.5
4 to 10 times	47	9.9
11 to 50 times	91	19.2
51 to 100 times	47	9.9
Over 100 times	50	10.5
Totals	474	100.0

As can be seen in Tables 44 and 45 the amount of no visiting dropped by a considerable margin when the time frame was expanded from one month to one year. Again there were no predictors for this variable.

Respondents were next asked to talk about the number of times in the last month that they were visited by neighbors. This data is in Table 46. Respondents reported being visited by neighbors about ten percent more frequently in the last month compared to the amount of visiting that they did. No predictors were found for this variable.

Table 46 Frequency of Visiting by Neighbors in the Last Month

Frequency	#	%
0	186	38.3
1	47	9.7
2	58	11.9
3	36	7.4
4 to 10 times	107	22.0
11 or more times	52	10.7
Totals	486	100.0

The final measurement of visiting was the number of times in the last year that the respondents were visited by neighbors. This data is in Table 47. There seemed to be about the same amount of visiting by and with neighbors when the time frame being examined was one year. Again no predictors were found.

Table 47 Frequency of Visiting by Neighbors
in the Last Year

Frequency	#	%
0	121	25.6
1	18	3.8
2	36	7.6
3	23	4.9
4 to 10 times	65	13.8
11 to 50 times	86	18.2
51 to 100 times	62	13.1
Over 100 times	61	12.9
Totals	472	100.0

Summary

Overall the indices dealing with social cohesion do not seem to indicate any strong linkage between social cohesion and local crime. Perhaps social cohesion by itself does not produce a greater level of social control.

One aspect of social cohesion that generated predictors, the four categories of response to graffiti, was associated primarily with levels of nighttime and daytime safety. Recognition of strangers was related to small households and areas where there was a greater percentage of Blacks.

There does not appear to be any connection between the different patrol areas and the levels of social cohesion. Since the patrol areas represent a variety of crime rates, in effect no association has been found between social cohesion and local crime rates. This leaves open the debate between Durkheim and Conklin whether crime tends to unite or incapacitate a community.

Chapter 11

Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter the three major hypotheses discussed earlier in this paper will be examined in light of what the data reveals. The first hypothesis was that citizen crime patrols do not have an appreciable effect on local crime rates. This hypothesis is difficult to judge definitively. Five out of six of the citizen crime patrols operate in areas with robbery rates and total crime rates that were lower than the citywide rates for 1985 and 1986. However it is difficult to say whether the citizen patrols are responsible for keeping these rates down. There may be other factors, e.g., police crime prevention techniques, number of commercial establishments, etc. that contribute to determining what the overall crime rate in an area will be.

This study was not an experiment in which experimental and control groups were compared nor was it a longitudinal study in which time-series analysis could be used to examine crime trends over a longer period of time. In both of these situations any conclusions that would be reached could be done so with greater certainty. As it is, though, the crime rates for the study areas are lower, and in many cases much lower, than citywide

crime rates. Therefore the impact of the citizen crime patrols cannot be discounted. It would seem that five out of six of the patrols are operating in a preventive fashion to keep crime from becoming a serious problem. This coincides with Durkheim's point of view that crime can act as a catalyst to rally the people into preserving social control in an area. The Pratt patrol obviously was started as a reaction to a very serious crime problem. This at least tends to discount the Conklin argument that crime can lead to incapacitation and surrender.

The second hypothesis was that citizen crime patrols would significantly reduce the fear of crime in those areas where they operate. The data contained mixed results for this hypothesis. About seventy percent of all respondents reported feeling either "much safer" or "somewhat safer" due to the patrols in their areas. The number of respondents who did not feel any safer ranged from ten percent for the Williamsbridge patrol area to forty percent for the Nottingham patrol area. Only two of the patrols, Midwood and Nottingham, produced a majority of respondents who indicated that they felt safe when out alone at night in their neighborhoods. For the rest of the patrols only half or less of the respondents indicated that they felt this way.

The fact that Nottingham patrol area respondents in-

dicating the lowest perception of improved safety due to the patrol in their area and at the same time have the highest number of respondents indicating that they feel safe when out alone at night in their neighborhoods suggests that the patrol may not be responsible for this perceived safety. Multiple regression analysis indicates that this applies generally to all the patrols.

The third hypothesis was that homogeneity should have some impact on increasing the amount of social control in an area which in turn should contribute to depressing the crime rate. However the data indicate that the most heterogeneous area, Williamsbridge, had the lowest crime rate. At the same time the area with the second highest level of heterogeneity, Pratt, had by far the highest crime rate of the six areas studied. The homogeneous areas all had crime rates somewhere in between. Therefore, for the areas examined in this study, it is not possible to conclude that increased homogeneity imparts any ameliorative effect on the crime rate.

The data collected, analyzed and reported here show lower crime rates, compared to citywide rates, for five out of six of the areas studied. It also indicates that a substantial proportion of respondents feel safer due to the patrols even though knowledge of the patrols by itself is not related to perceived daytime and night-

time safety.

A community contemplating starting a citizen crime patrol would certainly not be dissuaded from doing so by most of the data presented in this paper. From the data collected here it at least appears that social cohesion is not a prerequisite for the operation of a crime patrol. Apparently this is true because different communities start crime patrols for different reasons. One community might start a patrol as a reaction to a crime problem that has gotten very serious, as in the case of the Pratt patrol. Other communities may start patrols as a way of preventing a serious crime problem from developing.

Future research in the area of citizen crime prevention can move in several directions. One possibility is to take two communities that are very similar demographically and start a citizen crime patrol in one and not in the other. This type of scenario, of course, requires two important ingredients: 1) adequate funding and 2) the cooperation and enthusiasm of the people living in the experimental patrol area. If it could be done one could then examine before and after crime figures and residents' levels of fear of crime for the two areas and come to some firmer conclusions about what exactly is the impact of the crime patrol in the target area. A variation of this scenario would be where the researcher personally

helps to set up and implement a citizen crime patrol. This would be a form of action-oriented research. In both these situations time-series analysis could also be utilized to examine the impact of a patrol over an extended period of time.

The quality of life in any neighborhood ultimately relies on the actions of the residents living there. Strong, vibrant neighborhoods and communities are the lifeblood of any urban area. Any initiative, including citizen crime patrols, that can be undertaken to help preserve these areas, should be encouraged.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

Hello my name is John Rouse and I am doing a telephone survey of homes in the _____ section. Is this a residential address?

If yes proceed with rest of introduction.

I am a graduate student in Criminal Justice at the City University of New York. I obtained your number through random digit dialing. I am doing a survey on citizen crime prevention. This survey is important because it is necessary to obtain information regarding the effectiveness of citizen efforts to prevent crime. The questions will only take 5 minutes of your time. I will not need your name or address. Would this be alright?

If yes, proceed with question 1.

Questions

1. Can you tell me what neighborhood you live in?
2. I am going to give you the boundaries of the area under study and I'd like you to tell me whether your home falls within these boundaries. Give boundaries. If home falls within boundaries proceed with question 3.
3. Is there a citizen crime patrol in your community?

4. (If yes to #3) Do you know how long it's been in existence?
5. (If yes to #3) Are you or anyone in your household an active member?
6. (If yes to #5) How many hours a week would you say this person devotes to the patrol?
7. (If yes to #5) How many meetings of the patrol a month would you say this person attends?
8. Do you feel any safer knowing that the patrol is active in your community?
9. (If yes to #8) How much safer?
Very much _____ or Somewhat _____
10. Have you or anyone in your household been a crime victim in the last year?
11. (If yes to #10) Type(s) of crime, number of victimizations and whether the crime(s) occurred in the neighborhood?
12. Have you or anyone in your household been a crime victim in the last five years?
13. (If yes to #12) Type(s) of crime, number of victimizations and whether the crime(s) occurred in the neighborhood?
14. Do you know of a neighbor who has been victimized by crime in the last year?
15. (If yes to #14) Type(s) of crime, number of victimizations and whether the crime(s) occurred in the neighborhood?
16. Do you know of a neighbor who has been victimized by crime in the last five years?

17. (If yes to #16) Type of crime(s), number of victimizations and whether the crime(s) occurred in the neighborhood?
18. Within the past year or two do you think crime in your area has increased, decreased or remained about the same?
19. Do you feel safe being out alone at night in your neighborhood?
20. (If yes to #19) How safe do you feel?
Somewhat safe _____ Very safe _____
21. (If no to #19) How unsafe do you feel?
Somewhat unsafe _____ Very unsafe _____
22. Do you feel safe being out alone during the day in your neighborhood?
23. (If yes to #22) How safe do you feel?
Somewhat safe _____ Very safe _____
24. (If no to #22) How unsafe do you feel?
Somewhat unsafe _____ Very unsafe _____
25. What do you think is the most serious crime problem in your neighborhood?
26. How long have you lived at your current address?
27. How would you rate how you feel about where you live?
Very satisfied _____ Somewhat satisfied _____
Somewhat dissatisfied _____ Very dissatisfied _____
28. Have you loaned something to a neighbor in the past year?
29. (If yes to #28) Approximately how many times?

30. Have you borrowed something from a neighbor in the last year?

31. (If yes to #30) Approximately how many times?

32. If you saw a group of kids writing graffiti on a building or a sidewalk how likely is it that you think you would say something?

Very likely _____ Somewhat likely _____

Somewhat unlikely _____ Very unlikely _____

33. (If very likely or somewhat likely to #32) What if the kids were between 15 and 17 years old?

Very likely _____ Somewhat likely _____

Somewhat unlikely _____ Very unlikely _____

34. (If somewhat unlikely or very unlikely to #32)

Would it make any difference if you knew the kids?

(Ask for both younger kids and 15-17 year olds.)

Would say something to kids of any age if I knew them _____

Would say something to younger kids only if I knew them _____

35. The next question concerns how likely it would be for you to tell if someone hanging around your neighborhood is a stranger to the area. Would it be

Very likely _____ Somewhat likely _____

Somewhat unlikely _____ Very unlikely _____

36. How many times would you say you have been in a neighbor's home in the last month?

37. How many times would you say you have been in a neighbor's home in the last year?

38. How many times would you say a neighbor has been in your home in the last month?

39. How many times would you say a neighbor has been in your home in the last year?

For the purposes of statistical sampling I need to obtain some background information.

40. Do you own or rent your residence?

41. Do you live in a single-family residence or a multi-family family residence?

42. (If multi-family) How many units would you say there are in your building?

43. How many people are there in your household?

44. What category best describes your age?

13-25 ___ 26-40 ___ 41-50 ___ 51-60 ___ 61-70 ___ 70+ ___

45. Which category best describes your level of education?

Elementary school ___ High school ___ College ___

Graduate or Professional School ___

46. Which category best describes your race?

White ___ Black ___ Oriental ___ Other ___

47. What category best describes your ethnic background?

Irish ___ Italian ___ Hispanic ___ Jewish ___

German ___ Polish ___ Russian ___ Other (specify) ___

48. Which category best describes your total family income in 1985?

1. under \$10,000 ____
2. \$10,000 to \$20,000 ____
3. \$20,000 to \$30,000 ____
4. \$30,000 to \$40,000 ____
5. over \$40,000 ____

49. Record sex of respondent

This is the end of the survey. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

APPENDIX B

Cross-tab tables for variables that were not predictors
in the multiple regression equations

Respondent Perceptions of Safety Among Six Citizen Crime Patrols

Patrol	# feeling much safer	%	# feeling somewhat safer	%	# not feeling any safer	%
Assumption	4	11.8	21	61.8	9	26.5
Williamsbridge	3	30.0	6	60.0	1	10.0
Midwood	7	14.0	26	52.0	17	34.0
Nottingham	0	0	18	60.0	12	40.0
Pratt	0	0	5	62.5	3	37.5
Rochdale	14	20.6	35	51.5	19	27.9
All patrols	28	14.0	111	55.5	61	30.5

Household Crime Victimization in Last Year as
Reported by Sex (%)

	Yes	No
Female	8.7	91.3
Male	16.9	82.5

Respondent Answers to Household Crime Victimi-
zation in the Last Year Among Six Citizen Crime
Patrol Areas

Patrol	# Yes	%	# No	%
Assumption	13	11.1	104	88.9
Williamsbridge	4	8.0	46	92.0
Midwood	16	13.0	107	87.0
Nottingham	9	20.9	34	79.1
Pratt	10	12.0	73	88.0
Rochdale	5	6.0	78	92.9
All patrols	57	11.4	442	88.4

Perceptions of Safety Produced by Patrol and
Household Crime Victimization in the Last Year (%)

Victimization	Feel much safer	Feel somewhat safer	Do not feel any safer
Yes	3.8	46.2	50.0
No	15.0	57.2	27.7

Respondent Answers to Household Crime Victimi-
zation in the Last Five Years Among Six Citizen
Crime Patrol Areas

Patrol	# Yes	%	# No	%
Assumption	27	23.1	90	76.9
Williamsbridge	5	10.0	45	90.0
Midwood	28	22.8	95	77.2
Nottingham	10	23.3	33	76.7
Pratt	15	18.1	68	81.9
Rochdale	7	8.3	77	91.7
All patrols	92	18.4	408	81.6

Household Crime Victimization in Last Five
Years as Reported by Sex (%)

	Yes	No
Female	8.7	91.3
Male	16.9	82.5

Perceptions of Safety Produced by Patrol and
Household Crime Victimization in the Last
Five Years (%)

Victimization	Feel Much safer	Feel Somewhat safer	Do not feel any safer
Yes	2.5	62.5	35.0
No	16.9	53.8	29.4

Crosstabulation of Neighborhood Crime Trend in
Last Year or Two by Sex of Respondent (%)

Trend	Female	Male	Row Totals
Crime has increased	29.4	28.3	29.1
Crime has decreased	7.2	12.0	8.8
Remained the same	48.6	46.4	47.9
Do not know	14.7	13.3	14.2
Column Totals	66.7	33.3	100.0

Mean Ages for Responses to Crime Trend Question

Crime has increased	41.6
Crime has decreased	43.8
Remained the same	40.2

Levels of Fear When Out Alone at Night in
Neighborhood by Patrol Area

Patrol	Very unsafe		Somewhat unsafe		Somewhat safe		Very safe	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Assumption	29	24.8	28	23.9	43	36.8	17	14.5
Williamsbridge	15	30.0	17	34.0	14	28.0	4	8.0
Midwood	26	21.3	21	17.2	46	37.7	29	23.8
Nottingham	3	7.0	10	23.3	19	44.2	11	25.6
Pratt	34	41.0	24	28.9	19	22.9	6	7.2
Rochdale	21	25.0	23	27.4	29	34.5	11	13.1

Levels of Fear When Out Alone during Daytime
in Neighborhood by Patrol Area

Patrol	Very unsafe		Somewhat unsafe		Somewhat safe		Very safe	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Assumption	4	3.5	6	5.2	34	29.6	71	61.7
Williamsbridge	1	2.0	3	6.1	15	30.6	30	61.2
Midwood	2	1.6	1	0.8	37	30.1	83	67.5
Nottingham	0		0		9	20.9	34	79.1
Pratt	6	7.2	10	12.0	31	37.3	36	43.4
Rochdale	2	2.4	3	3.6	37	44.0	42	50.0

Levels of Fear by Gender When Out Alone during
the Daytime in Neighborhood (%)

	Very unsafe	Somewhat unsafe	Somewhat safe	Very safe
Female	4.2	4.8	38.4	52.6
Male	1.2	3.7	21.3	73.8

Frequency of Loaning to Neighbors in the Last Year by Patrol Areas

Frequency	Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0	87	79.1	39	78	74	62.2	29	69.0	66	80.5	56	67.5
1	2	1.8	1	2	10	8.4	0		5	6.1	4	4.8
2	3	2.7	2	4	1	0.8	2	4.8	2	2.4	2	2.4
3	5	4.5	3	6	30	25.2	11	26.2	8	9.8	19	22.9
4-10	10	9.1	4	8	3	2.5	0		1	1.2	1	1.2
11 or more	3	2.7	1	2	1	0.8	0		0		1	1.2
Totals	110	99.9	50	100	119	99.9	42	100.0	82	100.0	84	100.0

Frequency of Borrowing from Neighbors in the Last Year by Patrol Area

Frequency	Patrol Area											
	Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0	92	80.7	43	87.8	86	72.3	30	73.2	73	89.0	63	75.0
1	6	5.3	4	8.2	5	4.2	4	9.8	2	2.4	2	2.4
2	3	2.6	1	2.0	3	2.5	1	2.4	3	3.7	2	2.4
3	5	4.4	0		23	19.3	6	14.6	4	4.9	16	19.0
4-10	4	3.5	1	2.0	2	1.7	0		0		0	
11 or more	4	3.5	0		0		0		0		1	1.2
Totals	117	100.0	49	100.0	119	100.0	41	100.0	82	100.0	84	100.0

Likelihood of Saying Something to Unknown Young Kids Doing Graffiti
in Respondents' Neighborhoods by Patrol Areas

Levels of likelihood	Row Totals	Patrol											
		Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Very likely	220	56	50.0	16	32.7	54	46.2	19	45.2	30	37.0	45	53.6
Somewhat likely	65	14	12.5	11	22.4	15	12.8	4	9.5	12	14.8	9	10.7
Somewhat unlikely	17	5	4.5	4	8.2	3	2.6	1	2.4	1	1.2	3	3.6
Very unlikely	183	37	33.0	18	36.7	45	38.5	18	42.9	38	46.9	27	32.1
Column Totals	485	112	100.0	49	100.0	117	100.0	42	100.0	81	100.0	84	100.0

Likelihood of Saying Something to Unknown
Young Kids Doing Graffiti by Gender (%)

Level of likelihood	Male	Female
Very likely	49.4	43.3
Somewhat likely	14.0	13.1
Somewhat unlikely	3.7	3.4
Very unlikely	32.9	40.2

Likelihood of Saying Something to Unknown
15-17 Year Olds Doing Graffiti by Gender (%)

Level of likelihood	Male	Female
Very likely	39.6	28.7
Somewhat likely	12.2	10.6
Somewhat unlikely	5.5	3.4
Very unlikely	42.7	57.3

Likelihood of Saying Something to 15-17 year Old Strangers Doing
Graffiti in Respondents' Neighborhoods by Patrol Areas

Level of likelihood	Row Totals	Patrol											
		Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Very likely	157	47	41.6	14	29.2	32	27.4	13	31.0	21	25.9	30	35.7
Somewhat likely	54	10	8.8	7	14.6	15	12.8	5	11.9	7	8.6	10	11.9
Somewhat unlikely	20	7	6.2	4	8.3	2	1.7	2	4.8	3	3.7	2	2.4
Very unlikely	254	49	43.4	23	47.9	68	53.1	22	52.4	50	61.7	42	50.0
Totals	485	113	100.0	48	100.0	117	100.0	42	100.0	81	100.0	84	100.0

Likelihood of Saying Something to Known Young
Kids Doing Graffiti by Gender (%)

Level of likelihood	Male	Female
Very likely	73.8	75.2
Somewhat likely	14.0	8.1
Somewhat unlikely	0.6	0.6
Very unlikely	11.6	16.1

Likelihood of Saying Something to Known 15-17
Year Olds Doing Graffiti by Gender (%)

Level of likelihood	Male	Female
Very likely	64.6	63.4
Somewhat likely	12.3	7.8
Somewhat unlikely	1.8	1.3
Very unlikely	20.7	27.5

Likelihood of Saying Something to Known Young Kids Doing
Graffiti in Respondents' Neighborhoods by Patrol Areas

Level of likelihood	Row Totals	Patrol											
		Assumption		Williambridge		Midwood		Hollingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Very likely	363	70	61.9	28	57.1	93	79.5	31	73.8	67	82.7	74	88.1
Somewhat likely	49	21	18.6	12	24.5	9	7.7	1	2.4	4	4.9	2	2.4
Somewhat unlikely	3	1	0.9	0		2	1.7	0		0		0	
Very unlikely	71	21	18.6	9	18.4	13	11.1	10	23.8	10	12.3	8	9.5
Totals	486	113	100.0	49	100.0	117	100.0	42	100.0	81	100.0	84	100.0

Likelihood of Saying Something to Known 15-17 Year Olds Doing Graffiti in Respondents' Neighborhoods by Patrol Areas

Level of likelihood	Row Totals	Patrol											
		Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Very likely	309	58	51.3	22	45.8	79	67.5	26	63.4	55	67.9	69	82.1
Somewhat likely	46	16	14.2	12	25.0	10	8.5	1	2.4	5	6.2	2	2.4
Somewhat unlikely	7	5	4.4	1	2.1	1	0.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Very unlikely	122	34	30.1	13	27.1	27	23.1	14	34.1	21	25.9	13	15.5
Totals	484	113	100.0	48	100.0	117	100.0	41	99.9	81	100.0	84	100.0

Likelihood of Stranger Recognition by Patrol Area

Level of likelihood	Patrol													
	Row Totals		Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Very likely	152	31.2	44	38.6	22	44.0	37	31.6	19	44.2	18	22.5	12	14.5
Somewhat likely	73	15.0	12	10.5	7	14.0	21	17.9	5	11.6	13	16.3	15	18.1
Somewhat unlikely	18	3.7	4	3.5	6	12.0	5	4.3	1	2.3	2	2.5	0	
Very unlikely	244	50.1	54	47.4	15	30.0	54	46.2	18	41.9	47	58.8	56	67.5
Totals	487	100.0	114	100.0	50	100.0	117	100.0	43	100.0	80	100.0	83	100.0

Frequency of Visiting with Neighbors in the Last Month by Patrol Area

Frequency	Patrol													
	Row Totals		Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0	236	48.7	61	53.0	27	54.0	50	42.7	19	46.3	44	55.0	35	42.7
1	36	7.4	11	9.6	4	8.0	4	3.4	4	9.8	5	6.3	8	9.8
2	48	9.9	10	8.7	6	12.0	12	10.3	3	7.3	5	6.3	12	14.6
3	30	6.2	5	4.3	2	4.0	12	10.3	3	7.3	6	7.5	2	2.4
4 to 10 times	93	19.2	16	13.9	6	12.0	28	23.9	6	14.6	17	21.3	20	24.4
11 or more times	42	8.7	12	10.4	5	10.0	11	9.4	6	14.6	3	3.8	5	6.1
Totals	485	100.0	115	100.0	50	100.0	117	100.0	41	100.0	80	100.0	82	100.0
Means			3.46		3.80		4.32		5.20		2.46		3.52	

Frequency of Visiting with Neighbors in the Last Year by Patrol Area

Frequency	Patrol													
	Row Totals		Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0	129	27.2	38	33.9	16	34.0	29	24.8	6	15.0	23	28.8	17	21.8
1	32	6.8	5	4.5	2	4.3	7	6.0	4	10.0	9	11.3	5	6.4
2	52	11.0	11	9.8	7	14.9	13	11.1	6	15.0	9	11.3	6	7.7
3	26	5.5	6	5.4	4	8.5	3	2.6	4	10.0	5	6.3	4	5.1
4 to 10 times	47	9.9	14	12.5	3	6.4	11	9.4	2	5.0	7	8.8	10	12.8
11 to 50 times	91	19.2	16	14.3	7	14.9	22	18.8	10	25.0	13	16.3	23	29.5
51 to 100 times	47	9.9	8	7.1	3	6.4	16	13.7	2	5.0	9	11.3	9	11.5
over 100 times	50	10.5	14	12.5	5	10.6	16	13.7	6	15.0	5	6.3	4	5.1
Totals	474	100.0	112	100.0	47	100.0	117	100.0	40	100.0	80	100.0	78	100.0

Frequency of Visiting by Neighbors in the Last Month by Patrol Area

Patrol

Frequency	Row Totals		Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0	186	38.3	49	42.2	18	36.7	40	34.2	19	45.2	34	43.0	26	31.3
1	47	9.7	8	6.9	6	12.2	9	7.7	3	7.1	12	15.2	9	10.8
2	58	11.9	13	11.2	7	14.3	15	12.8	3	7.1	9	11.4	11	13.3
3	36	7.4	7	6.0	2	4.1	10	8.5	4	9.5	5	6.3	8	9.6
4 to 10 times	107	22.0	25	21.6	10	20.4	29	24.8	7	16.7	15	19.0	21	25.3
11 or more times	52	10.7	14	12.1	6	12.2	14	12.0	6	14.3	4	5.1	8	9.6
Totals	486	100.0	116	100.0	49	100.0	117	100.0	42	100.0	79	100.0	83	100.0
Means			4.52		4.96		5.08		5.71		2.95		4.67	

Frequency of Visiting by Neighbors in the Last Year by Patrol Area

Frequency	Patrol													
	Row Totals		Assumption		Williamsbridge		Midwood		Nottingham		Pratt		Rochdale	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0	121	25.6	33	28.9	11	23.4	30	25.9	9	21.4	23	29.9	15	19.7
1	18	3.8	5	4.4	3	6.4	3	2.6	0		4	5.2	3	3.9
2	36	7.6	6	5.3	6	12.8	7	6.0	4	9.5	8	10.4	5	6.6
3	23	4.9	6	5.3	1	2.1	1	0.9	4	9.5	4	5.2	7	9.2
4 to 10 times	65	13.8	19	16.7	6	12.8	16	13.8	5	11.9	7	9.1	12	15.8
11 to 50 times	86	18.2	15	13.2	8	17.0	18	15.5	9	21.4	20	26.0	16	21.1
51 to 100 times	62	13.1	14	12.3	6	12.8	22	19.0	4	9.5	6	7.8	10	13.2
Over 100	61	12.9	16	14.0	6	12.8	19	16.4	7	16.7	5	6.5	8	10.5
Totals	472	100.0	114	100.0	47	100.0	116	100.0	42	100.0	77	100.0	76	100.0

APPENDIX C

Correlations

With regard to social cohesion the hypothetical responses to witnessing graffiti were examined together with the level of visiting and being visited that the respondents reported. These results can be seen in the correlation matrix below.

	Interact	GRAF1	GRAF2	GRAF3	GRAF4	SAIDST
Interact	1.0000	-.1959**	-.1632**	-.2152**	-.2419**	.0355
GRAF1	-.1959**	1.0000	.7643**	.5236**	.5747**	.3452*
GRAF2	-.1632**	.7643**	1.0000	.3363**	.5422**	.4210*
GRAF3	-.2152**	.5236**	.3363**	1.0000	.7253**	.0451
GRAF4	-.2419**	.5747**	.5422**	.7253**	1.0000	.3061
SAIDST	-.0355	.3452*	.4210*	.0451	.3061	1.0000

Note: Interact includes the four measures of visiting and being visited used in the survey. GRAF 1-4 follows order of questionnaire: GRAF 1 is level of likelihood of saying something to unknown younger kids, etc. SAIDST refers to those who actually said something.

*.01 **.001 1-tailed significance

The strongest correlations that can be found here are for the graffiti response indices, particularly GRAF1 and GRAF2. Note also that the strongest correlation for those actually saying something is for GRAF2 meaning that those who say they would say something to unknown 15-17 year olds have actually done so more frequently than for the other graffiti witnessing categories.

There is a strong correlation between respondents' incomes and whether they were aware of the patrols in their neighborhoods (.0024 sig.). Those with higher incomes were more likely to be aware. No correlation was found between income and a patrol's effect on feelings of safety (.9021 sig.). However strong correlations were found for income and level of safety felt when out alone at night (.0027 sig.) and during the day (.0006 sig.) in the respondents' neighborhoods. In both instances those with higher incomes felt safer.

Those with higher incomes were more likely to report that burglary is the most serious crime problem in their areas (.0153 sig.). Those with lower incomes were more likely to report that crack is the most serious crime problem (also .0153).

Those with higher incomes also reported being more

satisfied with their neighborhoods (<.0000 sig.).

There was also a strong correlation between total crimes in an area and awareness of the patrol (<.0000 sig. '86). Those who live in areas with less crime were more likely to be aware of the patrols in their areas. They were also more likely to report being safe when out alone at night in their neighborhoods (.0552 sig.) and somewhat less so during the daytime (.1249 sig.).

The following page contains some correlation matrices. Some of the conclusions that can be drawn from these correlations are:

- as % White goes up mean income rises.
- as % Black, Hispanic, 15-19 year olds and 20-24 year olds increase mean income decreases.
- as the mean income of an area rises the crime rate decreases. (The exception here is motor vehicle thefts in 1985 which rose somewhat with income).
- as % White for an area increases the crime rate tends to decrease (except for burglaries in 1985).
- as % Black increases so does the crime rate (except for burglaries in 1985).
- as % 15-19 year olds and 20-24 year olds increase so do all crimes (except for motor vehicle thefts for the 20-24 year olds).

CORRELATION MATRICES

	WHITE	BLACK	HISP	FIFT	TWEN
MINC	.3858**	-.2346**	-.5029**	-.5886**	-.1236**

	ROB85	BUR85	MVT85	TOT85
MINC	-.5321**	-.4171**	.2623**	-.5089**

	ROB86	BUR86	MVT86	TOT86
MINC	-.5507**	-.3379**	.0498	-.4982**

	ROB85	BUR85	MVT85	TOT85
WHITE	-.4131**	.2584**	-.5808**	-.3152**
BLACK	.3438**	-.3513**	.6774**	.2464**
HISP	.2319**	.5728**	-.7755**	.2330**

	ROB86	BUR86	MVT86	TOT86
WHITE	-.3261**	-.4390**	-.7026**	-.2824**
BLACK	.2471**	.4207**	.7766**	.2161**
HISP	.3155**	-.1246**	-.7035**	.2363**

	ROB85	BUR85	MVT85	TOT85
FIFT	.6104**	.2888**	.0112	.5520**
TWEN	.5374**	.7346**	-.6725**	.5634**

	ROB86	BUR86	MVT86	TOT86
FIFT	.5808**	.5320**	.3534**	.5595**
TWEN	.5997**	.3365**	-.3242**	.5916**

Note: See following page for codes.

Code for Correlation Matrices

MINC - mean income

WHITE, BLACK and HISP - racial and ethnic backgrounds

FIFT - number of 15-19 year olds

TWEN - number of 20-24 year olds

ROB85 and ROB86 - number of robberies in 1985 and 1986

BUR85 and BUR86 - number of burglaries in 1985 and 1986

MVT85 and MVT86 - number of motor vehicle thefts in 1985 and
1986

TOT85 and TOT86 - number of total crimes in 1985 and 1986

** -.001 1-tailed significance

One of the major reasons for undertaking this study was to determine what would be the major predictors for determining fear of crime in a particular urban neighborhood. The multiple regression that was run showed only some weak links namely sex, age, income, number of 15-19 year olds in an area and response to graffiti. Knowledge of a crime patrol was found not to be an important predictor of the level of safety respondents felt in their neighborhoods when out alone at night or during the day. This can be seen in the multiple regression matrices on the following two pages.

Some of the correlations found were:

- an inverse relationship between income and total crimes for an area.
- the number of 15-19 year olds and 20-24 year olds and the local crime rate are positively correlated.
- those who loan and borrow are also likely to visit and be visited by neighbors.

	DAYSAP	NITESAF	SEX	AGE	TOTCP85	TOTCP86	MINC
DAYSAP	1.000	.531	-.183	-.172	-.147	-.144	.215
NITESAF	.531	1.000	-.290	-.249	-.169	-.175	.253
SEX	-.183	-.290	1.000	.025	.032	.024	.008
AGE	-.172	-.249	.025	1.000	.032	.035	.040
TOTCP85	-.147	-.169	.032	.032	1.000	.996	-.509
TOTCP86	-.144	-.175	.024	.085	.996	1.000	-.498
MINC	.215	.253	.008	.040	-.509	-.498	1.000
WHITE	.203	.154	-.159	.046	-.315	-.282	.386
BLACK	-.173	-.123	.166	-.047	.246	.216	-.235
FIFT	-.259	-.280	.187	.091	.552	.560	-.539
TWEN	.035	-.041	-.122	-.003	.568	.592	-.129
KNOWCP	-.038	-.090	-.052	-.011	.369	.389	-.206
TIMLIV	-.033	-.181	.039	.330	.101	.113	.042
LORB	.107	.146	-.015	-.153	-.119	-.127	.019
INTERACT	.059	.065	.023	-.174	-.084	-.087	.090
RESPOND	-.209	-.220	.090	.175	.002	.014	-.003
	WHITE	BLACK	FIFT	TWEN	KNOWCP	TIMLIV	LORB
DAYSAP	.203	-.173	-.259	.035	-.038	-.038	.107
NITESAF	.154	-.123	-.280	-.041	-.090	-.181	.146
SEX	-.159	.166	.187	-.122	-.052	.039	-.015
AGE	.046	-.047	.091	-.003	-.011	.330	-.153
TOTCP85	-.315	.246	.552	.568	.369	.101	-.119
TOTCP86	-.282	.216	.560	.592	.389	.113	-.127
MINC	.386	-.235	-.539	-.129	-.206	.042	.019
WHITE	1.000	-.983	-.537	.307	.170	.022	-.024
BLACK	-.983	1.000	.511	-.375	-.238	-.024	.032
FIFT	-.537	.511	1.000	-.009	.111	.142	-.084
TWEN	.307	-.375	-.009	1.000	.474	.089	-.126
KNOWCP	.170	-.238	.111	.474	1.000	-.058	-.100
TIMLIV	.022	-.024	.142	.089	-.058	1.000	-.023
LORB	-.024	.032	-.084	-.126	-.100	-.023	1.000
INTERACT	.058	-.026	-.001	-.100	-.052	.013	.290
RESPOND	.085	-.101	.069	.014	.086	.033	-.145

	INTERACT	RESPOND
DAYSAF	.059	-.209
NITESAF	.065	-.220
SEX	.023	.090
AGE	-.174	.175
TOTCP85	-.084	.002
TOTCP86	-.087	.014
MINC	.090	-.003
WHITE	.058	.085
BLACK	-.026	-.101
FIFT	-.001	.069
TWEN	-.100	.014
KNOWCP	-.052	.086
TIMLIV	.013	.033
LORB	.290	-.145
INTERACT	1.000	-.129
RESPOND	-.129	1.000

Code for Multiple Regression Matrices

- DAYSAF - level of safety felt when out alone during the day in one's neighborhood
- NITESAF - level of safety felt when out alone at night in one's neighborhood
- KNOWCP - knowledge of the neighborhood citizen crime patrol
- TIMLIV - length of time living in neighborhood
- LORB - loaning and borrowing among neighbors
- INTERACT - visiting and being visited by neighbors (all four parameters)
- RESPOND - response to witnessing graffiti being done (all four parameters)

Note: the rest of the codes correspond to the correlation matrices codes.

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