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Fear in the Neighborhoods:  
A Preliminary Investigation of the  
Impact of Crime in Chicago

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## PREFACE

Scholars and policy-makers have recently come to recognize that the impact of crime is felt not only by victims and offenders, but also by the general population of major urban centers. A major part of that impact is the fear generated by crime. There is a growing list of studies and reports which find that many adults fear for their safety even in their own neighborhoods. These studies confirm what many citizens intuitively believe to be the case, namely that fear of crime itself is reducing the quality of life in American cities. Related to the notion that fear of crime is high is the concern that citizens' fear of crime is much greater than their actual risk of victimization. This point has been made with special reference to the elderly who by many measures are the most fearful age group and yet have least likelihood of becoming a victim of most crimes. The question then becomes, "What causes the fear of crime?" That is, "Why are people afraid?" Most studies of fear to date have been more concerned with describing who is afraid rather than explaining why they are afraid. This report is an attempt to explain why people are afraid. It is a modest effort based on the preliminary analysis of several sets of data collected by the Reactions to Crime Project, Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University (these data sets are described in the Appendix). This report is the first in a series and we expect the results reported here to be modified as further analysis is completed. Nevertheless, we believe that the findings of this study do provide insight into the causes of fear of crime in urban populations.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Over the last ten years there have been dozens of studies which examined fear of crime in American cities.<sup>1</sup> Most of these studies have focused on individual differences in fear analyzed at the city level. It is possible to compare Chicago to other cities to determine whether there is more fear and crime in one city or another. There are fewer analyses of the distribution of crime and fear within a single city. While focusing on city-wide demographic variables can be useful, it is not an effective approach for informing city policy. City policy should be built on an understanding of the differences between neighborhoods as they exist in a particular urban setting.

Inter-city differences are less important for local officials since it is the distribution of fear and other perceptions of crime within cities which may help explain citizen behavior and inform crime prevention policy. This is not to say that local officials are not interested in differences among cities. Inter-city comparisons may be important for evaluating the success of particular anti-crime programs, or they may serve to place the crime and fear problems of individual cities in comparative perspective.

This report will describe the distribution of crime and perceptions of crime in four Chicago neighborhoods, and examine the relationships between official indicators of crime and measures of attitudinal reactions to crime. This report focuses on four neighborhoods which will be familiar to Chicago readers: Back of the Yards, Woodlawn, Lincoln Park and Wicker Park. Each area has a unique history and population, and a set of unique problems related to crime and its impact.

Following previous research (e.g. Biderman, 1967; Garofalo, 1976; Rifai, 1976) we propose that fear is affected not only by the incidence of crime extant in a neighborhood, but also by what we call the level of incivility. Our data indicate that in some ways the fear of crime is exacerbated by the signs of disorder or incivility which are perceived by neighborhood residents. Fear of crime is a consequence not only of the amount of crime in an area, but fear also seems to be triggered by various signs of danger which may have little to do with the actual amount of serious crime in a neighborhood. By approaching this problem at the neighborhood level we can examine the neighborhood-specific variations in fear and better understand the factors affecting attitudes toward crime in particular sub-areas of the city. Local officials may then be in a better position to develop and implement crime prevention and fear reduction policies in urban neighborhoods.

#### Crime and Fear at the Neighborhood Level

Fear of crime is not evenly distributed throughout a city. Just as some neighborhoods have more crime than others, residents of some neighborhoods perceive themselves as more at risk than people who live in other areas. The problem is to discover what factors affect the variation in perceptions of crime across neighborhoods, and to explore the policy implications of these relationships.

While it may be clear that fear is not evenly distributed within an urban area, the factors which explain that distribution are less clear. Crime may affect individuals either directly through personal victimization, or indirectly as they perceive the general crime problem in their neighborhood. Beginning with the series of reports by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice there have

been ambiguous findings regarding the effects of victimization and crime rates on fear. Part of the reason for this lies in the way actual victimization or the threat of victimization is conceptualized. The principal distinction in past research has been between the actual victimization experiences of individuals and the general rate of crime, or threat of victimization, in an individual's immediate environment. A person's experience as a crime victim may affect his/her perceptions of crime in one way, while the general rate of crime in particular areas of the city may cause different reactions.

The earlier studies by members of the President's Commission reported the consistent finding that personal victimization experiences were largely unrelated to individual fears. The Biderman et al (1967) study of crime and perceptions in the District of Columbia found that almost without exception people who had been victimized were no more afraid of crime than those who had never been the victim of crime. However, more recent analyses have found that under some circumstances and for some subgroups in the population personal victimization does affect some perceptions of crime. LeJeune and Alex (1973) report increases in fear of crime among mugging victims. Skogan (1977) found strong correlations between personal victimization experience and fear regarding personal crimes.

The second broad group of studies concerning the relationship between crime and fear focuses on the effects of general crime conditions in an individual's community on his perceptions of crime. These comparisons are most often made at the city level and examine differences in fear for residents in high crime cities versus those for residents

in cities with lower crime rates. There have, however, been few (e.g., Reiss, 1967; Conklin, 1975) studies which look at the differences between crime and perceptions in high and low crime areas within a single city and within neighborhoods. Attitude surveys of neighborhood residents within areas of the city are even less common (Biderman, et. al., 1967).

Related to the difficulties of comparing crime with people's feelings about crime is the problem of measuring crime itself. By now the conclusions from the first victimization surveys are widely accepted: UCR crime statistics underestimate the actual incidence of crime. The biggest reason for this difference is in nonreporting of certain crimes by victims and witnesses, while discretionary decisions by police not to record certain offenses accounts for a smaller portion of the discrepancy (Schneider, et al., 1977; Seidman and Couzens, 1974; LaFave, 1965). It now appears that data from the victimization surveys are more accurate estimates of the actual incidence of crime than are official police statistics. This does not mean, however, that data from victimization surveys are more accurate estimates of the amount of crime which individuals hear about. Since personal victimization, especially for violent crimes, remains a relatively rare event, data which express the number of victimizations without regard as to whether or not they were reported do not tell us how much information people have about crime. James Garofalo (1977) raises this point and argues that the information people obtain about crime most often comes from the Uniform Crime Reports because these data are more frequently publicized than are victimization surveys. This means that people with no personal experience as victims of crime are more likely to hear about crime in their city through news reports of UCR figures, and to the extent that the amount of crime in a city affects perceptions, then these perceptions

will probably be more strongly related to official crime statistics than to more accurate estimates of the incidence of crime. In other words, UCR estimates are more likely to affect fear because they are what people hear about. Garofalo presents data showing that fear indicators do in fact more closely correspond to UCR data than to victim survey data for the National Crime Survey's 26 cities.

There may be some problems with this approach in a neighborhood-level analysis of crime and fear. This is because in most press statements UCR data are reported for the city as a whole, with perhaps some information on other cities for purposes of comparison. Neighborhood residents seldom have access to information which shows official crime rates for neighborhoods within a single city. There is also reason to believe, according to preliminary analysis of our data, that many people obtain information about crime from talking to their neighbors. These two problems suggest that reports of official crime rates below the city level may not be a source of information about crime for neighborhood residents. If people get much of their information about crime from neighbors, then data on actual victimization rather than data on reported offenses may be more appropriate.

There are, however, at least three other reasons why reported crime rates may be better predictors of attitudinal responses to crime than are victimization rates. First, as noted above, scholars have found that violent personal crimes are more likely to generate fear than are less violent offenses. This, together with the finding that serious crimes are more likely to be reported than less serious ones suggests that reported crime rates may in fact be good predictors of fear. Secondly, reporting a crime usually means police presence in a neighborhood. This is a highly

visible signal to neighbors that a crime has been committed, and increases neighborhood awareness of crime problems. Crimes which are not reported to the police do not generate this kind of visible police presence. Similarly, the deployment of police preventive patrols depends on the rate of reported crime. Since police agencies are demand-responsive organizations they allocate resources according to the number of offenses which are brought to their attention. Accordingly, more police patrols are dispatched in areas with higher rates of reported crime. Offenses not reported to the police cannot affect the distribution of police. There has, however, been conflicting evidence regarding the extent to which people perceive differences in preventive patrol (Kelling, et al., 1974; Larson, 1975). The third reason why reported crimes are more likely to be known to urban residents is press coverage of crime stories. Journalists usually depend on police for information leading to newspaper and television stories about crime. Since the amount of space available to cover crime stories is limited, journalists concentrate on the most serious offenses, or on "patterns" of crimes. These stories almost always state where these crimes are occurring, and therefore act as neighborhood-specific sources of information on the most serious or chronic crimes which are in turn the types of offenses most likely to affect neighborhood fear levels. For these reasons we expect that official police data on reported victimizations will predict attitudinal responses to crime in our four neighborhoods.

In the analyses which follow we attempt to show that these indicators of reported crime and measures of neighborhood residents perceptions of incivility, act together to affect neighborhood perceptions of crime problems. We have measured incivility in terms of people's perceptions of

abandoned buildings, vandalism, kids hanging around on street corners, and problems with illegal drugs in the neighborhoods. The level of incivility in each neighborhood creates a sense of danger and decay which increases individuals' perceived risk of victimization. Our findings indicate that neighborhood-level crime rates and perceptions of incivility interact to increase fear and concern about crime problems in the neighborhoods.

The balance of this report is organized as follows. Section II contains brief descriptions of each of the four neighborhoods, together with an analysis of the correspondence between reports of particularly dangerous areas and reported crime rates within each neighborhood. These findings indicate that people interviewed by our field observers in each area have very accurate knowledge of high crime areas within their neighborhoods. Following this more descriptive introduction to our neighborhoods, we present the more formal analysis of crime, perceptions of crime, and incivility in these areas. The final section summarizes our findings and evaluates their implications for policy makers in Chicago.

## II. FOUR CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOODS

The evidence we use to explore the relationship between crime, perception of crime, and incivility is from three principal sources: (1) an extensive series of field observations in each neighborhood over a period of 14 months in 1976 and 1977; (2) telephone surveys of random samples of residents in each neighborhood conducted in the Fall of 1977 and (3) official crime rates in the neighborhoods for 1976. These three data sets are explained more fully in the appendix of this report. The neighborhood descriptions presented here are drawn largely from reports by trained field workers. Interviews were conducted with residents, officials, and community leaders in each neighborhood. These interviews were designed to provide street-level knowledge of neighborhood characteristics and problems. In addition to the qualitative information from the field observations presented here, we compare the demographic characteristics of each neighborhood according to data provided by respondents to our telephone survey. The result is a detailed portrait of our four project neighborhoods.

### THE NEIGHBORHOODS

#### Lincoln Park

The two areas of Lincoln Park included in the project are the western neighborhoods of Wrightwood and Sheffield. Wrightwood is a middle-class area in the northwest section of Lincoln Park, which has a reputation of being more conservative than other parts of Lincoln Park. Many residents are older whites working in trades or middle management. A number of younger families with children left in the 1960's in search of suburban schools,

but a new influx of younger people is dedicated to the community and similar in economic status to the older more established residents. Most residential structures are two- and three-flat buildings. There is very little new development and virtually no vacant property in the area.

Immediately south of Wrightwood is Sheffield, a community which has changed considerably in the last ten years. The area remains primarily residential, with most commercial activity being restricted to Halsted and Armitage streets. Many townhouses have been renovated and a more affluent, professional class of people has moved in. In 1975 residents were successful in having Sheffield designated as a historic district and placed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Table 1 compares the four neighborhoods with respect to a set of social and economic indicators from our Chicago surveys. Compared to other neighborhoods, Lincoln Park has more residents in the upper income brackets, over \$20,000 per year. Employment is also higher in Lincoln Park than in other areas. Lincoln Park residents are young adults; almost 70 percent are between the ages of 21 and 40. There are few children in the area, about six for every ten households. Finally, the black population of Lincoln Park is smaller than the city-wide average. There are fewer blacks in Lincoln Park than in our other neighborhoods, and a lower proportion of Spanish-speaking people than all other areas except for Woodlawn. Population in Lincoln Park has declined very little since 1970. The Census Bureau put Lincoln Park 1970 population at 21,329; 1975 estimates by the Chicago Area Geographical Information Survey (CAGIS) set the population of the Lincoln Park area at 20,773, for a net decline of 2.6 percent compared to 8.2 percent for the entire city.

Table 1

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FOUR CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOODS<sup>1</sup>

	<u>Lincoln Park</u>	<u>Wicker Park</u>	<u>Woodlawn</u>	<u>Back of the Yards</u>	<u>Chicago</u>
% Employed	71.8	54.8	44.4	62.2	65.5
% over \$20,000	29.3	12.8	16.4	14.8	22.5
% under \$10,000	22.6	32.4	29.2	19.6	24.0
Mean # Children	.63	1.28	.83	1.30	.93
% Black	8.1	14.7	95.9	21.0	39.6
Age %					
11-20	4.0	12.3	6.0	9.0	5.6
21-40	69.0	56.0	43.0	51.0	56.9
41-60	18.0	23.0	28.4	28.0	24.9
61+	8.0	8.0	22.0	12.0	12.6
% Spanish	12.8	32.1	0.0	16.6	7.5
% Own Homes	22.4	35.0	16.9	42.8	35.6
1970 Population <sup>2</sup>	21,329	43,081	53,814	64,761	3,369,359
1975 Population <sup>3</sup>	20,773	37,216	46,759	58,859	3,094,143
Δ %	-2.6	-13.6	-13.1	-9.1	-8.16

<sup>1</sup>Source: Except as noted, all data are estimates from neighborhood surveys. See Appendix for details.

<sup>2</sup>Source: 1970 Census

<sup>3</sup>Source: Estimates from CAGIS (1978)

Residents and police alike agree that Lincoln Park crime is not extremely serious. Two police districts serve the area. In the 18th district, reported crime declined 10% from 1975 to 1976, and the 19th showed lower rates than all but four other districts in the city. Day-time burglary is the most prevalent crime mentioned by residents since a great number of them work and their homes are empty during the day. Police say that auto theft is also a serious problem in the area. Other crime concerns mentioned by residents who were interviewed by field workers were prostitution in nearby New Town and fights at taverns on Armitage. There is some concern over youths hanging out on the streets; residents opposed any game rooms opening up because they would attract youth. Policemen interviewed said there is nowhere for young people to go and that they are often called when groups of kids are doing nothing more than standing around on corners. Residents are also fearful of blacks who live in the nearby Cabrini Green housing project. They opposed an A & P supermarket being built in their area because they thought it would attract black shoppers to the area to buy groceries. Their feeling was that if poor blacks came into the area to grocery shop, they would begin to hang around and rob Lincoln Park residents.

Low crime rates notwithstanding, Lincoln Park does contain pockets of criminal activity. Lincoln Park residents interviewed in the field identified the Clybourn corridor and Armitage Street, especially near the El station, as danger areas. Official police data on reported crime in this area support the perceptions of our respondents. Table 2 compares the incidence of reported crime in Lincoln Park as a whole to those areas in the neighborhood singled out by residents, and to the city-wide crime rate. The first

Table 2--Lincoln Park

BLOCK MEANS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD AND DANGER ZONES

(Mean Number of Offenses Per Block)

	RAPE		ASSAULT		ROBBERY		BURGLARY		
	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	
Lincoln Park Area	.28	(24)	.99	(84)	1.64	(139)	9.66	(821)	
DANGER ZONES	Armitage 2000 N 800-1400W	.71	(5)	1.29	(9)	1.71	(12)	15.00	(105)
	The El Stop 2000 N- 1000 W	2.00	(2)	4.00	(4)	4.00	(4)	19.00	(19)
	Clybourn Corridor 2000N- 1200-1400W and 2100N-1300W	0	(0)	.75	(3)	.50	(2)	3.75	(15)

CRIME RATES PER 1000 POPULATION

	RAPE *		ASSAULT		ROBBERY		BURGLARY	
	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total
City	.73	(1179)	3.58	(11070)	5.68	(17577)	12.50	(38661)
Lincoln Park	2.21	(24)	4.04	(84)	6.69	(139)	39.52	(821)

\* Rates per 1000 women

part of Table 2 shows the number of crimes in Lincoln Park and each of the danger areas identified by residents. These data are collected by the Chicago Police Department for each city block, and the rates in this table express the average number of offenses per block. In Lincoln Park as a whole, there were 24 rapes in 1976, for an average of .28 per block. This is not to imply that there was an average of .28 rapes per block in Lincoln Park. We report these block-level means only as a way of comparing the frequency of rape in different parts of the neighborhood. The block around the Armitage El stop, singled out as particularly dangerous, reported 2 rapes in 1976, 4 assaults, 4 robberies, and 19 burglaries. Each of these is above the neighborhood-wide average for these offenses. The perceptions of residents regarding the rest of Armitage Street also accurately reflected the relative incidence of crime. The average number of burglaries and rapes per block along this section of Armitage is substantially higher than the neighborhood as a whole, while the number of assaults is only slightly higher than that for the entire Lincoln Park area. Although the Clybourn corridor is seen to be a dangerous area by residents, the crime data suggest otherwise. Rates for assault, burglary, rape, and robbery are considerably lower for this four block area than for the entire Lincoln Park neighborhood. As we discuss more fully below, part of the fear residents express about this area may be attributable to the corridor's desolate surroundings: vacant lots and factories.

The second part of Table 2 compares crime rates per 1000 population for Lincoln Park to rates for the entire city. These data show that the rate for Lincoln Park is higher than that for the city, especially for burglary and rape.<sup>2</sup> There are about .73 rapes per 1000 females in the entire city of Chicago, while the rate for Lincoln Park is 2.2 per 1000.

The burglary rate in Lincoln Park is 39.5 per 1000 residents, compared to a city-wide rate of 12.5. Robberies and assaults are also slightly higher in Lincoln Park than in the entire city, although the differences are less pronounced.

Despite this relatively high rate of reported crime in Lincoln Park, the level of fear is low. Most residents interviewed in the field observations said they were not afraid to walk on their block or in their neighborhood at night. Many residents conveyed the general impression that a certain amount of inconvenience and crime are the price one pays for living in the city.

#### Wicker Park

Wicker Park extends from Augusta Boulevard on the south to West Armitage on the north; from Ashland on the east to Western Avenue on the western border of the neighborhood. This neighborhood is an area of lower working class families. A high percentage of families have incomes below the poverty level according to the 1970 U.S. Census, and in 1970, 12 percent of the families were receiving public assistance. Housing is primarily two- and three-flat apartments, but there are two senior citizens' high rises on Damen and Schiller. In an area known as "Old Wicker Park" homes described as mansions are being bought and renovated by young professionals. Population has changed greatly since the early 1960's, primarily due to an influx of Latino immigrants. There is some friction between Anglo and Spanish-speaking residents. Within the Spanish-speaking community there are reports of animosity between Puerto Rican and Mexican groups.

Table 1 shows that Wicker Park is considerably below Lincoln Park on most social and economic measures. Thirty-two percent of families in this

neighborhood make less than \$10,000 per year, according to our survey. Compared to other neighborhoods Wicker Park has a higher proportion of its population below the age of 20. About 15 percent of residents are black, and Latinos made up about 32 percent of our sample in Wicker Park. Schools in this area have bi-lingual programs which are resented by many whites. The percentage of our respondents employed was below that for Lincoln Park and Back of the Yards.

The area is plagued by a great many problems, but in 1976 and 1977 arson was foremost among them. Fire Marshall's records show that the area surrounding Wicker Park has far more fires than any other part of the city similar in size. Some residents estimate that in the past few years up to 1000 buildings have been lost due to fires, vandalism, and condemnations. Among residents there are competing explanations for the large number of fires. The most provocative theory offered by respondents in our field studies is that well-connected business people, city politicians, and insurance companies are conspiring to burn everything down for profit.

Several other crime problems are expressed by residents and police officials in Wicker Park. Many people mention the taverns on Division Street as locations for much of the area drug dealing. Puerto Ricans in the area are said to be the major consumers of the illicit drug traffic, and residents say dealers include local residents and pushers from the south side.

Various other areas in Wicker Park were singled out as dangerous or troublesome. Residents cite Damen and Milwaukee as an area where prostitution is centered. North Avenue and Pierce Avenue are often said to be dangerous between Damen and Western. Problems mentioned in these areas are drugs, robbery, and purse snatching. Senior citizens mention that the danger of

robbery is particularly great between their high rises on Schiller and the Jewel a few blocks north on Damen. North Wicker Park, from North Avenue to Armitage, is considered to be much safer. This is a higher income area with fewer bars and other hazards.

These concerns are borne out by the crime data presented in Table 3. The average number of all crime types per block is lower in North Wicker Park than in the southern part of the neighborhood. Of the danger spots, Damen and Milwaukee, and the area along North and Pierce from Damen to Western stand out as areas with a high frequency of robbery. These two areas, together with Division Street are also higher than the neighborhood average for burglary. Together, the three areas account for 40 percent of all burglaries in Wicker Park, and 55 percent of the robberies. Schiller Street does not compare with the other danger areas, even though it was singled out as an area plagued by robbery. The six blocks along Schiller were only slightly higher than the average frequency per block in the neighborhood. Compared to all of South Wicker Park, where this section of Schiller is located, robberies are less common. In general, however, residents are able to isolate the problem areas in their neighborhood. Their perceptions of the frequency of serious crime are quite accurate.

The bottom of Table 3 compares the neighborhood offense rate per 1000 population for Wicker Park to the city-wide average. The number of reported rapes per thousand women in Wicker Park is slightly higher than that for the city. There are considerable differences between the neighborhood and city-wide rates for assault, robbery, and burglary however; Wicker Park residents are about twice as likely to be victims of these crimes compared to the city-wide average rate of reported crime.

Table 3--Wicker Park

BLOCK MEANS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD AND DANGER ZONES

(Mean Number of Offenses Per Block)

	RAPE		ASSAULT		ROBBERY		BURGLARY	
	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total
Wicker Park	.20	(20)	2.83	(280)	4.71	(466)	9.17	(908)
South Wicker	.21	(13)	3.78	(238)	6.24	(393)	10.73	(676)
North Wicker	.19	(7)	1.17	(42)	2.03	(73)	6.44	(232)
DANGER AREAS Division 1200N from 1600-2400W  Damen & Milwaukee  North & Pierce between Damen & Western  Schiller St. 1400N 1600-2200W	.33	(3)	6.67	(60)	9.89	(89)	19.00	(171)
	.25	(1)	4.50	(18)	13.00	(52)	10.00	(40)
	.30	(3)	4.40	(44)	11.50	(115)	14.70	(147)
	.29	(2)	2.29	(16)	5.14	(36)	7.86	(55)

CRIME RATES PER 1000 POPULATION

	RAPE*		ASSAULT		ROBBERY		BURGLARY	
	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total
City	.73	(1179)	3.58	(11070)	5.68	(17377)	12.50	(38661)
Wicker Park	1.01	(20)	7.52	(280)	12.52	(466)	24.40	(908)

\* Rates per 1000 women

Although we are not able to assess the perceptions of Wicker Park residents with respect to their principal concern, arson, the available data suggests that respondents' expressed fears regarding other crime problems are largely justified. People indicate that they have restricted their activities because of the crime problem, and that they try to avoid specific danger spots. There are other crime-related problems, such as gang wars and drug traffic, which we are not able to assess with our crime data but which field workers learned were areas of concern for neighborhood residents. Relationships between residents and the police from the 13th and 14th districts which serve the area are strained at best. Residents told our field observers that the district commanders and other police administrators servicing the area are insensitive to the special problems of the Wicker Park community. There are conflicts between residents and other government institutions active in the neighborhood. These factors combine to increase the feelings of isolation among many residents.

#### Woodlawn

Our definition of the Woodlawn neighborhood corresponds exactly with the Woodlawn community area boundary, Chicago community area #42. The neighborhood extends from Lake Michigan on the east to Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive on the west, and from 59th on the north to 67th on the south. Woodlawn is a lower class area, described by some area residents as a ghetto slum. All residents interviewed by the field staff distinguished East and West Woodlawn. People reported that West Woodlawn had more homeowners who kept up their property, while East Woodlawn was consistently described as run down and deteriorated.

The demographic data on respondents in our neighborhood survey shown in Table 1 indicate that the population of Woodlawn is about 96 percent black,

and that the neighborhood suffers from a high rate of unemployment. About 29 percent of the families had a household income of less than \$10,000 per year, but 16 percent reported incomes in excess of \$20,000. Families in this neighborhood are predominantly renters; only about 17 percent of our survey respondents said they owned their own homes. Woodlawn had a higher proportion of respondents over age 60 than the other neighborhoods and, except for Lincoln Park, Woodlawn had the smallest proportion of residents between the ages of 11 and 20. The 1970 census reported population in Woodlawn at 53,814; the 1975 estimates from CAGIS show the area population to be 46,759 for a net drop of 13.1 percent.

Throughout the rest of the city Woodlawn has developed a reputation as a dangerous, high crime area, but most residents interviewed in the field do not necessarily consider the area to be so bad. Much of Woodlawn's reputation seems to have developed as a result of gang warfare in the 1960's. This problem has largely diminished according to area residents. The fires that plagued the area in the past have also subsided to a degree. The crimes which residents regularly reported were robbery, purse-snatching, mugging, and burglary. Most people were aware that these types of crimes were far more common than the more highly publicized offenses of murder and rape.

Many residents consider Woodlawn no more crime ridden than other parts of Chicago, but compared to the rest of the city official police data show that this neighborhood ranks higher than the city-wide average for all four offense types. Table 4 shows that the number of rapes and robberies per 1000 population is considerably higher in Woodlawn than in the city as a whole. The differences between the neighborhood and the city-wide rate for burglary and assault are not quite as great, but the rate per thousand in Woodlawn is still about 2½ times that for the city of Chicago.

Table 4--Woodlawn

BLOCK MEANS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD AND DANGER ZONES  
(Mean Number of Offenses Per Block)

	RAPE		ASSAULT		ROBBERY		BURGLARY	
	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total
Woodlawn	0.43	(66)	2.68	(412)	6.57	(1012)	8.51	(1310)
DANGER AREAS King Dr. Area 63rd St. Area 62nd-63rd St. 63rd-64th St.	1.29	(9)	5.86	(41)	20.86	(146)	20.14	(141)
	0.66	(23)	4.14	(145)	12.29	(430)	9.74	(341)
	0.40	(6)	4.00	(60)	9.27	(139)	10.93	(164)
	0.85	(17)	4.25	(85)	14.55	(291)	8.85	(177)

CRIME TOTALS AT HIGH DANGER SPOTS

	RAPE	ASSAULT	ROBBERY	BURGLARY
Intersection Area, King Dr. & 63rd St.	4	9	71	38
6300-6400S, 800E	3	16	61	24
6200-6400S, 1300E	4	26	49	51

CRIME TOTALS AT SAFE SPOTS

	RAPE	ASSAULTS	ROBBERY	BURGLARY
WOODLAWN GARDENS 6230 S. Cottage Gr. (6200S-700E Block)	1	1	7	9
JACKSON PARK TERR. 6040 S. Harper (6000S-1400E)	0	0	0	2

CRIME RATES PER 1000 POPULATION

	RAPE *		ASSAULT		ROBBERY		BURGLARY	
	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total
City	.73	(1179)	3.58	(11070)	5.68	(17577)	12.50	(38661)
Woodlawn	2.68	(66)	8.81	(412)	21.64	(1012)	28.02	(1310)

\*Rate per 1000 women

Respondents mentioned two sections of Woodlawn as especially dangerous or troublesome areas: 63rd Street from the Lake to King Drive, and all of King Drive between 59th and 67th.

People consistently expressed fear regarding 63rd Street. Most residents were afraid to visit the area, especially at night. All age groups interviewed by field observers noted serious problems on the street, especially muggings, robbery and purse-snatching. Table 4 shows the average number of crimes per block for these danger areas and for the rest of Woodlawn. For the entire 63rd Street area, there were an average of .66 rapes per block compared to .43 per block for the entire neighborhood. Burglary and assault were also slightly higher along this street, and the mean number of robbery was almost twice that for the neighborhood. Table 4 shows that with the exception of burglary the average number of offenses per block was higher on the blocks beginning on the south side of 63rd Street. There were an average of  $14\frac{1}{2}$  robberies per block on the south side of this street, compared to a little over 9 per block on the north side.

King Drive was also mentioned as a place to avoid. The average number of offenses per block along this street is higher than along 63rd. There was an average of over 1 rape per block on this stretch of King Drive compared to less than .5 per block for all of Woodlawn, and .85 for the worst part of 63rd Street. Assaults were only slightly more common, while robberies occurred on King Drive at the rate of almost 21 per block, close to three times the neighborhood average. Together King Drive and 63rd Street accounted for 48.5 percent of the rapes in Woodlawn, 45 percent of assaults, 57 percent of robberies, and 37 percent of burglaries in the entire neighborhood. These data suggest that residents accurately perceive specific areas in Woodlawn where crime problems are especially severe.

Parts of Woodlawn consistently reported as being particularly safe were the areas surrounding the housing projects of The Woodlawn Organization (TWO). The average number of crimes per block in the immediate areas around Woodlawn Gardens (6230 S. Cottage Grove) and Jackson Park Terrace (6040 S. Harper) support the notion that crimes are less frequent here than in the rest of Woodlawn. In all of 1976 there were no rapes, no robberies, and no assaults in the Jackson Park Terrace area. These safety islands seem to be confined to relatively small radii since one block to the south and east of Woodlawn Gardens lies another concentration of high crime blocks.

In general people in Woodlawn believe that although some streets are dangerous, the areas surrounding their own homes are relatively safe. Since a large proportion of crime in Woodlawn appears to be concentrated along two streets, residents are probably correct in believing that crime may be high in some places in Woodlawn, but not on their block.

One final characteristic of individual reactions to crime in Woodlawn was the reported tendency of residents to say they would not report crimes to the police. Police interviewed by field observers agreed that many residents often did not report crimes. People said that crimes or incidents they had witnessed were not the business of the police. Regarding the low level of expressed fear, this might indicate that Woodlawn residents do not fear crime because they feel they can handle it themselves. On the other hand, if residents in Woodlawn report crime less often, then the actual incidence of criminal offenses is even higher, and the disparity between fear and actual crime should be even greater.

Back of the Yards

The Back of the Yards neighborhood occupies a large area on the city's near southwest side. We have defined the neighborhood by the following boundaries: Archer Avenue from Ashland to Western on the north, and Garfield Avenue from Aberdeen to Western on the south; in addition there is a small portion from Garfield to 59th between Ashland and Western, and another small area from Western to California between 50th and 54th. This is a stable, working class area including a mix of ethnic white, Spanish-speaking, and black families.

Among respondents to our survey, about 17 percent were Latino, and 21 percent were black (See Table 1). Latinos get along well in the community and are accepted into the stable white lifestyle. Most black families in Back of the Yards live in the southern parts of the neighborhood, below 55th Street. Compared to the other three neighborhoods examined here, Back of the Yards has the highest percentage of homeowners. Field observers report that most families plan to stay in the neighborhood. Families in Back of the Yards have a larger proportion of children between the ages of 11 and 20 than the other neighborhoods except for Wicker Park. Although it is a middle income working class area, Table 1 shows that this neighborhood had the lowest proportion of families earning less than \$10,000 annually. Relative to other neighborhoods a high proportion of respondents in Back of the Yards were employed, second only to Lincoln Park. Population has declined somewhat since the 1970 level of 64,761. CAGIS 1975 estimates place the neighborhood population at just under 59,000, a decline of 9.1 percent.

Residents of the neighborhood are somewhat fatalistic about crime. They say that although they are aware of crime, there is not much to be done

about it--it exists everywhere in all cities and suburbs. Residents therefore accept crime as a fact of life in the city. There is a low level of fear expressed by people in the neighborhood.

This low-key treatment of crime as a local problem is encouraged by one of the most important influences in the area, the Back of the Yards Council (BOYC). The Council's weekly newspaper does not cover crime news. It is the stated policy of Joe Meegan, executive director of BOYC, that stories about neighborhood crime will not be covered in order to keep area news positive, to reduce residents' fear of crime, and to promote neighborhood stability. The Council also supports a program to reduce violence on television by boycotting the products of companies which sponsor violent shows.

Compared to other neighborhoods, there are no serious crime problems in Back of the Yards. The Juvenile Welfare Committee of BOYC conducts a series of programs directed at neighborhood youth in an effort to reduce truancy, runaways, and vandalism. This committee does not handle serious cases, referring them to juvenile courts. The only other perceptions of crime problems discerned by field observers referred to shoplifting in area stores, primarily at the South Ashland Avenue Goldblatt's store. People distinguish between the majority of shoplifters who are juveniles, and adults who are generally believed to be professional thieves from areas outside the Back of the Yards neighborhood. The BOYC conducts a program against shoplifting by encouraging store owners to prosecute offenders.

Because the block level crime reports from the Chicago Police Department are available only for serious crimes, we are unable to assess the reports of Back of the Yards residents concerning the problems of vandalism and shoplifting. For the sake of comparison with other parts of the neighborhood

Table 5--Back of the Yards

BLOCK MEANS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD AND DANGER ZONES

(Mean Number of Offenses Per Block)

	RAPE		ASSAULT		ROBBERY		BURGLARY	
	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total
BOY Area	.08	(26)	.54	(178)	1.07	(353)	2.78	(915)
47th-Ashland (4600-4700S, 1500-1600W)	.00	(0)	1.75	(7)	8.25	(33)	3.00	(12)

CRIME RATES PER 1000 POPULATION

	RAPE*		ASSAULT		ROBBERY		BURGLARY	
	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total
City	.73	(1179)	3.58	(11070)	5.68	(17577)	12.50	(38661)
BOY	.84	(26)	3.02	(178)	6.00	(353)	15.55	(915)

\* Rate per 1000 women

we did isolate data for our four serious offenses in the area surrounding the Goldblatt's store. These are shown in Table 5. There were no rapes in the area near the store in 1976, and only 12 burglaries. The average number of assaults and robberies per block around Goldblatt's was somewhat higher than the corresponding average for the entire neighborhood. It is, however, difficult to conclude that there are relatively more robberies and assaults in this area. This is because we have no way of comparing the population at risk, the number of people in the area, for Goldblatt's and the entire neighborhood. It seems likely however, that the concentration of people in space and time around the large department store would reduce the number of assaults and robberies per person to a level considerably below that for the neighborhood as a whole.

The overall rate of serious crime in Back of the Yards is comparable to that for the city as a whole. There were about .73 rapes per 1000 women throughout Chicago, and about .8 per 1000 for Back of the Yards. The rate of assaults was slightly lower here than in the whole city, while robberies and burglaries were slightly more common in Back of the Yards than in all of Chicago.

These findings suggest that residents and business people in the area are accurate in their perceptions of crime. They do not see it as a big problem relative to the city as a whole, and are not inclined to take drastic steps to protect themselves from crime. A few residents told field observers that they don't sit out on their porches anymore, and some shop owners said that they close their stores earlier than they used to. In general residents don't discuss crime problems, and express tolerance toward the existing level of crime.

This section has provided brief descriptions of the demographic

characteristics of our four neighborhoods, and has presented an overview of the extent of serious crime in each area. The field observations have enabled us to compare neighborhood residents' perceptions about general crime problems in their area with official police reports on the frequency of serious crime. In most cases, it appears that residents in our four neighborhoods have a reasonably accurate picture of the crime problem which they face. Informants who talked with our observers in the field accurately single out the more dangerous areas in their neighborhoods. There remain some unanswered questions however. Why are residents of Woodlawn seemingly unconcerned about the extraordinarily high rate of reported crime in their neighborhood? Why do people who live in Wicker Park seem to live in fear when the rate of serious crime in that area, while higher than the city-wide average, is below that in Woodlawn?

III. FEAR, CRIME, AND INCIVILITY:  
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF FOUR NEIGHBORHOODS

We have gained a rough overview of some of the concerns of the residents in these four areas. People can identify dangerous places in their midst. This section applies more systematic evidence from our telephone surveys to examine the salience of the crime problem among a sample of residents in each neighborhood. Because we also administered our questionnaire to a random sample of people throughout the city of Chicago, we can compare the perceptions of people in other parts of the city to those of residents in our project neighborhoods.

Official police statistics discussed in the previous section gave an approximate picture of the incidence of serious crime in each of the four neighborhoods. These are crimes reported to police and recorded by the police as index offenses. Despite the well-known problems with using data on reported crime, official police statistics provide the most accurate estimates of the magnitude of crime to which residents in our neighborhoods are exposed. Victimization surveys may provide better estimates of the actual incidence of crime, but the number of crimes reported to the police is a better measure of the salient crime people hear about, and therefore a better base from which to compare the incidence of crime to people's fear of crime.

We have taken two distinct approaches to measuring people's perceptions of crime in our telephone surveys. The first approach relates to the more general set of attitudes about how much of a problem certain crimes are. For each of four offenses types, burglary, robbery, assault, and rape and sexual assault, we asked respondents to indicate whether they

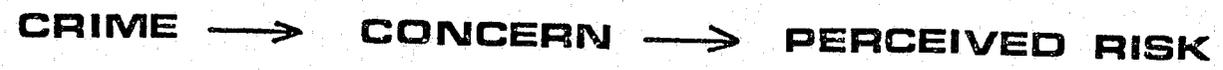
thought it was a big problem, some problem, or no problem at all in their neighborhood. Note that this question asks people to assess the crime problem based on their own criteria. It asks about people's general feelings concerning crime as an issue or a problem in their neighborhood. The second set of indicators is more specific. We asked people to estimate, on a scale from one to ten, the likelihood that they would become a victim of each of the four crime types.<sup>3</sup>

Our approach to analyzing perceptions of crime assumes that these three concepts--the actual incidence of crime, concern about crime, and perceived chance of becoming a victim--are linked as in Figure 1. This assumes that people's perceived risk of crime and official crime rates are not directly linked, but are both related to an intervening variable, general concern about the crime problem. In other words, people make the judgment that a certain level of crime is a problem and this judgment influences their assessment of risk.

In the following analyses we examine the correspondence between these three concepts for our selected neighborhoods. The figures for each offense type compare the actual rates of reported crime, expressed concern, and average estimates of perceived risk for each neighborhood. If perceptions of crime are linked to aggregate crime rates in an individual's immediate surroundings, then concern and perceived risk should be higher for those neighborhoods with higher rates of reported crime.

Figures 2 through 5 show scales for each of the three indicators for each crime type. Figure 2 compares the incidence of burglary as reported in official Chicago Police statistics, the proportion of residents who think that burglary is a big problem, and the mean perception of risk of becoming a burglary victim in each neighborhood. The crime data are

FIGURE 1



the same aggregations of block-level statistics presented above.

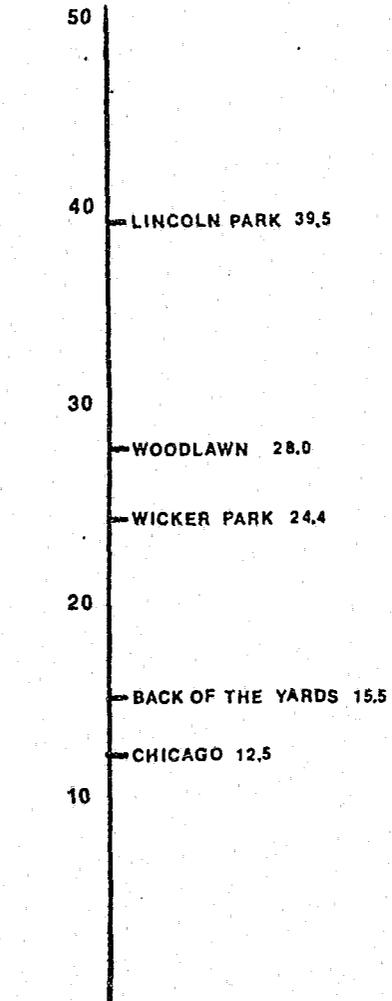
Between 18 and 32 percent of residents in each neighborhood thought burglary was a big problem. The ordering of the neighborhoods on this variable is not entirely consistent with the reported crime rates. People in Wicker Park expressed more concern over burglary than respondents in other areas despite the fact that the objective burglary rate in Wicker Park was below that for both Woodlawn and Lincoln Park. Lincoln Park residents were somewhat more likely to express concern over burglary than people in Woodlawn, while only 18 percent of Back of the Yards residents saw burglary as a big problem. The proportion of city-wide residents in this category was 19.7 percent, so residents in three of our neighborhoods showed more concern over burglary than people living throughout the city. Overall, except for the high concern in Wicker Park, the neighborhoods are ordered on this variable relative to their objective burglary rates.

The perceived risk scale shows that respondents in Wicker Park and Woodlawn think their chances of being burglarized are higher than those in either Lincoln Park or Back of the Yards. This ordering does not follow that for the official crime statistics on burglary, nor for the way the neighborhoods rank on concern. Back of the Yards respondents estimate their risk of burglary as slightly lower than residents of Lincoln Park. This accurately reflects the relative position of Back of the Yards on the scales measuring actual burglary rate and concern about burglary. The absolute values of estimated risk on all neighborhoods seem rather high. Most people place their chances of being burglarized at just below the mid-point on the scale. But this does not necessarily mean people see their chance of being victimized as close to 50-50, only that they feel they are about as likely as most people to have their homes burglarized. The mean scores of Woodlawn

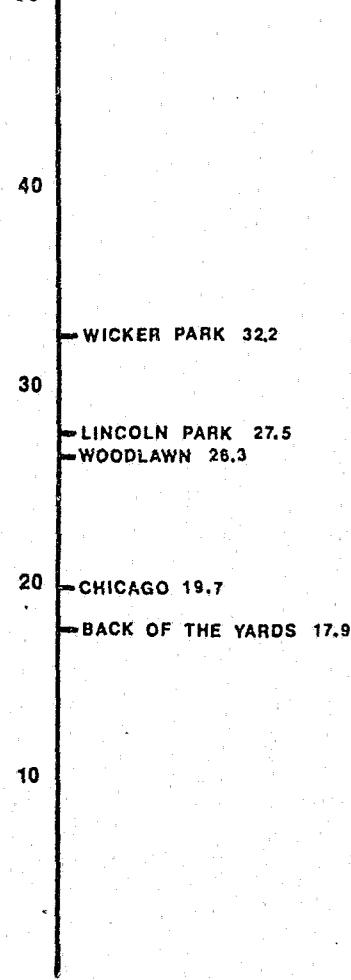
FIGURE 2

BURGLARY

RATE PER  
1000 RESIDENTS

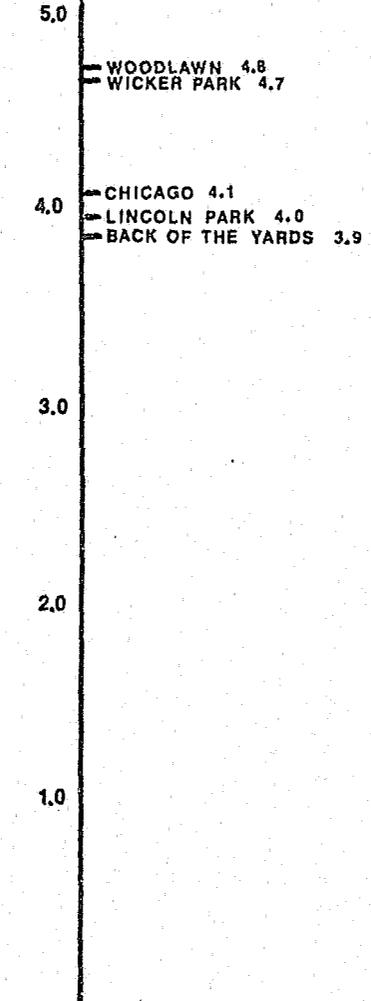


% BIG  
PROBLEM



range = 0 - 100%

PERCEIVED  
RISK



range = 0 - 10

and Wicker Park residents is above that for the city-wide sample, and above that of the other neighborhoods. Collectively, respondents living in Wicker Park and Woodlawn estimate their chances of being burglary victims as somewhat higher than people in other neighborhoods in our sample and in other parts of the city.

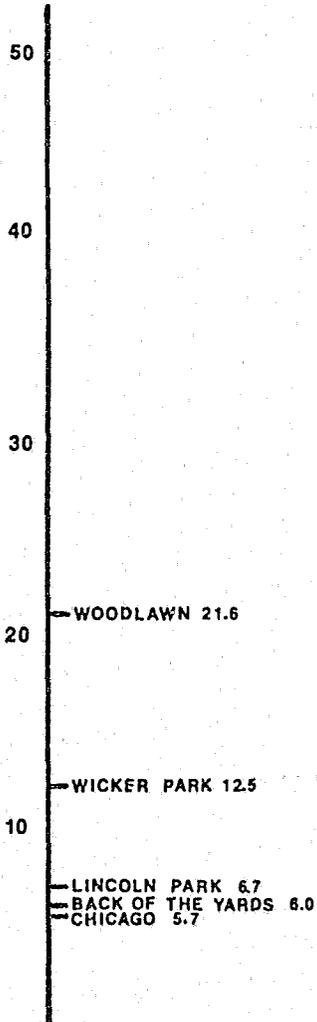
Figure 3 compares official robbery rates with concern about robbery and perceived risk of becoming a robbery victim. The robbery rate per 1000 residents in Woodlawn is almost twice that for the second highest neighborhood. Lincoln Park and Back of the Yards are well below the two higher areas, but both are slightly above the city-wide rate of 5.7 robberies per 1000. The large difference between Woodlawn and Wicker Park is somewhat surprising. In Woodlawn there are 21.6 robberies per 1000 residents; put another way this means that robbery victims in Woodlawn in 1976 equaled about 2 percent of the area's population. There were almost 13 robberies per 1000 in Wicker Park.

Woodlawn and Wicker Park residents expressed greater concern about the problem of robbery than people living in Back of the Yards and Lincoln Park. Once again Wicker Park residents are most likely to think that robbery is a big problem although the official incident reports show that Wicker Park is a distant second to Woodlawn in the incidence of robbery. There are almost twice as many robberies per capita in Woodlawn than in the Wicker Park area, yet almost 38 percent of respondents in the latter neighborhood thought robbery was a big problem, while less than 34 percent of those in Woodlawn expressed equivalent concern. Lincoln Park and Back of the Yards are both slightly below the city-wide average score for concern, even though they are slightly above the city-wide rate of robberies per capita.

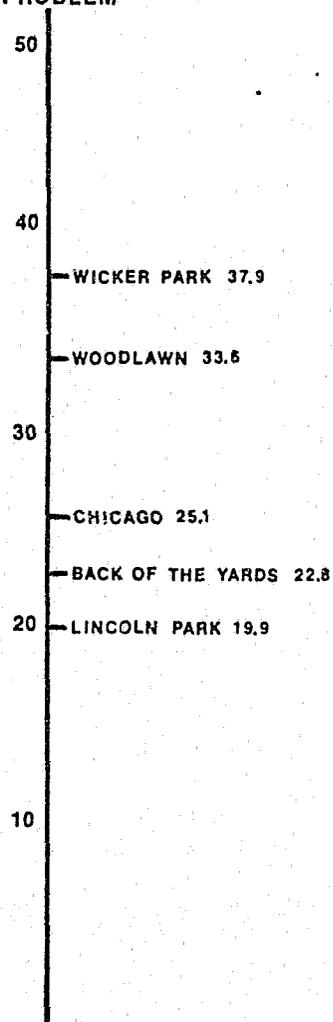
FIGURE 3

ROBBERY

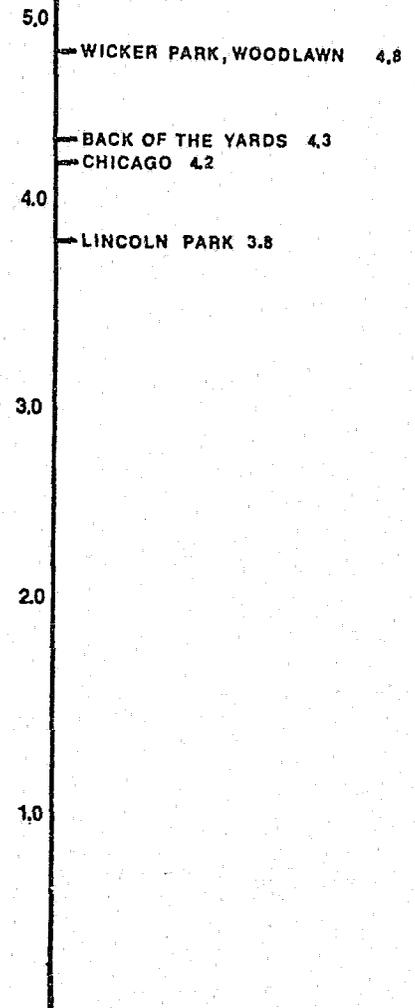
RATE PER  
1000 RESIDENTS



% BIG  
PROBLEM



PERCEIVED  
RISK



range = 0-100%

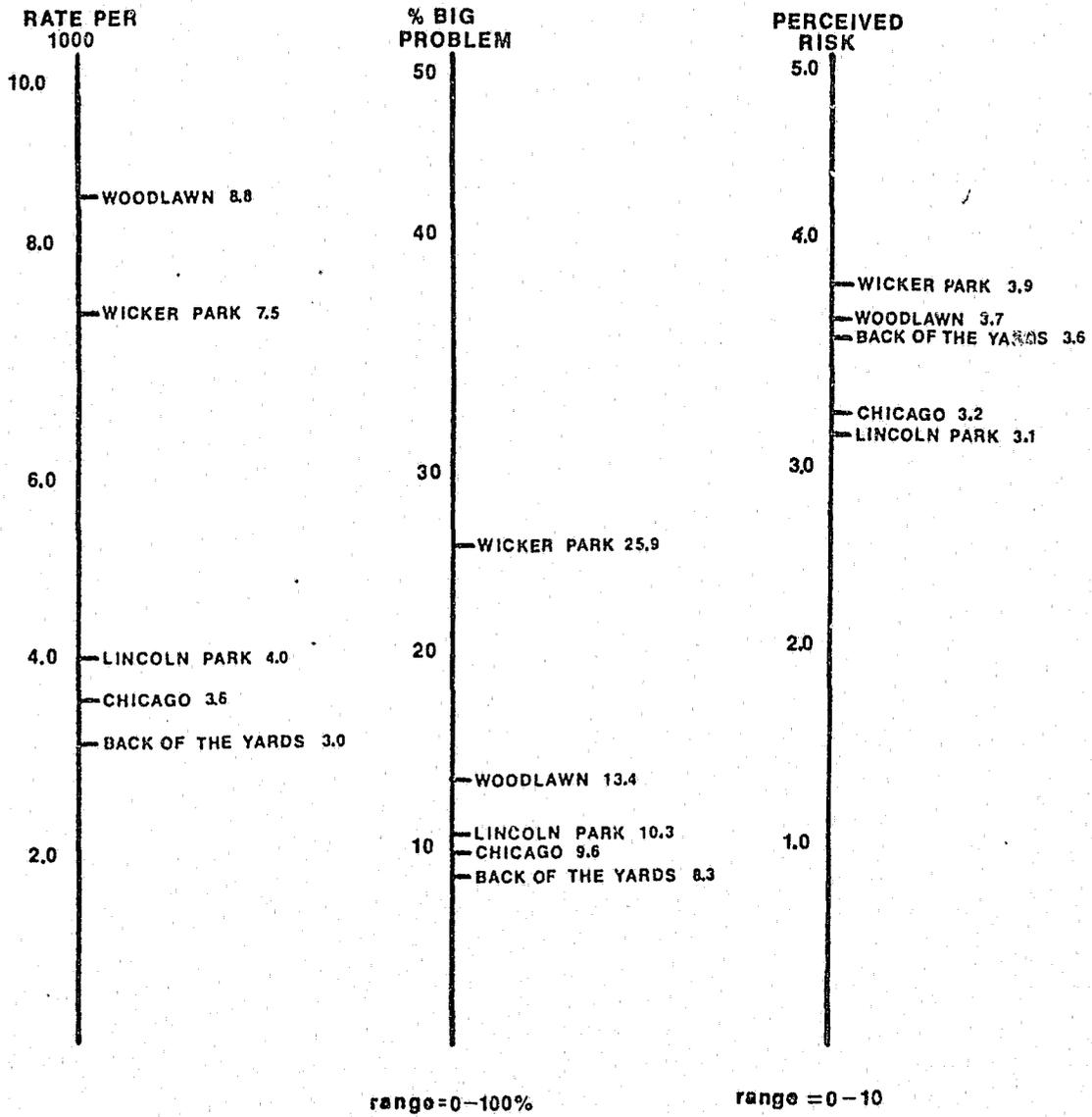
range = 0-10

There are also some inconsistencies regarding estimates of risk for robbery. The Woodlawn neighborhood had many more robberies than Wicker Park, but residents in the two neighborhoods saw their chances of being robbed as equal, at 4.8, just below the mid-point. This is only slightly above the estimates for Back of the Yards and Lincoln Park despite the fact that these latter two areas are well below Wicker Park and Woodlawn in the incidence of robbery. It is interesting to note that the perceived risk for robbery in all neighborhoods is about the same as that for burglary. Even though burglary is much more common, people estimate their chances of becoming victims as about equal for the two offense types. The indicator of concern about robbery shows that more people in each neighborhood see it as a bigger problem than the more common offense of burglary. This is consistent with previous research which has found that robbery, as a personal crime involving confrontation and often violence between offender and victim, is more likely to generate fear in victims and people who hear of the robberies (Skogan, 1977; President's Commission, 1967). On the other hand, burglary victims are rarely confronted by offenders, and even less often suffer any physical injury from burglars. For these reasons, even though burglary is more common, robbery may be more likely to generate fear and concern.

Aggravated assault is even less common than robbery. Figure 4 compares the rate of assaults per 1000 residents to our measures of concern and perceived risk. Once again Woodlawn and Wicker Park cluster together as high crime areas, well above Lincoln Park and Back of the Yards. There were 8.8 serious assaults per 1000 residents in Woodlawn and 7.5 per 1000 in Wicker Park. Lincoln Park was slightly above the city-wide assault rate

FIGURE 4

ASSAULT



with 4 per 1000 residents, while Back of the Yards reported a total of 178 serious assaults or about 3 per 1000 residents.

Relatively few people in these neighborhoods see assault as a big problem. About twice as many people in Wicker Park express concern over assault as those living in Woodlawn, the runner-up on the concern scale. This is despite the fact that there are more reported assaults per capita in Woodlawn, and that residents of the two areas have about equal estimates of their chances of being assaulted. More than one-quarter of the people in Wicker Park see assault as a big problem, while the rate of reported assault in that area is 7.52 per 1000, just under the rate for Woodlawn. Less than ten percent of the people in Back of the Yards and the city of Chicago see assault as a big problem, and this corresponds with objective and perceived risk of assault in those areas. Similarly, people in Lincoln Park are not too concerned about assaults. Although they are much more likely to become assault victims, Woodlawn residents express only slightly more concern about assault than people in the city and in the two neighborhoods with lower official assault rates.

The four neighborhoods cluster very closely in their mean estimates of risk. Residents estimate their chances of being assaulted at between 3.1 and 3.9 on the ten-point perceived risk scale. Wicker Park residents see assault as most probable, followed closely by people living in Woodlawn and Back of the Yards. People in Lincoln Park are somewhat below those in other areas in their estimate of risk, and just below the city-wide estimate of 3.2. There is considerable variation among the neighborhoods in the incidence of assault, but there is not much difference in people's perceived risk of being beaten up. The perceived risk of assault for all neighborhoods is

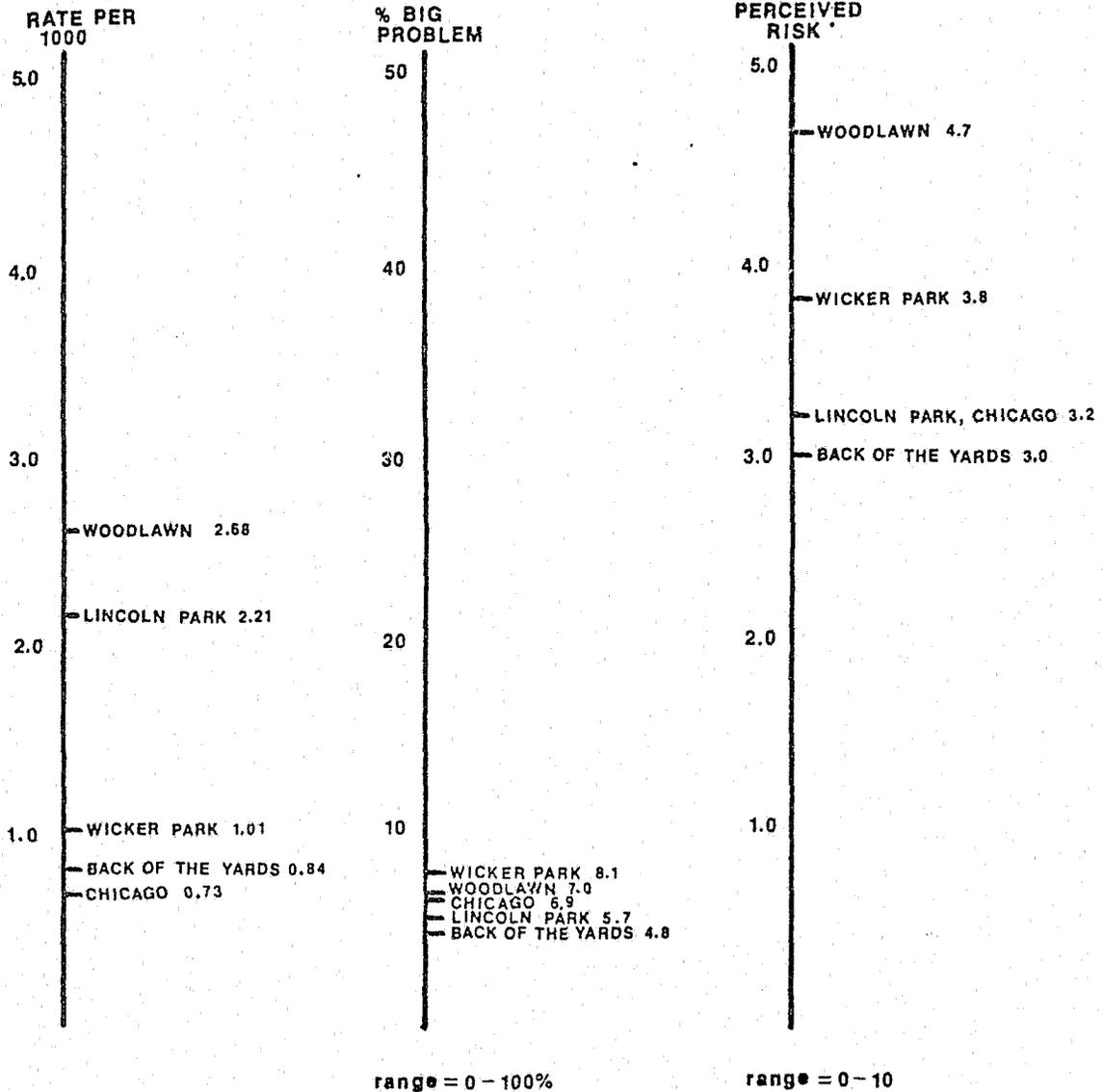
slightly below that for robbery. This accurately reflects relative frequency of the two offense types.

Figure 5 compares the four neighborhoods with respect to their rates and perceptions about rape and sexual assault. Rape is much less common than the other offense types we have discussed. Woodlawn and Lincoln Park show the most rapes per 1000 resident women, well above the rates for the other two neighborhoods and for the city as a whole. The questions about perceived chance of victimization were asked of women only, while both males and females responded to the concern question.

Few respondents express much concern over rape and other sexual assaults. Between 4.8 and 8.1 percent of the residents in our neighborhoods saw these crimes as a big problem. This is lower than any other offense types we have examined here, and the difference between perceived risk and concern is greater for this offense than for any other. The low values for concern are consistent with the low probability of victimization, but they are at odds with women's perceived risk for this offense type. The four neighborhoods cluster very closely together in respondents' expression of concern. People in the city-wide sample express slightly more concern over sexual assault than those in Lincoln Park or Back of the Yards, and they estimate their chances of being sexually assaulted as about the same as respondents in Lincoln Park. Although this is the least common of the serious offenses examined here, women still estimate their chances of being victimized at a level close to that for other offenses. The variation across neighborhoods is most interesting. Women in Lincoln Park and Back of the Yards were considerably below those in Woodlawn and Wicker Park in estimating the likelihood of being the victim of a sexual assault, despite the fact that the rate was higher in Lincoln Park.

FIGURE 5

RAPE AND SEXUAL ASSAULT



\*women respondents only

There are some regularities in the ordering of the neighborhoods across the four crime types. The Woodlawn area is consistently high in objective crime rate, being second to Lincoln Park only in burglary. Wicker Park is just below Woodlawn in all offenses except rape. Despite this consistent ordering for official crime rates, residents of Wicker Park expressed more concern about all crime types than people living in other neighborhoods. The average perceived risk in Wicker Park was highest for assault, and either just below or equal to that for Woodlawn in the other offense types. The differences between Woodlawn and Wicker Park on the attitudinal items are not great, but they are consistent across scales. Residents of Lincoln Park estimate their chances of being victimized as lower than the other areas except for rape and sexual assault, and Back of the Yards is lowest on the proportion of residents seeing these crimes as a big problem, except for robbery. These attitudes are consistent with the objective rates of crimes in these two neighborhoods.

In sum, this analysis has shown that official crime rates and perceived risk are not related in any simple way. There appear to be some consistent relationships between the intervening variable concern and people's perceived risk of crime, but the measures of concern do not appear to be related to objective crime rates. This suggests that either our indicators of crime and attitudes about crime are invalid, or that other as yet unmeasured variables are affecting people's perceptions of crime.

#### Incivility\* and Fear

So far we have looked only at people's perceptions of serious crime.

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\*Prof. Albert Hunter coined this term during an informal seminar of the Reactions to Crime Project.

The types of offenses examined here are all very rare events. They may be more common in certain neighborhoods, but even in those areas with relatively high rates per capita, an individual's chance of being victimized on any given day is rather slim. This suggests that the concern people express may not necessarily refer only to the incidence of the most serious offenses, but might also be related to other factors in the neighborhood. Relatively few people are victims of serious crime, but many residents of urban neighborhoods witness behavior which may or may not be classified as criminal but is none the less disconcerting, and many people find themselves in what they may perceive to be threatening situations without ever being victimized. We are referring here to fear-generating situations which either involve improper conduct on the part of individuals or threatening physical characteristics of the urban environment. Loud boisterous groups of teenagers, or skid row denizens may be perceived as more dangerous than the muggers and purse snatchers who take pains to be inconspicuous. Abandoned buildings and empty streets generate more fear than private residences which are the most common locations of violent personal crimes.

Biderman (1967) and others (Garofalo, 1976; Rifai, 1976) have recognized that some of the factors which affect fear of crime are only indirectly linked to actual criminal offenses: "We have found that attitudes of citizens regarding crime are less affected by their past victimization than by their ideas about what is going on in their community--fears about a weakening of social controls on which they feel their safety and the broader fabric of social life is ultimately dependent " (Biderman, 1967:160).

These are problems of incivility in urban neighborhoods which may or may not be related to the occurrence of serious crime. These types of situations are certainly more common than the criminal offenses we have

examined here. In order to evaluate the effects of such events and circumstances we asked respondents in each neighborhood to express their opinions about what are commonly believed to be problems of urban incivility. It is possible that much of the fear or concern people express regarding crime actually refers to these problems of social order, or that incivility in a neighborhood aggravates residents' perceptions of the crime problem.

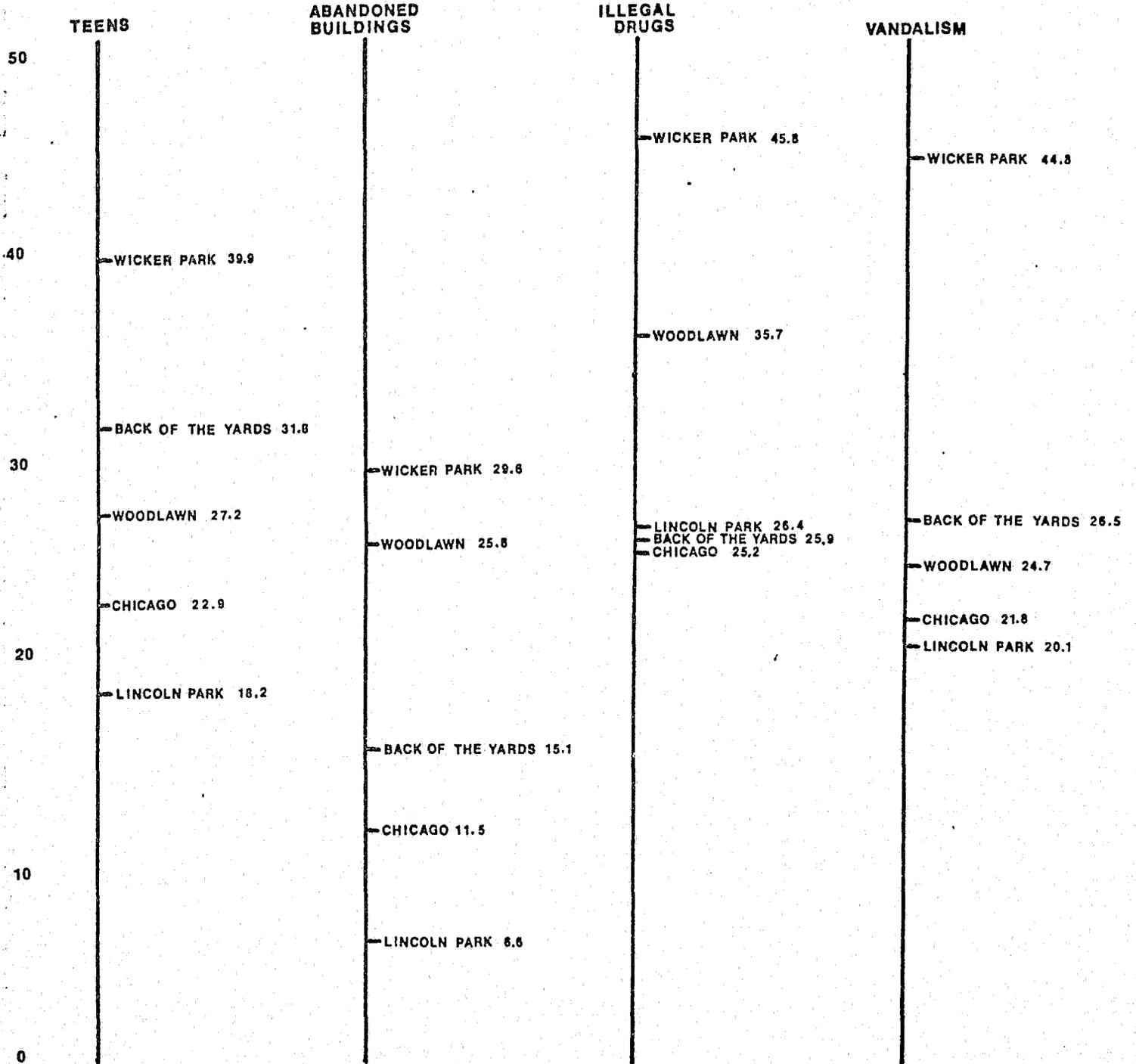
We approached the question of incivility in our survey of residents in each neighborhood. Each respondent was asked whether she/he thought the following conditions were a big problem, some problem, or almost no problem:

- Groups of teenagers hanging out on the streets.
- Abandoned or burned out buildings or storefronts.
- People using illegal drugs.
- Vandalism, like graffiti or breaking windows.

Figure 6 shows what proportion of respondents in each neighborhood thought each of these conditions was a big problem. The respondents from Wicker Park scored higher than other neighborhoods on each of these questions. Forty percent or more of the residents in Wicker believe teenagers, illegal drugs, and vandalism are big problems in their neighborhood. This is much larger than the city-wide average for these problems, and substantially greater than the next highest neighborhood. Relatively few people in all areas felt abandoned buildings were a big problem, although about 26 percent of those responding from Woodlawn, and almost 30 percent of those from Wicker Park expressed concern over this problem. The problem evoking most concern in all neighborhoods was that of illegal drugs, where the city-wide average was 25 percent. Many people expressed concern over teenagers also, ranging from 18 percent in Lincoln Park to 40 percent in Wicker

FIGURE 6

CONCERN ABOUT INCIVILITY



RANGE: 0 - 100%

Park. The city-wide total in this area was about 23 percent. It is not surprising that Lincoln Park residents do not express much concern about these problems. There are fewer children and teenagers living in Lincoln Park, and abandoned buildings are comparatively rare. Back of the Yards residents thought teenagers hanging around were a big problem. As discussed in section II, this corresponds with information from field observations in this neighborhood which indicate that the only real crime problem in the area is shoplifting, where many of the offenders are juveniles. Back of the Yards residents are also above the city-wide average in expressing concern over abandoned buildings and vandalism. The latter is usually a youth-related problem, and the concern over abandoned buildings probably accurately reflects patterns of population movement in that neighborhood.

What is perhaps most significant about the data in Figure 6 is that Wicker Park stands out above the other neighborhoods in every category, just as residents of this neighborhood expressed more concern than other respondents over each of the serious criminal categories. Despite the fact that Wicker Park has a lower official crime rate than Woodlawn in every category, and lower than Lincoln Park for rape and burglary, Wicker Park residents consistently express more concern over the problems of crime and what we have called incivility reinforce each other in the Wicker Park neighborhood. On the other hand, despite crime rates which are at least as high as the city-wide average, residents of Lincoln Park express relatively low concern over problems of crime and civility. It appears that the two problems, crime and concern, must go hand in hand for them to affect the perceptions of area residents and that a low level of incivility

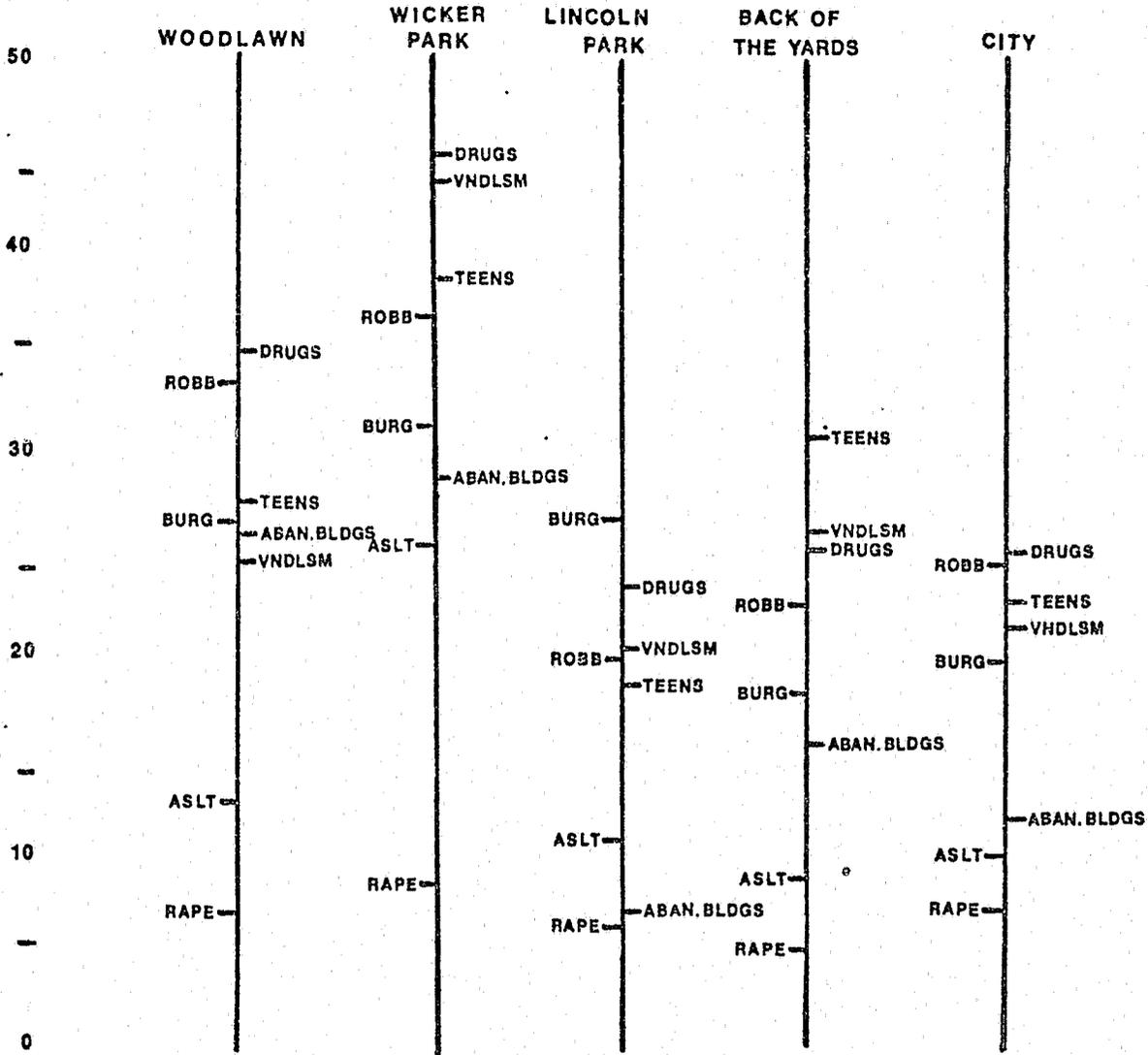
may decrease perceived risk in a neighborhood. It is also probably true that incivility and crime are symptomatic of a more fundamental social decline which affects the perceptions and feelings of safety of people who live in the Wicker Park neighborhood.

Our evidence thus far suggests that part of the reason for the imperfect relationships between crime, perceived risk, and concern about crime may be that at the margins non-criminal behavior which is nevertheless perceived as threatening (i.e., incivility) is what people are most often exposed to and that this incivility increases levels of concern about crime in a neighborhood.

Another important conclusion to be drawn from the data in Figure 6 is that people generally see the problem of incivility as more important than the problem of crime itself. Figure 7 compares the crime and incivility questions directly. For each neighborhood two scale scores are presented in Figure 7: the left side of each neighborhood scale shows concern over crime problems, while the right hand side shows concern over the four questions of incivility. As in the preceding scales, the scores for each neighborhood on each indicator express the proportion of respondents who think each of the respective questions are big problems in their neighborhood. In all neighborhoods except Lincoln Park the four civility related problems were of greater concern to residents than the crimes of assault and rape. Lincoln Park was the only neighborhood where more people expressed concern over any serious criminal offense than the problem of drug use. Drugs, vandalism, and teenagers were more often mentioned as big problems than all serious crimes in Wicker Park and Back of the Yards. Except in Back of the Yards, drug use was most often mentioned as a big problem among the civility variables. The residents of Wicker Park were

FIGURE 7

CONCERN OVER CRIME AND INCIVILITY



range = 0 - 100%

left of scale / levels of concern over serious crime

right of scale / concern about problems of incivility

more likely to express concern about all of these problems than people living in any of our other study neighborhoods, or people living throughout the city.

We conclude from Figure 7 that the neighborhood residents perceive the problems of serious crime and incivility together. Neighborhoods which exhibit high concern about crime also show high concern about problems of incivility. Figure 8 shows this relationship more clearly. This Figure demonstrates the covariance between concern about all incivility questions and concern about all four categories of serious crime. Given available data, we cannot determine which of the two factors, crime or incivility, is more important, but it does appear that people express greater concern over incivility in our four study neighborhoods. Drug use, vandalism, and raucous teenagers are considered to be big problems by more than 20 percent of the respondents in the city-wide sample and in all neighborhoods except Lincoln Park. Since the problems of drug use and vandalism are themselves youth-related phenomena, the data indicates that serious crime may not be so much a problem as the presence and activities of teenagers. Fear of crime may be directly affected by concern about local adolescents.

Data on the number of teenagers living in each area lend some support to this view. Figure 9 shows the average number of children under age 18 per household in our three neighborhoods. Wicker Park and Back of the Yards have the highest average number of young people, well above the number per household in the other two neighborhoods. These two areas also show the highest proportion of people expressing concern over youth-related problems relative to the number of people concerned about serious crime. The problems of vandalism and teenagers rate below robbery for the two other areas and the city-wide sample, and below burglary for Lincoln Park. Drugs, vandalism,

FIGURE 8

COVARIANCE BETWEEN CONCERN ABOUT CRIME AND INCIVILITY

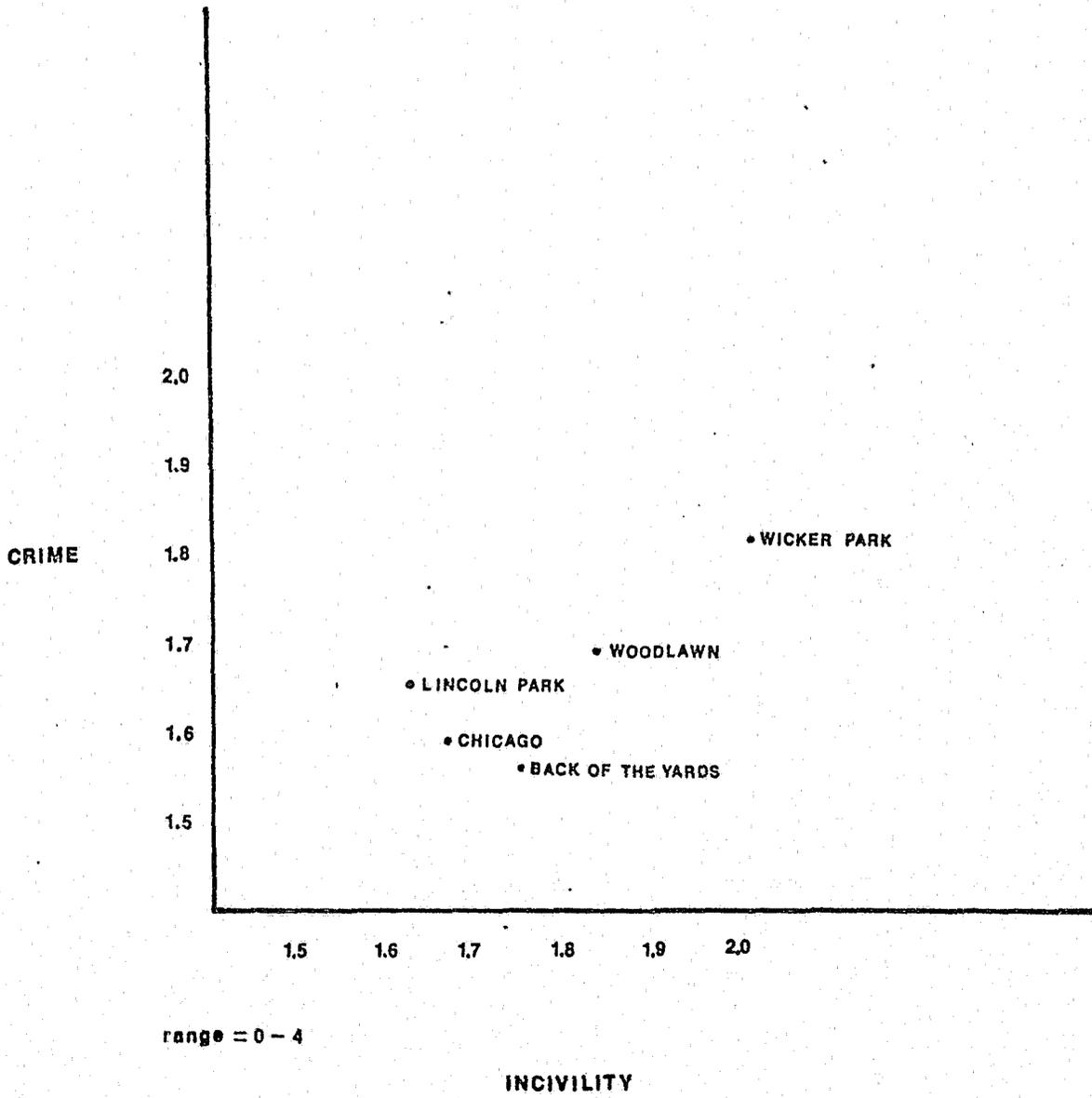
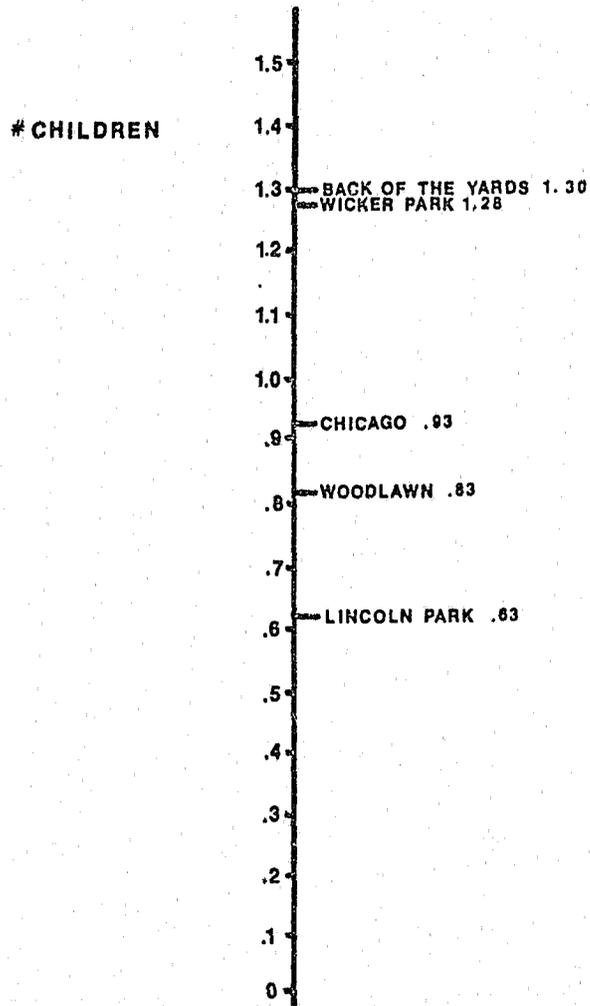


FIGURE 9

AVERAGE # CHILDREN BELOW AGE 18 LIVING IN HOUSE



source: RTC Survey Estimates

and teenagers were more often mentioned as big problems in Wicker Park and Back of the Yards than any crime type. Although the proportion of people expressing concern over incivility in Woodlawn is also high, it is more closely related to concern about serious crime. Lincoln Park with the lowest average number of children per household also shows the lowest proportion of people saying that incivility is a big problem in their neighborhood as well as the lowest fear of crime.

We have argued that official crime rates, concern about crime, and signs of incivility in a neighborhood combine to affect neighborhood residents' perceptions of crime. Furthermore, there is an interaction between perceptions of crime and perceptions of incivility which affects concern about crime. Behavioral incivility and the neighborhood physical environment are related to perceptions of crime and fear as shown in Figure 10. Just as the official rate of reported crime affects fear and concern through perceptions of the crime problem, uncivil behavior and physical characteristics combine to affect fear through perceptions of crime. Incivility increases individuals' perceptions of the crime problem, and acts to increase fear levels as well. In this way, threatening features of the urban environment other than crime itself may be translated into fear and concern about crime.

The four key concepts we have discussed here are official crime rate, concern about crime, concern about incivility, and perceived risk. Figure 11 displays the neighborhood rankings when each of the separate indicators of these four key concepts are combined. For the sake of comparison, we have included in Figure 11 a scale which measures citizens feelings of safety in their neighborhood. The survey question asks residents to evaluate how safe

FIGURE 10

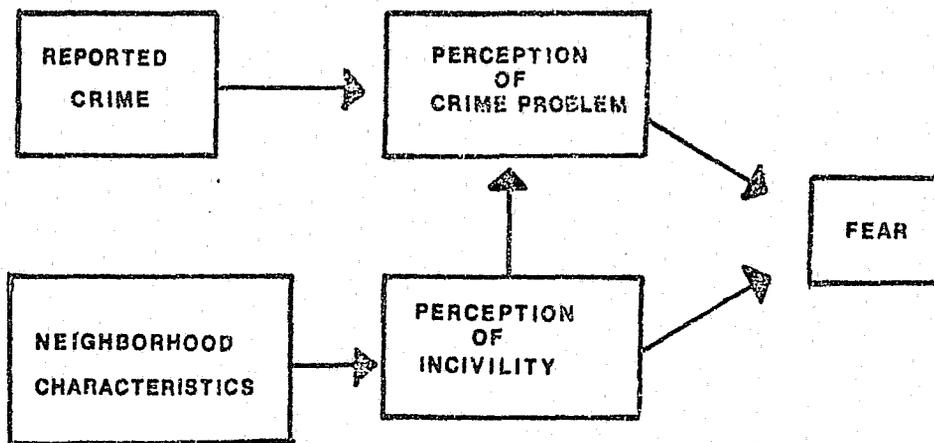
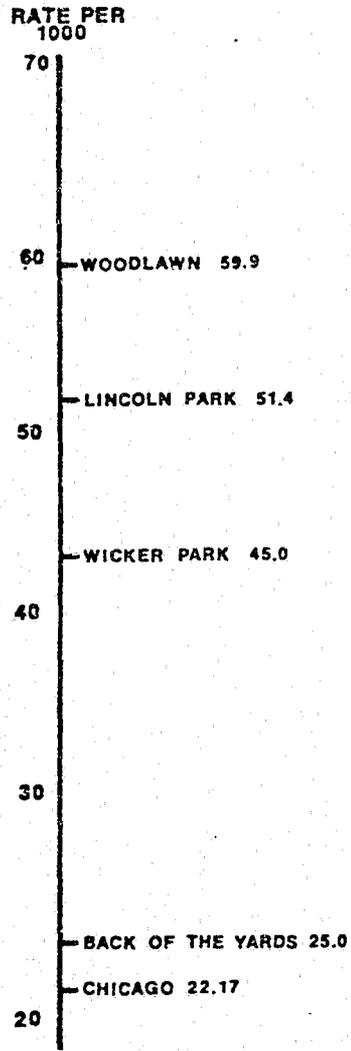


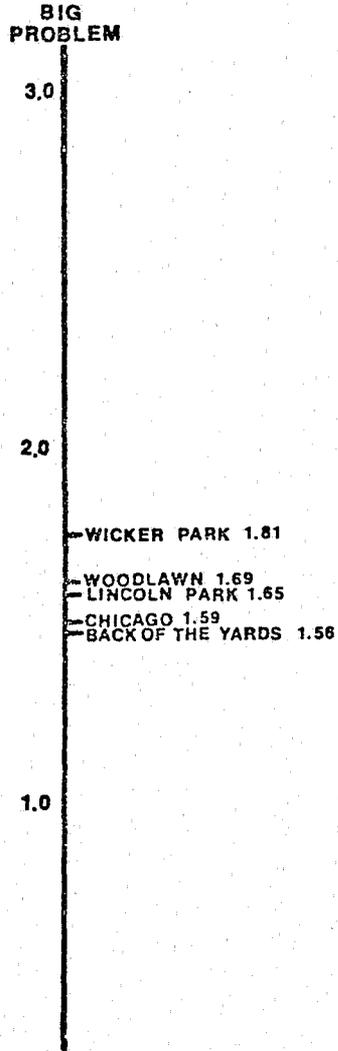


FIGURE 11

OBJECTIVE CRIME

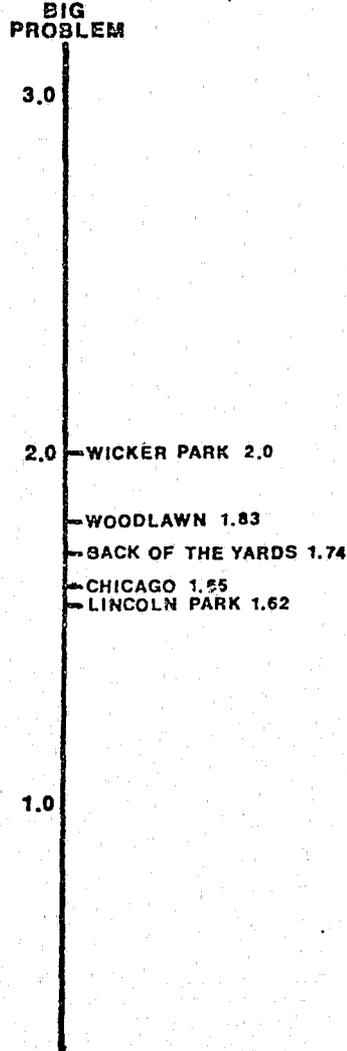


CONCERN ABOUT CRIME

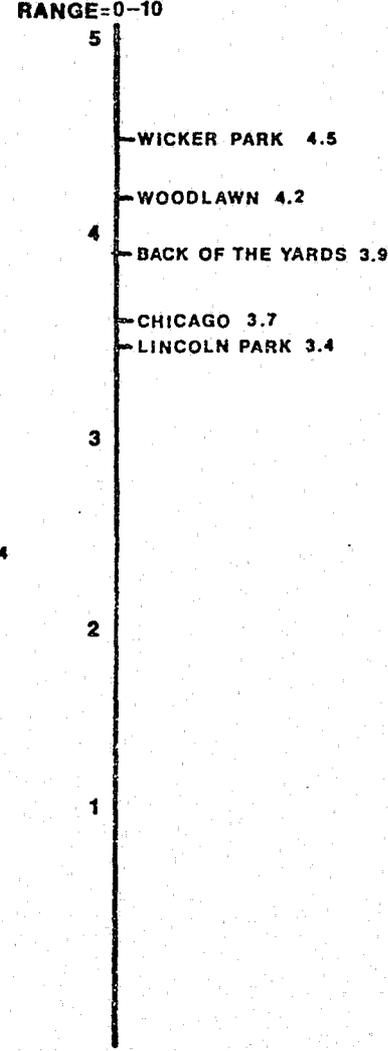


range=0-4  
3.0=great big problem  
1=no problem

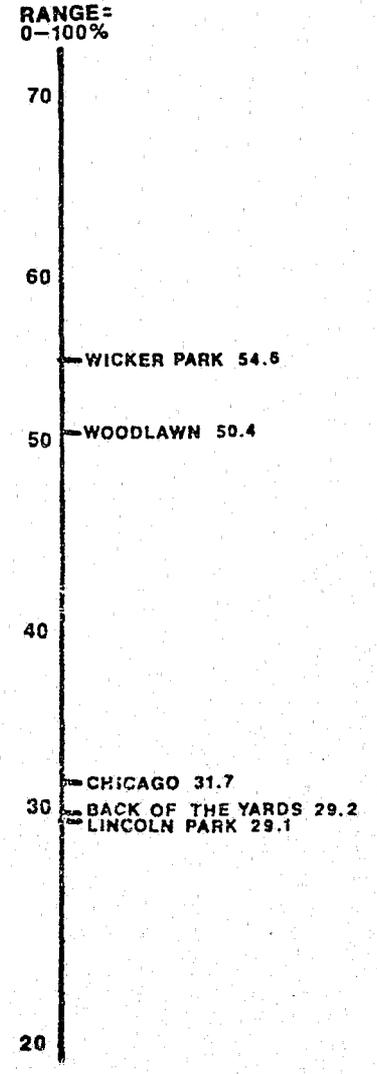
CONCERN ABOUT INCIVILITY



PERCEIVED RISK



FEAR\*



\*% feel unsafe in their nbhd at night

they feel being out in their own neighborhood at night: very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe. The scale in Figure 11 expresses the proportion of respondents in each neighborhood stating that they felt either somewhat or very unsafe. This may be interpreted as a general measure of fear or feelings of safety in a neighborhood. Comparing this scale to the summaries of individual variables enables us to summarize the differences across neighborhoods. The most important difference is between the rankings for official crime rates and the four attitudinal scales. The rankings along the incivility scale are identical to those for perceived risk when all crime types and all incivility measures are combined. The rankings on the fear scale differ only in the relative position of Back of the Yards. Wicker Park ranks highest with respect to incivility, perceived risk, and fear, although this neighborhood is behind both Woodlawn and Lincoln Park in the objective measures of crime. Back of the Yards is lower than the other three neighborhoods on objective crime, concern about crime, and fear, but residents in this neighborhood rank higher than Lincoln Park and higher than the city-wide average on incivility and perceived risk. Woodlawn is much higher than Back of the Yards on objective crime rates, but only slightly higher on perceived risk and incivility.

The important finding here is that people who are concerned about crime problems are also concerned about problems of incivility and social order. The evidence presented here further suggests that it is the combination of concern with crime and incivility which affects neighborhood fear levels. Levels of perceived risk are greatest where there is a combination of high concern about crime and incivility. The role of objective crime rates is mediated by perceptions of neighborhood incivility. If incivility is not perceived to be a problem, as in Lincoln Park, then it appears that residents

can cope with higher crime rates. To a lesser extent this is also true in Woodlawn. This area has the highest objective crime rate, but is lower than Wicker Park on measures of attitudinal responses to crime. By contrast, in areas such as Wicker Park high levels of incivility exacerbate residents' perceptions of crime in their neighborhood. The level of objective crime in this area is exceeded by that in two other neighborhoods, but the interaction between crime and incivility in Wicker Park is associated with high levels of concern, fear, and perceived risk of crime.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

It is one thing to discuss fear and crime in abstract terms and speculate on the relationships between the two concepts. Individual experiences with crime and individual perceptions of crime problems have occupied the bulk of initial research into attitudinal and behavioral reactions to crime. Our understanding of fear in the city has been thus far limited to rudimentary knowledge about the relationships between individual experiences and behavioral and attitudinal responses. In this report we have sought to apply some of the findings regarding individual reactions to crime to an examination of attitudes in four Chicago neighborhoods. Rather than being based entirely on surveys or participant observations, our analysis has drawn from both methods of inquiry. In this final section we explore some of the policy implications of our findings.

The finding that fear and concern about crime are related to perceptions of uncivil behavior as well as perceptions of serious crime has important implications for policy makers. It appears that additional factors besides crime itself contribute to fear and concern. This means that a combination of factors not directly related to the incidence of crime is partially responsible for higher levels of concern about crime in some urban neighborhoods. To the extent that fear can be identified as a problem independent of crime rates, policy makers should begin to explore ways to reduce fear independent of policies directed at reducing the incidence of crime. Henig and Maxfield (forthcoming) have discussed some of the factors which affect fear of crime independent of the crime rate itself, and suggested possible approaches for dealing with high levels of fear in urban areas.

Furthermore, since our findings here suggest that there are neighborhood-specific differences in the relationships between crime, perceptions of incivility, and concern about crime, policy makers should focus on neighborhood-level approaches to reducing crime and fear. These policies should be directed at neighborhoods or other smaller areas of the city as well as at individuals because many of the factors which affect individual perceptions of the crime problem are characteristic of neighborhoods.

We have already discussed why it is important to look at aggregate crime rates for neighborhoods in addition to looking at individual victimization experiences. Our data have illustrated that even within neighborhoods there is considerable variation in the incidence of serious crime. We have also shown that the perceptions of some of the residents in our neighborhoods regarding particularly dangerous areas in their midst are often accurate. This means that the individuals who may have never been the victims of serious crime themselves are nevertheless aware of areas in their neighborhood where crime is a problem, and alter their behavior to reflect these perceptions. Perceptions of crime are therefore likely to be shared by people who are commonly exposed to particular areas of the city. Area-specific crime rates thus become important factors affecting the perceptions of people who live in the same neighborhood.

The other factors which we have found to be associated with perceptions of crime are also restricted to particular parts of the city. Vandalism, graffiti, groups of teenagers, and abandoned buildings are concentrated in one area or another. These problems thus affect those people who live in or are otherwise regularly exposed to the neighborhood. If the problems of crime and incivility are to be addressed by decision makers, then these policies should be focused at the neighborhood level where most of these problems are based.

These findings also imply that different institutional arrangements are needed to deal with problems created by crime and perceptions of crime and incivility. The problems which concern people most are problems over which traditional criminal justice agencies have least control. Although drug use and vandalism are criminal offenses according to state statutes and local ordinances, strictly enforcing such violations places an enormous burden on law enforcement agencies. Abandoned buildings and groups of teenagers congregating on the streets also draw attention from the police, but they are limited in the resources and solutions which they can use to deal with these problems.

If fear of crime is generated by neighborhood characteristics which are not amenable to resolution by traditional policing practices and action by other criminal justice agencies then we must find other means of mediating the influences of fear. The signs of incivility can be reduced by a variety of activities which lie outside the criminal justice system. Take for example abandoned buildings. If the neighborhood is to rid itself of them, there are a variety of activities which might be undertaken. Pressuring the owner, going to building court, and taking direct action are but a few of the things people might do to alleviate this problem.

By suggesting that neighborhoods attempt to solve the problems of incivility themselves we do not mean to imply that these problems are unimportant. Physical characteristics of neighborhoods and behavior of neighborhood residents which increase fear and concern about crime are urban problems which we believe can be ameliorated by local action. The solution to problems generated by incivility appears to lie within individual neighborhoods rather than at the doorstep of city hall. Because these problems appear to be neighborhood-specific, and because of the constraints on existing criminal

justice institutions, incivility may be best handled by cooperation of neighborhood residents, most likely through formal organizations. There has been a long tradition of action by community organizations in Chicago. The Woodlawn Organization and the Back of the Yards Council are active in two of our neighborhoods. Locally based organizations such as these which can be more closely attuned to the needs of specific neighborhoods will be more effective in dealing with incivility.

Community organizing to reduce problems of neighborhood incivility can only be a partial answer to the problem. Our findings indicate that it is a combination of crime and incivility which increases concern. Lincoln Park is an example of an area with relatively high incidence of crime, but low incivility problems and low levels of concern about crime. This does not imply that community action to get gangs off the streets in Wicker Park will lift the burden of fear from residents in that neighborhood. What is suggested here is that there are no simple solutions to dealing with crime and its attitudinal consequences. Policies directed at reducing crime must recognize that problems of urban disorder are not restricted to criminal behavior. By the same token, community efforts to reduce the symptoms of incivility cannot act as a panacea for reducing the incidence of serious crime.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>See DuBow, et al. (1978) for a recent review of this literature.

<sup>2</sup>Rape rates are based on female population of city and each neighborhood, and express the number of rapes per 1000 women. Rates for other offenses based on total population of each neighborhood and city. Population data are 1975 estimates by Chicago Area Geographic Information Survey at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle Campus. (see CAGIS, 1978)

<sup>3</sup>The following are the text of the perceived risk and concern questions as they were phrased for burglary.

PERCEIVED RISK: Think of a row of numbers from zero to ten. Let the zero stand for no possibility at all of something happening, and the ten will stand for it being extremely likely that something could happen. How likely do you think it is that someone will try to get into your own house or apartment to steal something?

CONCERN: What about burglary in this neighborhood in general. Is breaking into people's homes or sneaking into steal something a big problem, some problem, or almost no problem for people in your neighborhood?

APPENDIX: DESCRIPTION OF DATA SOURCES

I. Official Police Data

The data on official reported crime used throughout this report were provided by the Chicago Police Department, Research, Development, and Data Systems Division, through the generous cooperation of Deputy Superintendent James J. Zurawski. The figures are total verified offense reports for 1976. The official incident reports are aggregated to the city block level for use by the Police Department. The analysis reported in section II of this paper uses these block-level aggregations to compare citizens' perceptions of dangerous areas in their neighborhoods to the actual number of reported offenses in these areas. Neighborhood-level totals are aggregations of these block-level data. The boundaries of our four Chicago areas are given below.

Lincoln Park - Between Diversey on the north, and Armitage on the south. Between Halsted on the east and Southport on the west.

Wicker Park - Between Armitage on the north, and Division on the south. Between Ashland on the east and Western on the west.

Back of the Yards - Between Archer on the north, and Garfield on the south. Between Racine on the east and Western on the west.  
Between 49th on the north and Garfield on the south.  
Between Western on the east and California on the west.

Woodlawn - Between 60th on the north and 67th on the south.  
Between Jackson Park on the east and Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive on the west.  
Between Cottage Grove Ave. on the east and South Chicago Ave. on the west.

II. Reactions to Crime Neighborhood Survey<sup>1</sup>

Wesley G. Skogan

The Reactions to Crime survey, conducted by the Market Opinion Research Corporation between September and November, 1977, was a Random Digit Dialing survey of residents of three central cities--Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco. The city-wide component of the survey was designed to reach randomly-selected adults in 500 households in each community. In addition, interviews were to be conducted with residents in ten selected neighborhoods, four in Chicago and three in each of the remaining cities. The neighborhood samples were to range in size from 200 (in four of the sites) to 450 (in six areas). In total, 1600 random interviews were to be conducted in Philadelphia and San Francisco, and 1800 in Chicago. The neighborhoods and their projected interview quotas are included at the end of this description.

The telephone numbers to be called were initially generated by a computer. Inspection of telephone company exchange-area maps (where available) and reverse directories listing telephones by address produced a list of all the three-digit prefixes operative in each target neighborhood. Lists of all prefixes operative in each city were available from the telephone companies. Some prefixes which exclusively were allotted to large institutions or reserved for commercial or telephone company use were removed, for only residential numbers were "in scope" for this survey. Prefixes were also purged from this list if they were less than 20 percent full of listed numbers, for calling randomly in largely empty exchanges would be extremely unproductive.<sup>2</sup> For the city samples, this proportion was reduced to ten percent.

Next, estimates were made of the number of telephone numbers which should be generated using these prefixes for each area. These estimates had to take into account the number of interviews we wanted to complete, our expected refusal and break-off rates, and the number of out-of-scope or non-working numbers that would remain in our telephone sample despite our best efforts to purge it of unwanted numbers. Our estimates were based upon the experience of the Behavioral Sciences Laboratory of the University of Cincinnati and the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan, both which have produced detailed reports on conducting RDD surveys.<sup>3</sup> These estimates were also affected by the number of prefixes and exchange areas serving a neighborhood and the degree of correspondence between a neighborhood and the telephone company exchange area serving it. In general, the larger an area within an exchange boundary, the larger the proportion of numbers we would generate which would fall within our desired neighborhood.<sup>4</sup> The number of exchanges serving each of our cities and neighborhoods (less the exclusions recounted above), and the number of telephone numbers we created for each are indicated in the appendix. For example, in areas in which we desired to reach 450 respondents, we usually generated 15,000 numbers. After the computer eliminated duplicate numbers, this initial list was decreased to about 12,000. Each number was thus a unique seven-digit set, created first by randomly selecting an in-scope prefix and then attaching a four-digit random number.

These numbers were generated by a specially-written program, BELLTEL. As it created each number, BELLTEL kept track of the order in which each was born. This defined the random sequence in which they later were to be called. Then, the program sorted the telephone numbers in ascending order, to match the format of criss-cross directories, and printed them out for visual inspection by our "number-checkers."

This list of numbers was then "cleaned" by a laborious and expensive process designed to decrease the proportion of numbers in the final set which were (1) nonworking, unassigned numbers, (2) commercial or institutional, not residential numbers, and (3) numbers assigned to residences located outside of the target neighborhoods or cities.

The original, random order in which the numbers were generated defined the calling sequence for the numbers. In turn, each number for an area or city was called. For numbers which appeared to be operating, a total of 4 call-backs, (or a total of five calls) spread over days and shifts, were made.<sup>5</sup> An attempt was made to reach a responsible adult in answering cases. An early screen question took out commercial or institutional phones which had slipped through our number-checking process. (Another checked each household in a neighborhood sample to make sure it lay within the specified area boundaries).<sup>6</sup> A total of 3 call-backs could be made to find an adult at home to serve as a household informant. This informant was quizzed to establish the composition of the household, and a respondent was then randomly selected using a Trodahl-Carter-Bryant selection matrix. As many as four call-backs could be made to arrange an interview with this respondent. Thus, no number was a substitute for another; rather, interviewers worked numbers in batches, making the requisite call-backs or eliminating numbers as out-of-scope roughly in sequence until the respondent quota (specified in the appendix) was reached in each city and neighborhood.

<u>Sample</u>	<u>Desired N</u>	<u>Number of Exchanges<sup>a</sup></u>	<u>Numbers Generated (Excluding Duplicates)</u>
San Francisco	500	61	7936
Visitation Valley	450	2	10698
Sunset	450	7	13442
The Mission	200	10	7649
Philadelphia	500	112	7972
West Phily	450	9	13777
South Phily	450	9	13786
Logan	200	4	9628
Chicago	500	172	6981
Lincoln Park	450	12	18423
Wicker Park	450	9	13807
Woodlawn	200	9	7694
Back of the Yards	200	13	<u>7759</u>
			140,000

<sup>a</sup>Excludes exchanges estimated less than twenty percent full.

1. For a more detailed description of the RTC survey see Wesley G. Skogan (1978) "The Center for Urban Affairs Random Digit Dialing Telephone Survey." RTC-Center for Urban Affairs Working Paper #M-31F.
2. Telephone companies appear to let prefixes become approximately 75 percent full (50-60 percent with listed numbers, 15-20 percent with unpublished numbers), whereupon "relief demand" causes them to open a new prefix. This has been made much simpler by the abandonment of alphabetic prefix names and the isolation of calling areas from one another in area-code regions.
3. Tuchfarber, Alfred J. and William R. Klecka. Random Digit Dialing: Lowering the Cost of Victimization Surveys. Washington DC: The Police Foundation, 1976.  
  
Groves, Robert M. "A Comparison of National Telephone and Personal Interviews." Paper presented at the 1977 Meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research.
4. An exchange area is a geographical region served by a telephone company area office within a city. In Chicago there are, for example 30 exchange areas, and in San Francisco there are 12. In general, all telephones physically located within an exchange area must use a number prefix uniquely associated with that area; no telephones outside of an area can employ its prefixes, and numbers within it must utilize one of its prefixes. This is a mechanical and electronic consideration, determined by telephone company switching systems. In the areas we studied, prefixes serving an exchange area seemed to be scattered throughout it, not geographically concentrated within the exchange area. Thus, if a

researcher is attempting to dial randomly into any area smaller than an exchange area, some of the numbers generated will reach telephones outside of the target area. The smaller the target area is in relation to the exchange area, the greater this problem will be. Target areas that span exchange areas merely magnify the problem.

5. In general, non-working numbers ring either a recording or an operator who passes along a message to that effect. Occasionally, there are malfunctions in this procedure. If one is calling long distance, there is no charge for reaching a non-working number, making it relatively inexpensive to use a telephone to test hypotheses about the existence of banks of non-working numbers.
6. A note about recent movers. The sampling frame for this survey is telephone numbers. Thus, if a call reached a recording which indicated that the former subscriber to that number now could be found at a new number (probably because the household had moved), we did not follow up that suggestion. This also has practical advantages for neighborhood surveys, for movers who did not "take their telephone number with them" probably moved out of their old exchange area, and thus out of our target area.

III. Participant Observation Research<sup>\*</sup>

The Reactions to Crime Project included an extensive series of participant observation studies in several neighborhoods in three cities. A number of different communities were included in the initial phase of the field studies, but most in-depth study was undertaken in three neighborhoods each in Philadelphia and San Francisco, and in the four Chicago neighborhoods discussed in the preceding report. Teams of six trained field workers and a field director operated in each city from about April 1976 through August 1977. The field directors maintained close contact with project headquarters at Northwestern in order to coordinate research activities in the field sites.

The research teams in each city employed a variety of methods to observe and to collect information about these neighborhoods. Local knowledge about each area by resident scholars and community leaders provided initial information about each site. Several different interview methods, ranging from notes of conversations with casual acquaintances on the street, through informal interviews with systematically selected respondents, to formal structured interviews with community leaders were exploited to gain information. Special efforts were made to seek out community leaders, and other influential residents. Field workers also attended meetings of local organizations and collected a series of unobtrusive indicators such as physical and social characteristics of the neighborhoods, demographic changes, patterns of street use, and detailed information about crime.

The initial goal was to define the boundaries of each neighborhood. This was done by asking a variety of people what they considered their neighborhood boundaries to be. After this initial effort, detailed community

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<sup>\*</sup> For a more complete description of field activities, see Fred DuBow (Forthcoming) "Participant Observation in Ten Urban Neighborhoods," RTC-Center for Urban Affairs.

profiles were developed including the following items:

- General problems in neighborhood
- Crime-related problems: general concerns and specific problems
- Mental maps of safe and dangerous areas
- Identification of opinion leaders
- Community organizations: general and crime-specific
- Relations with local police

After developing these initial profiles, field workers attempted to assess longitudinal changes in these community characteristics.

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

These are two of the principal foci of the participant observation phase of the project. The outcome of these and other field activities is a vast collection of information which provides in-depth, street-level knowledge about neighborhood characteristics in our three cities. The following is a tabulation of the numbers of pages of field notes in our project files for each Chicago neighborhood:

Back of the Yards	678
Lincoln Park	465
Wicker Park	850
Woodlawn	451

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