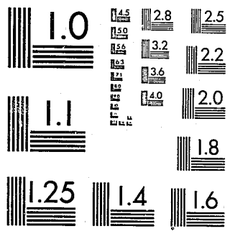

PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS AND THE PREVENTION OF CRIME: STRATEGIES FOR CONTROL

A NARRATIVE REPORT

University of Denver
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PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS AND THE PREVENTION OF CRIME: STRATEGIES FOR CONTROL
VOLUME I--A NARRATIVE REPORT

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PREFACE

Rightfully so, the early McGruff crime prevention campaign, as were a previous number of similar efforts, was based overall on demands that audiences take specifically suggested crime prevention actions on their own. Synoptically, the slogan, "Take a Bite Out of Crime" was used in McGruff to persuade message recipients to engage in some sixty different behaviors that ostensibly would either reduce or eliminate the threat of crime victimization. One cannot foresee viable crime prevention media campaigns of the future to be anything but action-demanding in their thrust.

The manifest "logic" behind these particular types of action demands is simple enough:

Many "street crimes" can be prevented. The state cannot be totally responsible for the prevention of all crimes. The individual citizen must take on the responsibility of protecting himself/herself; his and her loved ones; and his and her property. One can accomplish such protection by (1) becoming better informed about crime prevention and (2) by carrying out the specific actions that "authorities" advocate.

It turns out, sorry to say, that the latent logic of this kind of syllogism is extremely complex, and in this complexity lies a veritable mine field that is pockmarked by structural, situational, and psychological barriers that can hamper, derail and even annihilate the manifest argument to the point of virtual ineffectiveness.

For example, some publics do not believe it is the responsibility of the individual to "prevent crimes"; others who may actually believe in the doctrine of citizen responsibility nevertheless may not believe that they qua individuals are capable of carrying out the actions that are advocated, others still may

find from their situations and personal perspectives that the suggested actions they encounter cannot possibly deliver the promised results.

On another level, some publics already have developed the habit of performing the actions advocated, and they find new media demands to do so to be redundant "nagging"; others find the "information" presented to them to be "interesting," but they see little or no relation between gaining the information and doing something about it; and still others find the same information adding to their confusions and anxieties rather than dissipating them.

All this is not to say that many message recipients will not find the crime prevention information they happen to encounter to be reasonable and useful and even impelling to action.

In this study we seek to bring together theories, principles and hypotheses as well as primary data that address these issues and that point to their possible resolution. We do this in the hope that communications decision-makers and practitioners can garner further insights into the problems they face along with their possible solutions when they attempt to develop and implement mass media campaigns on behalf of crime prevention. For unless they institute the highest possible degree of control over all aspects of their "campaigns" their efforts will suffer from the absence of clear-cut explicit indicators of actual "success."

We have not attempted to write yet another textbook or scholarly dissertation on the subject of mass communications effects; nor have we tried to put together a definitive treatise on "crime prevention." And we certainly have not tried to create a "dos and don'ts" manual for the novice practitioner.

What we have tried to do is to bring together from a disparate literature plus a fresh new data base, a systematic collection of facts, observations, insights, and generalizations that go well beyond subjective speculation and

polemic, but as yet have not met the criteria of bona fide theories. We do this so that we can build communications strategies and formulate recommendations that rest on systematic empiricism rather than on intuition.

We believe that the "state of the art" as it relates to the effects of mass communications on crime prevention behavior is still in its developmental phase, so that building an all-encompassing "model" of these processes is not feasible at this particular point in time. We believe, nevertheless, that, with the help of analogous paradigms such as the Health Belief Model, we have uncovered a number of rather interesting components that ultimately may serve as inputs into such a substantive model. If we have accomplished just this, we shall consider our efforts in this study to have been much more than worth their while.

The Authors

THE MCGRUFF CAMPAIGN*

The National Citizens Crime Prevention Campaign is a nationwide public education program to enlist citizen action in preventing crime. The campaign underscores the fact that citizens--together with law enforcement--can and should take action against crime.

Recent studies have confirmed that the overwhelming majority of Americans are concerned about crime. The campaign responds to this concern. It lets people know that action is possible by offering practical tips on how to reduce the risk of being victimized and by suggesting ways to make neighborhoods and communities safer.

The campaign has four major objectives:

1. To change unwarranted feelings about crime and the criminal justice system, particularly those feelings of frustration and hopelessness;
2. To generate an individual sense of responsibility among citizens;
3. To encourage citizens, working within their communities and with local law enforcement, to take collective crime prevention action;
4. To enhance existing crime prevention programs at local, state and national levels.

WHO'S BEHIND IT?

The campaign is sponsored by the Crime Prevention Coalition--a group of 37 national non-profit membership organizations and 11 Federal agencies. The

*This description of the McGruff campaign objectives, and results has been provided by Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics (OJARS).

Coalition's role is to provide overall guidance to the campaign and to help promote it nationwide.

The Coalition represents a partnership of business, labor, law enforcement, government and citizen groups in a common effort to prevent crime. It includes groups such as the National Association of Attorneys General, the American Association of Retired Persons, the National Association of Counties, and the Insurance Information Institute.

The Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics (OJARS) of the Department of Justice is the convenor of the Coalition, coordinates the overall effort and is the principal source of funds. Under a grant from OJARS, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) provides Secretariat services to the Coalition.

The media portion of the campaign is under the auspices of The Advertising Council, Inc., a private, non-profit organization which conducts public service advertising in the public interest. Other Ad Council campaigns include the American Red Cross, the United Negro College Fund, the JOBS program of the National Alliance of Businessmen, and the Smokey the Bear forest fire prevention program of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. All Ad Council Campaigns are non-partisan politically, non-sectarian and non-commercial.

DEVELOPMENT

Initial impetus for a national campaign came from discussions beginning in late 1977 between the Federal Bureau of Investigation (under the leadership of then director Clarence Kelly) and The Advertising Council. These discussions soon expanded to include the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, The National Council on Crime and Delinquency and the AFL-CIO.

LEAA (now OJARS) submitted a formal proposal to The Advertising Council in March of 1978, asking the Council to take on a major national media campaign on crime prevention. This proposal spelled out the basic strategy: high quality public service advertising complemented by a comprehensive fulfillment effort of written materials, training and technical assistance. From the outset, it was clear that advertising alone would not be enough. Increased awareness would have to be matched by assistance to translate awareness into action.

Another basic element of the strategy was that the Campaign would be a cooperative undertaking, sponsored by national organizations committed to crime prevention and wanting to participate. LEAA would provide the bulk of the funding, matched in part by funds donated by NCCD.

The Advertising Council, after rigorous screening, accepted the proposal in the Fall of 1978. Over the next 12 months major effort was committed to developing campaign themes, objectives and materials. Two groups were formed to help with this process: a Response Management Group composed of representatives of such organizations as the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the American Association of Retired Persons and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and a Technical Working Group composed of state and local crime prevention practitioners. In addition, the volunteer advertising agency conducted field research.

The campaign was officially launched in early 1980, with the release of the first phase of public service advertising. The centerpiece of the campaign is a nationwide, multi-media effort that features a trench-coated, animated dog named McGruff (see sample artwork in Appendix 1).

FUNDING

The campaign depends heavily on volunteer resources. All creative work is donated by the volunteer ad agency (Dancer Fitzgerald Sample). All time and space are contributed as a public service by the media. Much of the promotional effort is through the volunteer work of criminal justice professionals and citizen and community leaders alike.

Federal funds have been used to pay for out-of-pocket production costs, development and distribution of booklets, and training and technical assistance support. Total annual Federal costs run about $1 million.

The study reported here was conducted during the first phase of the campaign which focused on offering audiences tips about protecting homes and property. Later phases of the campaign which, at this writing, are still underway, were designed to emphasize the importance of observing and reporting suspected criminal behavior and organizing neighborhood and local groups in support of various community crime prevention activities.

INTRODUCTION

To a very significant degree, the success of any public communications effort on behalf of crime prevention depends directly on the kinds and amounts of control that communicators can institute and carry out directly vis-a-vis explications of: (1) objectives and goals, (2) themes, (3) appeals, (4) targets, (5) media, and (6) timing of dissemination. The fewer are the components over which communicators can exercise direct control, the more likely will their dependence be on serendipity, random chance, and coincidence, and audience self-selection for the achievement of "effects." Under these circumstances "effects" will be difficult to identify; oftentimes they will be inconsistent and even contradictory; and most importantly, such "effects" will be variable rather than singular or monotonic.

Research in mass communications informs us that in those instances where communicator control is neither exclusive nor persistent, we can expect some effects to occur in each of three audience "response" domains--in their levels of information; in their beliefs, attitudes and opinions; and in their actions.

For adherents of "Hierarchy of Effects" (HOE) theory, changes in one domain must take place prior to those that may follow, so that before an individual can be judged as having been "affected" by a message, the recipient first must have learned something.* What has been learned influences salient "attitudes," and the combined "information gain" and "attitude change" together

*The HOE model has received a recent revival by M. I. Ray (1973). Variations of HOE theory have been appearing over the past years in the works of psychologists Floyd Allport, Jerome S. Bruner, and William McGuire; in the sociological diffusion theories of Everett Rogers and in the consumer-decision paradigms of Franco Nicosia.

ultimately impel the message recipient into acting in accordance with that particular message. Here "effects" are viewed as the end products of information gain plus attitude change in a step-by-step "progression" from "simple" to "complex" message responses.

The challenges to the thought that "learning" or cognitive response must always precede affective responses, and that the two together must always precede conative or action responses are simply too numerous to cite here in any detail.* Suffice it to point out at this time that the merit of HOE theory lies not so much in its substantive interpretation of psychological reality as it does in its suggestion of several critical criteria for evaluating the "effects," for example, of a crime prevention public communication campaign such as McGruff.

Using HOE theory as guidance, we can begin to examine the range of effects that can or might be produced by such a crime prevention advertising campaign...regardless of whether or not such "effects" occur in any given sequence or "hierarchy."

Realizing that any purposive mass media campaign can produce a variety of "effects" among varying message recipients, we would seek indications of the extents to which a given crime prevention campaign such as McGruff:

1. Informed the uninformed and misinformed as well as the extent to which it may have broadened the range of information already acquired by the "knowledgeable";
2. Changed pertinent "wrong" beliefs, attitudes and values and reinforced the "correct" ones already held by various publics;

*Ray argues that the majority of possible audience response modes can be classified into one of three orders: The Learning hierarchy (Cognition → Affect → Conation); Dissonance-Attribution hierarchy (Conation → Affect → Cognition); Low-Involvement hierarchy (Cognition → Conation → Affect).

3. Motivated targets to consider (i.e. "try out" at least via "skull practice") the actions that were recommended;
4. Actually impelled targets to act according to suggestion.

Mass communications research teaches us not to expect equal "effectiveness" in all four areas across the board for any one campaign or series of campaigns.

By now we know that purposive mass campaigns become less effective as they proceed from attempting to create awareness and knowledge to trying to alter beliefs, attitudes, and values to triggering motivation. The task for media campaigns becomes almost impossible at the ultimate point of trying to impel action-taking, for here the countervailing forces of situation and structure are usually far more powerful in affecting and controlling individual behaviors that are passing exposures to message "demands" alone.

Given these conditions plus the self-selectivity of mass media audiences it is hardly likely that any one "campaign" can accomplish uniform "hierarchies of effects" across the board for each and every individual it happens to touch. Nor would it be realistic or fair to assess the success of a given campaign (or series of campaigns) solely on the basis of whether it (they) successfully accomplished the exact progressions called for by the HOE paradigm in each and every single case.

In the real world, purposive mass media efforts can be expected to accomplish a good deal in the general areas of raising awareness and interest levels among various publics; somewhat less in the areas of attitude change and motivation; and just a discouragingly limited degree of success in generating recommended action-taking. Still, even where the prospects for affecting large-scale behavioral changes are severely limited, it is essential that control of purposive mass communications on behalf of crime prevention be grounded in as much empiricism as possible in order to accomplish any of

the four HOE effects among any of the sub-groups that may make up a given audience. The questions we must ask in assessing a given campaign are multiple: How much awareness did the campaign generate and among whom? How much belief, attitude, and value formation and/or change did it produce and among whom? How much motivation did it stimulate and among whom? How much behavioral change did it induce, and among whom? How much reinforcement did it accomplish, and among whom?

Precisely, these are the questions we addressed in the evaluation of the early phases of the McGruff advertising campaign.

In this particular evaluation we were concerned mainly with finding out what happens when a major nation-wide mass media effort is made on behalf of crime prevention under conditions of minimal control by LEAA regarding the detailed specifics of the targets to be addressed, appeals and messages to be formed and disseminated; and most importantly, <u>with no control whatever over where the advertisements were to be placed or when they would appear</u>.* A substantial portion of this report then is devoted to evaluating the initial phase McGruff campaign effort <u>not</u> in order to sit in judgment of its successes or failures; but rather, to learn from this particular undertaking--how to do it even better in the future.

"Doing it even better in the future" requires an aggregate investigative effort that falls under the general rubric of meta-research, a research method that has been receiving increasing attention from mass communications researchers specifically, as well as from social science researchers in general.

*Because Federal law prohibits agencies of the government to purchase media space and time, the McGruff campaign had to rely on the voluntary placements of the ads as "public service announcements" (PSAs) in various media across the USA.

The presidential address observations of diffusion theorist Everett M. Rogers to the 1981 conference of the International Communication Association are particularly important to note:

> An essential activity for any scientific field is to generalize from empirical data to higher levels of abstraction. Every scientist performs a type of such generalization when a theoretical hypothesis is tested with empirical evidence. But a further type of generalization is also necessary for a research field to advance through the systematic accumulation of tested hypotheses: Drawing generalizations, principles, and laws from a number of researches that have been conducted on a particular topic...Most of us want more than one study to provide confirmatory evidence about a research finding.
>
> <u>Meta research is an essential step in the application of research results to practical problems</u>. (Emphasis ours.) Only rarely can the knowledge provided by a single study lead directly to solving some social problems; even in such a rare case, we would wish to compare the results from our single study with the conclusions from other previous researches, so as to better judge their truth claims.

Clearly, if future mass media efforts on behalf of crime prevention are to come under increasing communicator controls that are to be empirically based, they must rely on more than a single study for guidance.

As a consequence, for guidance in this particular investigation we have turned mainly to the literatures on salient aspects of public behavior vis-a-vis

crime and its prevention and on the effects of purposive mass communications on behalf of self-protection and analogous efforts in social amelioration such as health. Abetting the findings from these secondary sources are our own primary data, principally data on certain effects of the initial McGruff campaign.

Because a good proportion of the McGruff data are "evaluative" in nature, we have been pressed by various sources at times to pronounce the initial campaign effort either a "success" or a "failure."

This we cannot do for two major reasons. First, it had never been our intent to focus research efforts mainly on "evaluating" the early McGruff campaign effort. Our reasons for including what limited evaluative measures we eventually did include were to gather what Rogers labels "confirmatory" data vis-a-vis our secondary source review. Secondly, because any mass media campaign that is not strictly controlled in each and every one of its aspects is bound to be highly variable in the multiplicity of wide-ranging "effects" it may generate, it is impossible to make categorical across-the-board assessments of "successes" or "failures" that are objective. These kinds of categorical valuative judgments can be made subjectively by the reader if the reader so desires. But one must realize that readers who do so are merely exercising their personal standards of judgments in arguing (but not necessarily proving) the merits of any one finding or series of findings. As one case in point, consider a datum from this study indicating that "30 percent of the national sample reported having seen at least one of the McGruff advertisements." The judgment that this by itself is a "good" or "bad" effect will depend solely on one's subjective notion of whether "30 percent" in this instance is well above or well below some imagined norm--a mythical standard--that in fact does not exist. In the absence of long-term trend data and salient

benchmarks there literally is no way to tell whether 30 percent awareness in this one particular instance is a "good" effect or not. Certainly one may guess that under the circumstances this particular finding probably is more a favorable than an unfavorable indicator of success. But a guess is just that. It is not a fact.

Although changes in audiences' knowledge, beliefs, and behaviors may be what sponsors of ameliorative campaigns may be seeking, such a totality of outcomes generally is most difficult to come by. The prudent course is to examine the multiplicity of outcomes mass media campaigns usually produce without placing opinion valuations on which are to be considered "good" and which are not.

The reader may encounter a number of instances of seeming "success" and "failure" indicators in the course of this report. In reporting such data--without suitable benchmarks--the authors have consciously attempted to refrain from making categorical judgments of a good-bad nature. Some readers may find fault with the absence of such categorical judgments. In such instances readers are reminded once again that our purpose in these studies was primarily to learn from the early McGruff campaign what we can do about the problems such efforts are bound to encounter. The hope is that by studying the issues and problems that appear to have affected various publics' reactions to the McGruff campaign from its earliest appearances we will be able to recommend means for either mitigating or eliminating them in future undertakings of this sort. In other words, we will not be satisfied with simply insisting that communicators institute as much control over all aspects of a "campaign" as is possible. We intend to point up in some detail what exercising such control is likely to entail. In pointing up particular problems and issues, we do not imply that their coming to the fore in any way suggests "failure"

on the part of the beginning McGruff campaign. Nor do we imply negligence or ineffectiveness on the part of the campaign in those instances where the McGruff efforts did not readily resolve certain issues that we have come to consider as highly important.

Again in the real world given the limitations of resources that the McGruff kinds of efforts must ordinarily make do with, no one campaign can possibly be expected to accomplish all the results that we might expect from ideal efforts operating under ideal conditions. We can only try to approach the ideal by recognizing those important problems that do exist, and by making conscious efforts to resolve them as best as resolution is possible.

In this report we raise problems and issues that from the primary and secondary source research we conducted appear to call for particular attention at this time. Undoubtedly, there will be additional issues and problems that the reader will recognize as important--ones which the authors have either downplayed or neglected to acknowledge at all. Just as no one media campaign can possibly accomplish all the communications objectives that can be considered ideal, no one research effort can possibly contend with all the pertinent issues and problems that are inherent in the outcomes of that research. Consequently, we have selected problem and issue areas for focused presentation, discussion and consideration.

This report is organized mainly around five major issues and problems, and their possible resolutions:

1. What structural/situational issues must any public communication crime prevention effort accept as "givens"?
2. What happens when various publics with varying experiences are directed to take specifically advocated "crime prevention" actions?

How is crime prevention action-taking related to and/or influenced by:

   a. Demographic characteristics;
   b. The nature of the advocated actions;
   c. Beliefs regarding responsibility for crime prevention; beliefs about self-competence; beliefs regarding the efficacy of individual action-taking in reducing victimization;
   d. Victimization experience and perception of vulnerability;
   e. Information about and interest in crime and crime prevention;
   f. Opinion leadership and participation in community organizations?

3. What happens when crime prevention advertisements are produced and disseminated exclusively as "public service advertisements"--PSAs? What are PSAs; what are their functions; who are their audiences; what are their effects? What are the strengths of PSAs; their weaknesses?
4. What were citizens' reactions to the initial McGruff campaign?
   a. Who was exposed to it?
   b. What effects among whom did exposure to McGruff advertisements appear to generate vis-a-vis changes in:
      (1) Awareness and information gain;
      (2) Attitude-belief changes;
      (3) Action-taking?
5. Other than the placement and timing of advertisements, what additional components of public communications should all those interested in exercising maximum control over crime prevention public communications be aware of?

a. Delineating targets on attributes other than demographic characteristics;

b. Risk-efficacy beliefs and action-taking, information and action-taking;

c. Fear appeals;

d. Source credibility.

CHAPTER ONE

PROCEDURES AND METHODOLOGY

PROCEDURE

This study seeks to answer three questions:

- Can mass communications contribute to motivating the general public to participate in advocated crime prevention activities?
- If so, what scientifically empirical bases are there on which to forge control strategies for effective public communications on behalf of crime prevention?
- What specific control strategies regarding themes, appeals, and message targets evolve from an evaluation of pertinent theories, principles, and data in these regards?

Phase One of the study focused on the initial McGruff public service advertising campaign, and it was designed to both provide evaluative data about the "Take A Bite Out Of Crime" campaign and to serve as an input for meta-analysis. In the latter regard data gathered in Phase One provided a primary empirical basis for developing effective crime prevention promotion strategies for the future. The data from the two Phase One National Surveys are presented and discussed in Chapters Three, Four and Five of this report.

Phase Two of the study was made up of four components:

- A critical review of social and behavioral science as well as communications, education, and market research literature;
- A content analysis of recent and current mass media efforts on behalf of crime prevention;

- o A survey of experts and specialists in crime prevention, mass communications, advertising and community organizations;
- o A critical review and analysis of selected mass communications effects studies, particularly those that concentrated on health as well as on public service advertising.

The content analysis and expert survey results have been presented elsewhere in working papers. The critical literature review has resulted in a separate Bibliography. The results of that review and of the analysis of the theoretical and empirical literature is embodied mainly in the discussions in Chapters Two, Three and Six.

Chapter One provides a description of the methodology and analysis plan employed in the two national surveys.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT

As Principal Investigator, Dr. Harold Mendelsohn was responsible for all phases of this study in their entirety--from conceptualization and planning through implementation to ultimate analysis, interpretation, and write-up. Additionally, the Principal Investigator contributed the introductory sections plus Chapters Two, Three, and Six of this report.

He is the principal author of the Executive Summary as well.

Dr. Garrett O'Keefe served as Project Director for the evaluation surveys, with responsibility for their design, execution and analysis, working in collaboration with Dr. Mendelsohn and assisted by Jenny Liu, Research Analyst. Dr. O'Keefe specifically prepared Chapters Four and Five, in addition to the methodological overview.

Dr. Harry Spetnagel, Research Associate, served as general project coordinator and made several contributions to the thinking included herein.

Research Associates Donna Wilson and Michael Wirth carried out the early stages of inquiry into existing crime prevention campaign techniques across the country, and Kathaleen Nash assisted in the final data processing and analysis.

Caroline Venglar assisted in bibliography development and providing excellent secretarial support were Betty Whitmore and Millie Van Wyke.

METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

The nature of the "Take a Bite Out of Crime" campaign presents several obstacles to well-controlled evaluation of its effects on citizens. The campaign was initially disseminated largely via mass media under public service advertising formats. Hence placement of specific ads in specific locales over the country tended to be quite haphazard and dependent upon the willingness of media outlets to incorporate them as space and time permit. Moreover, the design of the campaign made no allowance for attempted dissemination in particular communities while withholding the messages from others, rendering classic "treatment versus control community" field experiment controls impossible. Consequently, the primary research efforts discussed in this report are based on the "next best" designs available--utilization of probability samples of citizens which are largely, but not exclusively, dependent upon self-report measures of both exposure to the campaign and response to it.

Such designs are of course somewhat flawed in their ability to remove many commonplace "threats" to internal validity, e.g. history and maturation

(Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Cook and Campbell, 1979), as well as external, e.g. testing interaction, when used in research aimed at rigorous testing of hypotheses. However, they can be quite appropriate in pointing to general trends insofar as campaign reach and effectiveness are concerned. More importantly for the purposes here, the insights and inferences derived from the findings of such research, when combined with reasoned models and hypotheses concerning campaign effects, offer substantial evidence for developing guidelines and strategies for subsequent crime prevention campaign efforts.

Two separate surveys were used to both evaluate the impact of the first stage of the "Take a Bite Out of Crime" public service advertising campaign and gather other appropriate information concerning prevention. One survey, conducted approximately six months after the start of the campaign, was based on a national sample of adults and had the primary purpose of describing the scope of public exposure to the campaign and reactions to it by various groups. The other survey entailed use of a two-stage panel design with a smaller and less generalizable sample, with interviews being conducted both prior to and several months after the campaign's onset. The main goal of the panel study was to obtain more objective and exacting measures of campaign exposure patterns and effects under at least a somewhat controlled situation.

The National Sample Survey

The overall design called for personal interviews to be completed with a national probability sample of 1,500 persons over age 17. On the basis of previous experience, reliability of performance and cost effectiveness, the Roper Organization was contracted to perform the sampling and field work, utilizing a questionnaire instrument developed by the Center for Mass Communication Research and Policy (CMCRP) staff. Study Director for the Roper Organization was Dr. Irving Crespi.

Questionnaire Development. Questionnaire items were developed by the authors on the basis of their meeting the research goals envisioned for the national sample study, and their compatibility with the concurrent panel survey study. Initial drafts of the questionnaire were reviewed by the LEAA project monitors. The final draft was submitted to the Roper Organization in late February 1980 for final editing and pretesting.

Pretesting was conducted during the period March 7-10th in the greater New York metropolitan areas. Five pretest interviewers conducted five interviews each, for a total of 25. The use of five interviewers provided a diversity in interviewing experience which enhanced the productivity of the pretest. The interviewers were personally debriefed by Dr. Crespi, and some further relatively minor modifications were made in the questionnaire, upon consultation with CMCRP staff.

Sampling. The population examined included national civilian non-institutional U.S. residents aged 18 and older. A one call quasi-probability sample design was employed, based upon the Roper Organization's master national probability sample of interviewing areas. The sample goal was 1,500 completed interviews.

At the first selection stage, 100 counties were chosen at random proportionate to population after all the counties in the nation had been stratified by population size within geographic region. At the second stage, cities and towns within the sample counties were drawn at random proportionate to population. Four blocks or segments were then drawn within each location. Where block statistics were available, blocks were drawn within the cities and towns at random proportionate to population. Where no block statistics were available, blocks or rural route segments were drawn at random.

A specified method of proceeding from the starting household was prescribed at the block (or route) level. Quotas for sex and age levels, as well as for employed women, were imposed in order to assure proper representation for employment.

Interviewing Recruitment and Supervision. Interviewing was conducted by the Roper Organization's national staff of regularly employed personnel. The interviewers had extensive experience in administering both attitudinal and behavioral questions on a wide range of topics, including social issues and communication behavior. Their work was consistently monitored by the home office staff and regional monitors. In addition, a sample of their work was systematically validated by an outside organization.

An interviewer's manual was prepared reviewing sampling procedures and providing special instructions where needed for the proper administration of the questionnaire. Regional supervisors maintained close telephone contact to resolve any sampling or interviewing problems that arose in the course of the survey. Supervisors also provided weekly reports on field progress and completion rates.

Field Work. Interviewing was conducted during the period April 12th-May 5th, with the bulk of the work completed by April 19th. A total of 1502 interviews were completed. The average time per interview was approximately 50 minutes. A demographic breakdown of the sample appears in Table I.1.

The Panel Sample Survey

The design called for a two-wave panel survey consisting of personal interviews conducted at two time points with an initial probability sample of 1,050 persons over age 17 drawn proportionately from three U.S. metropolitan areas. On the basis of previous experience, reliability of performance and cost effectiveness, Research Services, Inc. was contracted to perform the

sampling and field work, utilizing a questionnaire developed by the CMCRP staff. Study Director for Research Services was John Emery, president of the organization, assisted by Ruby Standage as Field Director.

Questionnaire Development. Questionnaire items were developed by the authors according to the criteria of their assisting in meeting the research goals envisioned for the panel survey phase of the study; their compatibility with the concurrent national sample study; and their comparability with previous crime prevention-related survey efforts. Initial drafts of the questionnaire were reviewed by the LEAA project monitors. The final draft of the first wave survey questionnaire was pretested by Research Services in Denver during the first week of September 1979. Three experienced interviewers conducted ten pretest interviews each, for a total of 30. The interviewers were debriefed by Research Services and CMCRP staff members, and some further relatively minor modifications were made in the instrument. The same procedure was followed for the second wave survey questionnaire, which was pretested during the final week of March 1980.

Sampling. The population examined included civilian non-institutional persons aged 18 and over, residing in the Buffalo, Denver and Milwaukee metropolitan areas. The three locales were chosen to provide diversity in regional characteristics and crime rate profiles, while assuring an adequate media mix for a least potentially moderate distribution of the initial McGruff campaign materials. (It should be noted that at the time of site selection, and indeed throughout the project, there was no way of determining which locales across the country might have greater or lesser access to the campaign, because of the reliance upon gratis placement public service advertisements. It was also impossible to determine precisely when the campaign might have peak play periods in various parts of the country.)

A goal was to have a final sample size of 650-750, with each respondent having been interviewed in September and again the following April. In order to accomplish that, while allowing for mortality within the panel, a sample size of 1,050 was specified for the first wave of interviews, including 350 completed interviews in each of the three communities. Sampling points within each community were determined by drawing addresses from the telephone directory by a systematic random sampling procedure, offering a representative cross section of each community approximately proportionate to population density. At each so-designated sampling point, interviewers were instructed to start next door to the address listed and move clockwise around the block or area until one interview was completed. Interviewing hours were varied to help achieve proper representation of employed and unemployed men and women.

Interviewing Recruitment and Supervision. Interviewing was conducted by Research Services' own trained interviewing staff in Denver and by the experienced staffs of affiliated survey research firms in Buffalo and Milwaukee. Each interviewer received written instructions for potential problem areas, and participated in an extensive pre-field work training session. The training sessions in Denver were held a few days prior to those in the other locales, and were attended by the CMCRP Project Director to help assure clarity of instructions. Interviewers' work in each community was consistently monitored by field supervisors, and Research Services and CMCRP staff maintained close telephone contact with all field supervisors to resolve any sampling or interviewing problems that arose during the course of the survey. A validation check was made on ten percent of the completed interviews.

Field Work. Interviewing for the first wave of the survey was conducted in respondents' homes during September 7-23, 1979, with the prevention campaign having been projected to begin September 24th. A total of 1,049 usable

interviews were completed. Interviews were attempted at 1,477 households, yielding a response rate of 71 percent. The first wave sample is described demographically in Table I.2.

The second wave of interviews was conducted during the month of April 1980, with a few carrying over into early May. At each household, the interviewer asked by name for the person who had been interviewed previously, ascertained that the respondent recalled having been interviewed, and further identified the respondent as being in the correct age and sex range.

It had been anticipated, based upon previous experiences with panel surveys spanning several months, that the attrition rate between the two waves would run between 30 and 40 percent. Unfortunately, only 51.7 percent of the initial 1,049 respondents were recovered on the second round of interviews, despite almost monumental efforts on the part of the Research Services staff. Reasons for attrition are summarized in Table I.3. In debriefing of interviewers, it appeared that at least in some cases refusals resulted from what respondents saw as the "touchy" subject area of the initial interview, and not wanting to repeat the experience.

Given the 48 percent mortality rate, it was gratifying to find no obvious sources of at least demographic bias in those reinterviewed versus those not. In fact, the composition of the full panel group compared quite closely with that of the initial sample (Table I.2).

Analysis Preparation and Statistical Techniques

Following the field work stages of the surveys, the raw data in key-punched card and tape form, as well as preliminary tabulations of marginals, were submitted by the contracted agencies to the CMCRP staff. The data were processed on the University of Denver Computing Center's Burroughs 6800 computer, and minor editing procedures were carried out to assure maximum

utilization of the data. All analyses were carried out by the CMCRP staff, typically using standard Statistical Package for the Social Sciences library programs.

A variety of analytic procedures were used, depending upon the particular task at hand. Most of the national sample analyses tend to be based upon more descriptive cross-tabulations, for example, while mean score analyses were used more often for panel analyses to take more advantage of the two-wave quasi-experimental design for inference-building purposes. In many instances, multivariate correlational analyses were incorporated for purposes of either analyzing several sets of variables in terms of their relative impacts upon specific dependent variables, or to provide more stringent control procedures in delineating campaign effects. The appropriateness of such techniques, including multiple regression analysis, given the limitations of the data, has been the source of some debate. Our view generally follows that of many social researchers who argue that the advantages in exploratory power and efficiency to be gained by the use of such techniques override the theoretical risks involved of not always meeting some of the more stringent mathematical assumptions of the models. In any case we used the techniques here more to address relative power of prediction of given independent variables than to build and test multivariate equations per se. We then relied upon cross-tabulation and mean score analyses to more specifically test relationships suggested by the multivariate methods.

General Plan for Analysis

The overall strategy for the national sample involved first identifying specific indicators of public reaction to the campaign, including simple measures of exposure and respondent self-reports of campaign effects based upon the Mendelsohn Active Response Test measures. Specific indices used

appear in the appendix. Then, emphasis turned to identifying the make-up of the exposed audiences in terms of their media patterns, demographics, psychological attributes, crime orientations and other relevant factors. The characteristics of individuals reporting having been affected by the campaign were then identified. Once the campaign audience had been analyzed, more general profiles concerning crime prevention-related communication behaviors were examined.

The advantages of the "before-after" field design utilized in the panel sample were first put to use in examining respondent dispositions prior to the campaign which were most associated with subsequent campaign exposure, and then mainly relying upon pre-to-post measure change scores as relatively objective indicators of campaign effects. Respondents' self-reports as to whether they recalled having been exposed to the advertisements served as the basis for separating the sample into an experimental group (those exposed) and a control group (those unexposed). After the investigation of selectivity factors in exposure to the ad, potential effects of that exposure in terms of changes in crime prevention, crime, and general psychological orientations were studied by means of both simple group comparison tests and more stringent multivariate control procedures. Thereafter, analyses focused on specific types of campaign effects within various kinds of audiences, with an eye toward subsequently integrating the respondent typologies identified here with those noted in the national sample, and arriving at reasoned communication strategies for targeting crime prevention information to the public.

CHAPTER TWO

ISSUES AND QUESTIONS IN CRIME PREVENTION AND PUBLIC COMMUNICATION

Purposive public communications on behalf of crime prevention are specially designed communications constructed for the purpose of persuading various publics to take approved crime prevention actions voluntarily. Purposive public communications on behalf of crime prevention are disseminated primarily via the media of mass communication, allowing all who desire such, equal access to them.

As we shall soon see, the crime prevention actions that are purposively advocated via the media usually are concerned both with the individual qua individual as well as with collective/community actions. Ordinarily, such action messages are disseminated via films, pamphlets and brochures, newspapers, radio, television, and magazines. They are produced solely for the purpose of persuasion, despite the sometimes euphemistic claims of communicators that their objective simply is to "inform" or to "educate" the public. Generally, purposive public communications messages on behalf of crime prevention are produced and disseminated by non-profit public service groups, organizations and agencies which claim expertise in crime prevention, but which generally exhibit no particular expertise in mass communications. A surprisingly large number of organizations, agencies and groups from government, law enforcement, the bar and judiciary, and social service, as well as those whose interests focus on criminology and penology, public affairs, public administration, and civic improvement generally, are engaged in the production and dissemination of purposive public communications on behalf of crime prevention. It is to

the public communications outputs of such sources that the present study is addressed exclusively.

Excluded from consideration in this study are crime prevention messages that are exchanged privately; didactic messages that are designed mainly for formal instructional activities; and advertising messages that are designed to sell products such as burglar alarms, door and window locks, firearms and such. Additionally, technical reports, straight news and commentary, and fiction and drama which may touch on crime prevention are excluded as well.

Ostensibly, public communications are viewed by many authorities as viable instrumentalities for abetting crime prevention and crime control efforts overall, despite the lack of systematic objective evidence that they either are or are not effective in these regards. At this point in time, it is simply assumed (at least by one principal school of thought that is Skinnerian in nature) that individuals can in fact be "taught" to behave in advocated ways (i.e. to take recommended crime prevention actions) via formalized "educational" efforts.

The mass media are viewed as educational "tools" from this perspective, tools that can be used to "fix" such "problems" as public ignorance, apathy, irresponsibility, fear, obstinacy and lack of motivation--all of which are considered to hobble "crime prevention" behavior overall. This is an "optimistic" perspective--optimistic in the sense that it considers the individual as the principal vehicle through which solutions to complex psycho-social problems like "crime" can be implemented, and that "education"--or "communication"--in the present case--can actually persuade significant numbers of individuals to "do what is right." Reinforcing the optimistic perspective are perceptions that for various reasons look upon mankind as being essentially

weak, while again in this case, the media are viewed as being overwhelmingly powerful.

Taking their cues from the sociologistic theories of Durkheim, W. I. Thomas and the more recent phenomenological theories of Lewin and Schutz, contemporary critics of individualistic solutions for social problems posit the need to view crime prevention basically as requiring large-scale social engineering. Here, the political, economic, legal, and service institutions of society are seen as having to be mobilized in order to guarantee satisfactory nutrition, housing, education, a sense of community, and the like to all citizens equally--the provision of which will prevent crime simply by removing its "causes" to begin with. These "situationalists" reflect a pessimistic orientation to reliance on education or communication as primary and effective means for achieving social control. They regard the media as essentially representing just one input into an interactive ameliorative system of enormous complexity--and a relatively unimportant input at that. The situationalists, or functionalists as they are labeled in mass communications research, view mankind as all-powerful, and the media as essentially weak.

For the most part, public communications policy makers and practitioners tend to fall into the more optimistic effect-is-equated-with-exposure hopper. In either view, the positions that will be taken on effective public communications will be extreme and unrealistic. If one is an optimist one will wish simply to offer more and more intellectual information to more and more people. In contrast, the more pessimistic among us will elect mainly to put their efforts into "community organization" and "political action" rather than concentrating on education and persuasion.

Contemporary communications decision-makers who are <u>not</u> schooled in contemporary social psychological thought generally rely on one or two major

traditional images of mankind for guidance. Most often these guidelines are derived more from precedent, from personal experience and from hear-say knowledge than they are from any formal systematic body of psychological knowledge. The resulting "communications" that emanate from these sources often lack specificity, appeal and persuasive power.

In prominence here are those images of mankind that equate him and her with some simple mechanical or electronic stimulus-receptor system. Here it is argued that informational stimuli presented in psychologically rewarding circumstances and repeated over time can quite automatically produce cognitive "learning" and even imitative affective "social learning" directly--learning that will result not only in information gain, but more importantly, learning that will cause changes in attitude and behavior as well (Bandura, 1963).

The obverse image is somewhat more flattering to mankind. Rather than asserting the robot, <u>Homo Mechanicus</u> nature of mankind, many public communications practitioners prefer to be directed in their work by the overwhelmingly "rational" image of the "thinking person"--<u>Homo Sapiens</u>. Here we encounter the Cartesian assertion that the human organism exists primarily because it can reason. Consequently, if we are to persuade mankind to take, say, advocated crime prevention actions, we must give him/her all the information they "need" in order to make cognitive judgments regarding the most rational and logical courses of action to follow.

Where in the first instance communicators press simply for as much gross "exposure" as they can manage to manipulate, practitioners in the <u>Homo Sapiens</u> tradition seek to develop more and more "educational opportunity" for audiences to "learn" as much about crime prevention as they, the communicators, can possibly "teach."

Overall, the track records for either orientation in significant social problem areas that call for strong ameliorative public actions generally have been rather poor--despite the millions of dollars for "campaigns" that have been expended or donated over time. For example, what "evaluations" we have had to guide us indicate that we have not had too much success so far with our mass mediated purposive public communications efforts in traffic safety, race and ethnic relations, smoking cessation, opportunities for the handicapped, substance abuse, registration and voting, exposure to hazardous chemicals and carcinogenic agents, equal rights for women, energy conservation--to name just a few. "Crime prevention" is no exception.

Of course there are many, many reasons for the apparent difficulties these purposive public communications efforts have encountered. But what stands out clearly is that efforts at public communication for ameliorative purposes cannot afford to rest on either extreme notion--either that for every external stimulus there must be an appropriate response; or that mankind behaves principally on the basis of exposure to intellectual "information" alone.

Contemporarily, a third construct has been emerging as a potentially useful base on which to build ameliorative public communications policies and programs. Here the view is that all human action is a function of motivation. The predominant image is that of Homo Volens--interacting mankind who behaves only because there is reason to and not because his or her physiology or intellect forces them to.

Whether we turn to the inconsistency/dissonance models of Heider, Festinger, Abelson; or to the two-step flow personal influence paradigm of Katz and Lazarsfeld; or to the cognitive learning models of the Hovland, May, Lumsdaine, McGuire, Yale tradition; or to the health belief paradigms variously

offered by Hochbaum, Rosenstock, Becker or to the most recent PRECEDE social action model put forth by Green and his associates--no matter what the model--we readily note that underlying each is a theory of human behavior. In turn, each human behavior theory is based upon a unique image of mankind. The images of mankind communicators hold necessarily shape what they wish to say, how they will say it, to whom, and with what effect.

At least four behavioral theories are simultaneously in vogue at the present time as possible guideposts to communicators on behalf of crime prevention. Because they are so disparate, these theoretical undergirdings of today's prevention promotion efforts often have been more confusing than enlightening, and serious research efforts in the mass communications of persuasion have focused more often on reconciling their differences in methodologies and findings than on the resolution of substantive social problems per se.

The four theories assert that:

1. Behavior is a function of biology; that is, of physiology;
2. Behavior is a function of environment;
3. Behavior is a function of physiology/environment;
4. Behavior is a function of motivation.

Much unproductive effort in mass communications has been expended under the first three rubrics.

With the possible exception of consumer advertising--not too much energy has been directed to mass communications that grow out from the motivation paradigm. The one major exception is reflected in the development of the Health Belief Model that we shall be turning to on occasion in this report.

In contrast to the deterministic instinct psychologies of the past which viewed man as purely a mechanical passive reactor to external stimuli like

information--contemporary motivational paradigms view behavior as being fundamentally active and purposive.

"...The behaver (and this is as true of the animal as of the human) is an active agent in the universe," writes Isidor Chein (1972). "He is not merely a passive medium for the interplay of constitution and environment; his own activities affect that interplay" (p. 29).

As motivated organisms we not only can select courses of action according to our needs and beliefs--these selections being labeled "decisions"--but we can anticipate the consequences of our decisions as well. As a result, we process information not necessarily in accordance with the intent of the communicator; but rather with regard to how we, the audience, see the world as fitting in with our personal needs, values, expectancies, aspirations, concerns, experiences, and motivations.

Communications do not create motives. Motives come into being from the profound complex interactions that take place between physiology, personality and environment that turn us into acting human beings. At best, communications can stir up or trigger motives that may be dormant, and they can try to channel them into specific outcomes. It can be argued, for example, that all human beings are "motivated" to avoid the experience of harm. Crime prevention messages can attempt to direct that motivation into specific actions that may result in the avoidance of harm resulting from the commission of a specific crime. To a great extent, however, probably more so than many practitioners might care to admit, what purposive communicators on behalf of crime prevention put into their messages as "motivation" may not necessarily be what their recipients get out of them. After all, the means available to humans for avoiding harm theoretically are as numerous and varied as are the experiences themselves.

In its application to public communications for crime prevention, the motivation paradigm admonishes practitioners that only audiences who have (or are offered) "good reasons to," will (1) pay any attention to communicators' messages and/or (2) will take the actions advocated.

In a sense then, the prime, and perhaps sole, objective of all purposive crime prevention communications is to motivate message recipients to act on the specific recommendations offered.

This sounds easy enough, but in actuality persuading large heterogeneous publics to take any sort of ameliorative action voluntarily is extremely difficult and frustrating. For one, the processes of audience self-selection generally are far more powerful in determining "effects" than are the "messages" that a communicator may disseminate.

Consider just one basic hurdle to overcome--getting people's attention; a necessary, although not sufficient condition for persuasion to take place. A veritable tidal wave of "messages" engulfs us daily from some 95,000 governmental units; from 2,500,000 business firms; from 125,000 different schools, colleges and educational organizations; from 350,000 churches and religious organizations; and from some 15,000 rational trade, fraternal and professional associations.

As a consequence, the amount of serious attention we possibly can give to any one crime prevention message in the media at any one time can be likened to the amount of serious attention we can give to any one particular frame from a three-hour motion picture. How then can we possibly expect the media to just bowl the "masses" over into ameliorative behaviors by virtue of exposure alone? Unfortunately, the potential distributive power of the media is overestimated by many decision makers. Equally problematic is the tendency

to equate the potential distributive power of the media with assumed power to affect audiences in consequential ways.

As yet, we have very little to rely on as authoritative guideposts to achieving large-scale public motivation and action in regard to crime prevention. We have no "kitchen-tested" recipes; no "up-to-date" road maps; no "handy" references. As a matter of fact, we have but few facts on the "whys" of crime prevention behavior itself; let alone on the "effects" of propaganda on such behaviors.

How then are we to build sound strategies for effective public communications on behalf of crime prevention?

We can begin by turning to the growing literature in mass communications, criminology, social psychology, and health as analog sources of theories, insights, and principles for guidance.

A number of national and local surveys regarding public attitudes about and reactions to crime--including those initiated at the University of Denver for this study--provide some essential social marketing facts, but hardly all that are needed. The state of the art at this time simply is not advanced.

All in all, the strategies to be developed in this study will of necessity be based often on piece-meal scraps of actual knowledge. Where possible, the groundings for our recommendations will be scientifically empirical. Otherwise, they will, of necessity, be qualitative and even speculative at times. Our evaluative techniques for making judgements will not be arbitrary to the degree that "arbitariness" can be fully controlled in an exercise such as the one undertaken.

To avoid dogmatism and polemic as much as possible, we have adopted an evaluation of available evaluations as one method of investigation. That is to say, whenever possible as grounding for our judgements, we have been

rigorously examining pertinent summaries and evaluations of a variety of theories, hypotheses, findings, arguments, criticisms, and public policy positions in a very wide range of empirical endeavors on such seemingly disparate issues as the role of fear in crime prevention behaviors; source credibility; reasons for delay in seeking health help; social structure and anomie; the dynamics of beliefs formation and changes; personal influence; the diffusion of innovations; "social learning" and so on.

We have sought answers to a few problems by launching our own primary research investigations. As part of these efforts we have tested public reactions to a rather large-scale public communications crime prevention effort, the beginning McGruff campaign.

Our purpose was not to produce another text on mass communications that simply would catalogue these issues and note areas of scholarly agreement and disagreement regarding their substance. The reader no doubt is familiar with such texts, and no practical objective would be served either in repeating what already is available or in producing an unneeded additional one.

In seeking organizing principles that can bring together the important thinking from all this material so that new paradigms pertinent to public crime prevention communication can be developed eventually, we have essentially performed what we consider to be a rather extensive "meta-analysis" (Rogers, 1981).

Interestingly, the core organizing principles that have emerged from this meta-analysis stem from a health motivation-action "value expectancy" paradigm that has been receiving rigorous empirical attention over two decades now--the Health Belief Model (HBM). Research on the HBM has been concentrating on the same kinds of "prevention" problems that are the concerns of those of us who are interested in crime prevention: HBM research offers much to guide us

with regard to why various publics either comply with or reject advocated preventive actions designed to protect individuals from personal hazards. By now a sizeable literature has been accumulated on how to persuade children to brush their teeth and visit a dentist periodically; how to persuade mothers to take their infants to pediatric clinics; how to persuade smokers to cease or to cut down; how to persuade women to have periodic mammographies and pap tests.

Essentially, HBM asserts that we take advocated preventive actions (in health) as a consequence mainly of two interacting beliefs:

1. Vulnerability beliefs--perceived likelihood of victimization plus perceived seriousness of the consequences of such victimization;
2. Net benefit beliefs--perceived benefits from complying with advocated action minus perceived barriers to carrying out the actions advocated.

It is altogether possible that individuals will take advocated crime prevention actions on similar grounds; namely, on the bases of their beliefs regarding vulnerability and net benefit.

Before proceeding further, it is essential to point to a number of fundamental issues that call for resolution if serious effort is to be put into effective public communications on behalf of crime prevention.

Additional issues will be discussed as we proceed, and those that now come to the fore will be alluded to further on as well.

Above all, what appears to be needed is a clear-cut, explicit policy statement regarding the efficacy of individualized crime prevention activity generally, and of the specific functions to be served in particular by mass communications in promoting citizen participation in crime prevention.

Notes Paul J. Lavrakas and his colleagues (Product II, April 1980):

> The critical role that the American Public qua citizens play in controlling the level of crime in our nation, and thereby directly and indirectly contributing to their own safety and security, has long been talked about. The Presidential Commission of 1967 explicitly noted the need for an active and involved citizenry, both in improving the performance of the Criminal Justice System, and in reducing the circumstances and situations in which crimes are most likely to be committed.
>
> Yet from the perspective of the U.S. public laws that were subsequently written to address law enforcement and criminal justice needs, it is not at all clear, in specific terms, what official policy exists on the proper role of the citizenry in crime prevention. What is clear is a continued, if ambiguous, reference to the importance of the involvement of "citizens and the community."

Of principal concern is the apparent lack of consensus among experts as to whether or not the individual qua individual is primarily responsible for protecting himself/herself against "street crime."

From the 1967 President's Commission forward the "official" Federal thrust has been to support the individualistic theme in a community context. That is to say, national policy since the mid-1960s has been focusing on persuading individual citizens to get together with their fellows in concerted neighborhood crime prevention activity. Downplayed have been policies that may have resulted in individuals taking individualized "private-minded" actions. The focus from Washington, D.C. has been on generating "public-minded" crime prevention behaviors mainly (Schneider and Schneider, 1978).

Of course, the lack of consensus regarding precisely what "crime prevention" is supposed to accomplish and whether "crime prevention" is to be achieved mostly via private or via public citizen actions creates considerable difficulty in developing a single, explicit one-theme thrust for purposive "crime prevention" communications. Unlike the advertiser whose only objective is to sell consumers a particular product or service, the public communicator in crime prevention must try to resolve the issue of whom to address about what mostly on his or her own. Often, practitioners play it safe and demand

both "private" and "public" behaviors from their audiences simultaneously. And in doing so, they may likely serve to confuse and irritate the very publics they try to persuade.

Proponents of the individualistic school of thought argue that there can never be a "policeman on every street corner." Consequently, the individual citizen has the "responsibility" not only to "protect" his/her person, family and property, but to contribute to the collective protection of the "community" as well. Underlying all this oftentimes is the inference that citizens who do not believe in the efficacy of individualistic action-taking are somehow "irresponsible."

Critics point to the error of "placing the blame" for the failure of society to protect its members on the "victims" of such failure. Only "society" can do away with the dangers of crime, it is asserted, because power and the instruments for social control are built into the institutional fabric of society, not in individuals. Society alone can "prevent" crime by eliminating the societal "causes" of crime--poverty, bad housing, lack of opportunity, malnourishment and the like. The individual is powerless to eliminate the social roots of crime, therefore requiring individuals to take what appears to be minor ritualistic actions that do not address "causes," will do very little or nothing to reduce or eliminate the realities of crime. Social control is not at all an individual "responsibility."

Instead of expending energy and funds on attempts to "educate" the public either individually or collectively to take "precautions," it is argued that those energies should be focused on eliminating "social disorganization" to begin with. For, it is pointed out, communications directing the public to take precautions simply serve to remind them that social disorganization continues to exist, and that society continues to fail in its obligations to

both individual and community. Rather than contributing to social well-being, then, public crime prevention communications can only exacerbate the public's sense of malaise vis-a-vis crime and what is to be done about it. In this regard, Stinchcombe and his co-authors claim that, "Preventive actions not only lower the quality of life, but also serve as constant reminders of the reasons for their existence" (p. 137).

An additional critical point of view regarding what is to be done to prevent crime--one that is more popular than scholarly--is fundamentally ideological, and reflects popular frustration among certain segments of American society with the perceived growth of crime in the United States. Here the "causes" of crime are laid at the "weaknesses" of various socio-political institutions (other than the police) to mete out severe deterring punishments to perpetrators. Cause and solution are perceived from one and the same frame of reference. Treat criminals and those suspected to be criminals harshly. Harsh treatment is the way to crime prevention, not public communications or education.

Clearly, the public has at the very least three main streams of information to draw from (there are innumerable minor sources as well) for guidance on how best to "prevent" crime. The three are in total disagreement about what must be done. If there are ambiguities and a lack of consensus regarding both the causes of crime and the best ways to prevent it, it follows that the "information" that is directed to the general public from a multitude of sources oftentimes will also be inconsistent, contradictory and polemically unreliable.

Rather than enlightening and motivating the general public via sober persuasive instruction, the argumentative, unsubstantiated, and contradictory messages about crime prevention that ordinarily reach the public these days,

must surely contribute to their confusion, as well as perhaps to their anxieties about crime. More often than not confusion and fear will lead to inaction on the part of message recipients--not to compliance with advocated behaviors.

We must give serious consideration to the possibility that unthinking purposive communications on behalf of crime prevention can actually contribute to public immobility on this matter. This can occur not only because the public may be receiving an over-abundance of contradictory instructions regarding how best to eliminate the risks of victimization; but they may be experiencing difficulties with the sheer proliferation of sources of such information as well--government, the media, law enforcement agencies, public officials, criminologists, social workers, business organizations, psychologists, religious bodies, judges, penologists and even our neighbors, acquaintances, co-workers, friends and relatives. Each source "pushing" its own unique variations on the themes of causality, prevention and control of crime.

We cannot believe all of them equally, for, as we have noted, what they propose often can be quite misleading and contradictory. Moreover, who among all the sources disseminating messages really is the most authoritative on the subject of crime prevention?

As illustration, note that for many of us the "police" are the most authoritative sources of crime prevention information and persuasion by virtue of their concern, training, and professional experience in regard to crime. For others among us, the police are the very last people on earth to be considered as authorities on crime prevention. "After all," these skeptics point out, "had the police been as effective as they are supposed to be, there would be no reason for 'crime prevention' campaigns in the first place."

Given the lack of consensus regarding the causes of crime, how then can we recommend assured ways and means to prevent it? Here we must note that there is no such generic phenomenon as "crime." Instead, there is a variety of "crimes," each of which is defined quite differently; each of which is probably "caused" differentially; and each of which most likely requires quite different behaviors on the part of individuals if they are to "prevent" its occurrence. Certainly one must act quite differently in "preventing" a rape as compared to what one is required to do in order to "prevent" a burglary. What specific actions then are to be advocated; by whom; to whom?

There is still another matter. In arguing the case regarding responsibility on the issue of whose job is it to prevent crime, those policy makers who come down on the side of "individual" responsibility set up a peculiarly difficult task for communications practitioners in the field. By insisting on "individual responsibility" in prevention, policy makers often quite unwittingly undermine the very institutions that are best equipped to provide protection (e.g. the community's responsibility to provide satisfactory street lighting) to the detriment of everyone's well being. An interesting case in point comes to us from the health field with regard to immunization. Throughout the nation, individual parental "responsibility" has become so lax in regard to having young offspring immunized that schools now require immunization certificates before allowing first-time attenders into class. Where individual responsibility fails, oftentimes community actions must take up the slack. It very well can be that by over-stressing citizen responsibility as a substitute for societal responsibility for crime prevention, communicators may destroy needed citizen support for governmental and law enforcement prevention programs that cannot possibly be carried out by individual citizens--no matter how motivated they may be as individuals.

Secondly, insisting that individuals take "voluntary" actions to prevent crimes simply ignores the fact that the taking of any "voluntary" social-minded action by individuals requires a considerable sense of self and power that significantly large numbers of Americans simply do not possess. It is meaningless to require persons who consider themselves powerless to take voluntary social-minded actions. On the matter of crime the very sense of personal powerlessness that many publics manifest stems to a large extent from society's apparent failures (and seeming lack of power) to accomplish those very results that powerless individuals are often asked to achieve on their own--results like the "prevention" of crime, for instance.

Of course, the communications practitioner cannot be expected to resolve these issues alone--nor can any one particular group be assigned total responsibility for this task.

What is important here is that responsible public communications decision-makers realize some of the more difficult structural/situational barriers that are deeply in place well before they launch their "campaigns"--barriers that provoke sober pessimism, rather than enthusiastic optimism, about what can and cannot possibly be accomplished by public communications alone in the matter of inducing overall public compliance with advocated crime prevention actions.

Fundamentally, communicators must realize that public communications on behalf of crime prevention are quite limited in what they possibly can accomplish. Nevertheless, the limited successes that can be the media's are by no means to be thought of as unimportant. The point is that in crime prevention, what public communications can do must be done with a high sense of humility, and it must be done extremely well indeed.

ACTING ON RECOMMENDATION - FURTHER ISSUES

Much of what we humans learn very early on from family, friends, at school, from the neighborhoods we live in, from the media, from the protective agencies is how to deal with risks. In snowy weather, our parents admonish us to wear hats and galoshes, and regardless of climate, they teach us to avoid strangers at all costs. Traffic officers who address school children tell us how to minimize the risks of crossing city streets. Health educators, by a variety of means, teach us about nutrition, about brushing our teeth, about the hazards of alcohol, drugs, and cigarettes. By the time a person reaches young adulthood in this society, he or she has learned to avoid some of the more immediately hazardous risks--walking in front of buses or crossing against the red light; becoming obese; and protecting valuables from theft. Adults who smoke, or who do not practice good dental care, or who leave their keys in the ignition after parking their vehicles generally have received considerable "information" about the risks involved in these activities during their maturation. Lack of information is not their real problem. What is bothersome is that in many situations involving risk we refuse to believe that we as individuals actually are in danger. Or else we believe certain hazards are so minute in their possible influence on our perceived well-being that they do not warrant compliance with recommended behaviors. Or, we refuse to acknowledge that specified advocated actions can really be effective in warding off specifically identified dangers.

Unless we find ourselves in a coercive situation where our independence of behavior is taken away, we human beings seldom will comply with a recommended action simply and only because it is recommended by an "authoritative" source. Nor do we comply simply because we happen just to know something about the issues at hand.

Certainly, information helps; but how a person handles information is a function not only of the accuracy of that information, but it also is a function of individual experience. How many of us who have been brought up in a neat well-organized and supportive middle-class small town neighborhood ever encountered a crime when we were in the fifth grade? Why then should we be overly-concerned about "preventing" crime if we continue to live in a neat, well-organized and supportive middle-class small town? Why should we act on suggestions from external anonymous sources about "crime prevention"--suggestions that are perceived to be irrelevant to our circumstances?

Before we even consider a recommended action, we must first have a very good reason to comply with it.

One task of the purposive communicator in crime prevention is to provide audiences not only with intellectual "reasons why" information, but even more importantly, with assurance--assurance that each recommended action will indeed be efficacious in reducing or eliminating specific crime threats that must be believed to be <u>real</u> by message recipients. Such assurances are quite difficult to guarantee in advocating specific "prevention" actions given the lack of hard data regarding what works and what does not.

We act or else choose not to act for various reasons. Some relate to the source of the recommendation; others to the nature of the recommendation, its salience, and the ease with which it can be implemented by individuals; and still others to the individual socio-psychological makeups of the recipients of the recommendations and to the particular circumstances that apply to both the receipt of the recommendation and to its successful implementation.

Tracing out all the possible influences on our decision to act or not to act in accordance with crime recommendations is not feasible in the present context. Purposive public communications on behalf of crime prevention have

the task of motivating and persuading individuals to voluntarily take those approved actions that either will reduce or eliminate the threat of crime victimization.

Of course message recipients may experience "secondary" benefits from crime prevention messages--"benefits" such as a lessening of anxiety or even fear, or experiencing the feeling that such messages are reflective of the authorities actually "doing something" about the problem of crime--a feeling perhaps of reassurance.

Campaigns that are explicitly designed to afford reassurance and anxiety reduction no doubt have a legitimate role to play in crime prevention. But the bottom line still remains <u>action</u>, and compliance for the purpose of reducing or eliminating threat still must govern what message recipients are supposed to do about crime prevention action demands they are likely to encounter in the media.

The actions generally advocated by experts vary in nature and complexity as well as in feasibility. Some appear to be quite explicit and to the point (e.g. When leaving your residence, lock your doors and windows). Others are more obtuse and even questionable in terms of feasibility--as for example in communications which recommend insurance against burglary and theft to low income residents of high crime areas.

Ordinarily, crime prevention actions that are advocated by the experts are relatively more complex than is readily apparent. For example, as Furstenberg (1972) points out, most actions requested from the public either call for individual or collective effort--or at times, both individual <u>and</u> collective behaviors. Additionally, there are demands for "avoidance" actions that require a high degree of purposive isolation behaviors (e.g. staying at home at night) as well as for "mobilization" actions that require individuals

on their own to purchase, install, and maintain a wide array of precautionary and protective devices, products and even services. A number call for habit and life style changes and for one-time only or for repetitive behaviors.

The two-by-two array that emerges (Figure 1) illustrates the possible "recommendations surfeit" that even attentive audiences may experience as a result of the complex and frequently inconsistent calls-to-action that enthusiastic crime prevention communications may be directing to various publics at any one time.

Figure 1

Type of action	Action to be taken by: Individual	Collective
Avoidance	Do Not Speak to Strangers	At Night, Always Drive to the Shopping Center with Someone You Know
Mobilization	A Good Precautionary Device to Buy Is a Burglar Alarm	To Protect Yourself and Your Neighbor, Join or Form a Crime Patrol

Obviously, not all action-demands apply to everyone universally. Depending on a variety of factors--some actions will "make more sense" for some individuals to pursue than others. Some will be avoided or rejected to begin with; others may be attended to and then rejected and still others may be attended to and implemented.

Were we as message recipients to concern ourselves with each and every crime prevention suggestion equally--there would be no time or energy for anything else. For the sake of sanity alone, we must be highly selective about the messages we will attend and act upon. In general we disregard far more messages we encounter than we implement.

One thing is certain--compliance with any old action demands whatever do not occur automatically as a consequence of simple exposure alone. Unless the actions that are suggested "fit in" with the socio-psychological dispositions of self-selecting audiences, and unless advocated actions are feasible and are accompanied by very explicit instructions for their implementation, there is very little likelihood that compliance of any sort, not alone universal compliance, will be achieved.

From the literature, we lack definitive knowledge about (1) who the crime prevention action compliers are, or (2) what motivates compliers to comply.

Two bodies of interrelated knowledge are particulary pertinent here--one relates to fear of crime, and the other to victimization. We shall be referring to these data as we proceed.

Before continuing with the discussion, however, we wish to point out that our purpose is not to advance knowledge about the substantive issues of the causes of crime; the prevention, control and treatment of crime; or what constitutes appropriate public policy vis-a-vis crime. Consequently, we shall avoid to the degree that we can the detailed intellectual discussions and arguments pro and con on a variety of crime issues such as victimization and fear that relate to prevention and control--issues that we consider as falling outside the purview of this study. As a consequence, we shall refer only to those aspects of issues, concepts and findings from the literature, and from our research, that in our analytic judgment are particularly pertinent to our charge--the development of empirically grounded strategies for effective public communications on behalf of crime prevention.

It appears as almost a cliché in the contemporary literature (Boggs, Brooks, Furstenberg, Clement and Kleiman) that there is no nation-wide rampant,

hysterical, unfounded fear among the public regarding the possibility of becoming a victim of crime. What fears are expressed by various sub-publics such as women, Blacks, the poor, and the elderly stem not so much from their own actual experiences of victimization, but rather from their more or less subjective estimates of risk that they derive vis-a-vis the types of neighborhoods they reside in; the informal networks of communications they participate in; and possibly from external sources of information (and misinformation) like the mass media.

Whether or not the fears that women, Blacks, the poor and the elderly are warranted by the facts regarding the incidence of victimization (they are not), the reality remains that large and significant segments of the urban population in America believe themselves to be highly vulnerable to crime.* For these individuals advocated actions must first be perceived as efficacious in reducing or eliminating their fears of possible victimization before they can give serious consideration to following through on specifically advocated crime prevention actions. W. I. Thomas' observation, regarding the perceptions of reality as generators of realistic consequences is most appropriate here.

At least two points of view dominate the scholarly dialogue regarding the motivating force of fear in impelling individuals to take advocated crime prevention actions.

The one poses a curvilinear proposition--namely, that "moderate" degrees of fear can indeed impel certain actions, but as fear increases to a point that it becomes psychologically overpowering, it is more likely to inhibit

*Stinchcombe et al. (1980) point out that,"Victimization studies which measure incidence of crime independent of police accounts suggest that only 1.8 percent of the population over 12 years old in 1973-74 experienced any violent crime in a given year (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976, Table 247). That is, the average person could expect to go for fifty years and be raped, robbed, or battered only once." (p. 21)

action-taking rather than generating it (McGuire). Here it is asserted that the more fear that people manifest regarding their perceived vulnerability, the less likely are they to be persuaded to act on the basis of exposure to purposive demand messages in the media.

The second point of view suggests that chronic anxiety about vulnerability to crime can be overcome by following specific instrumental avoidance instructions that can be carried out with relative ease. For example, people who are extremely fearful about possible victimization can and do "learn" from experience how to evaluate specific environments and situations rapidly enough to practice "avoidance." As a matter of fact, some observers (Balch, Baumer and Gardner) claim that by practicing avoidance, women, Blacks, the poor, and the elderly are far less likely to experience actual victimization than otherwise. In short, avoidance as a crime prevention tactic probably is responsible for the diminution of certain types of victimization among these population cohorts. It also diminishes the general quality of life when carried to extremes.

Overall, as Skogan concludes, "The impact of victimization upon fear of crime varies from group to group in the population." It would appear then, that females, the elderly, the poor, and Blacks are normally no more vulnerable to crime than are other sub-groups (actually women and the elderly experience relatively less victimization), but they may believe that they are less able to cope with the consequences of particularly the personally threatening types of violent crime such as murder, rape, and assault.

Two considerations deserve notice here.

First, contemporary scholars tend to agree that the experience of victimization is not significantly related to fear.

Second, neither victimization nor fear alone impels people to take what Furstenberg identifies as "mobilization" actions.

Skogan states it succinctly:

> Most people are not victimized and most people do not suspect their neighbors. As a result, it may be difficult to convince non-victims (or more appropriately, the not-yet victimized) to invest time and money in defensive tactics or to change their life styles. Even among victims, defensive tactics are less than universally pursued. In the five cities (Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia), 59 percent of the victims of personal crime reported they had changed or limited their activities due to crime as contrasted with 48 percent of non-victims. (p. 13)

If victimization experience and fearful anticipation of victimization are not significantly correlated with crime prevention behavior, what is?

The literature is not at all clear on this. We have been able to pose two hypotheses from our critical review. Hypothesis 1 is derived from Clemente and Kleiman's multi-variate analysis of six demographic factors that are said to be related to fear of crime. These investigators found that sex more than any other one variable did most to explain concern about possible victimization.*

In other words, women are apt to fear crime in considerably greater proportion than either residents of large cities, older persons, poorer persons, Blacks or the least educated.

Inferentially then, females--particularly those who reside in urban "person-oriented" areas--probably do take precautionary crime actions (i.e. avoidance actions mostly) more often than do others. Or, at least they appear as very likely targets for communications regarding proper preventive person action-taking.

The second hypothesis is somewhat less direct. Although the two separate indicators of "socio-economic status"--income and education that Clemente and

*Beta values for six demographic variables were: Sex, .39; City size, .24; Age, .09; Income, .06; Race, .05; Education, .02.

Kleiman analyzed showed relatively weak relationships to fear, had the researchers studied the interactions between the two factors plus occupation, they might have found that a resultant "social class" factor was indeed a positive contributor to fear of crime.

From the standpoint of social stratification theory, it is plausible to assume that the higher the social class niches individuals occupy the less fearful of crime they will be. It would follow that the higher the social class people find themselves in the less is the likelihood that they will reside in "neighborhoods" that reflect high degrees of visible "incivility," social disorganization, or crime, for that matter.

Hypothesis 2 then speculates that the higher the social class of individuals the less likely are they to take either collective community precautionary actions or person-protection actions of any sort.

A corollary hypothesis anticipates that the higher the social class, the more "property-oriented" will their crime prevention behaviors be.

Put somewhat differently, there is a considerable body of research (Stinchcombe) that warrants the conclusion that because residential ecology and social class are so interrelated, residential "neighborhood" becomes a powerful factor in both the anticipation and actual experience of crime. This, of course, is due to neighborhoods being significantly affected by social class. Stinchcombe and his associates posit the general proposition that as residential proximity to the central core areas of cities increases, both the likelihood of victimization and fears about it increase.* They conclude that:

*"Fear-producing crimes occur disproportionately in large cities, disproportionately victimize black people, and disproportionately produce arrests of black males. Or to put it more succinctly, the most fear-producing crimes are all ghetto crimes....The nearer one lives to the ghetto and the more alone one is, the more one lives (or at least walks) in fear." (Stinchcombe, pp. 49 and 52)

> People's levels of fear seem to be determined by their small environments--their family and household compositions, their sex, and whether they walk on the streets at night. Except insofar as social characteristics determine whether people live in high risk environments, there is very little evidence that fear of crime is part of a general world view or cultural tradition. Consequently we must analyze fear and victimization with variables that differentiate the population according to levels of risk and vulnerability--the probabilities that they will be defenseless when confronted with a threat of violence and that they will have a lot to lose in that encounter. (pp. 138-139)

Interestingly, these are the very same variables that the Health Belief Model encompasses.

One of the more intensive investigations of crime prevention behavior has been conducted by the Center for Urban Affairs of Northwestern University under the direction of Dr. Paul J. Lavrakas (1980).

Overall the investigation concluded, as did previous studies, that the taking of preventive actions by individuals is not reflective of a single protection-orientation motivation or trait. Rather, precautionary behavior varies with circumstance and the psycho-social make-up and disposition of the actor.

> " A single profile of the precautious individual does not readily emerge,"the investigators report. "However, several factors are clearly important. Age and sex are two of them. The data suggest that women and older respondents may prefer [crime] prevention activities that differ from the alternatives practiced by men and younger individuals. There is also a fairly consistent trend for the better educated to more often engage in precautious behavior. Higher income, being White and married seems to be predictive in some cases. Generally, the findings of the present study support previous research in health, fire and traffic safety." (p. 115)

The Lavrakas study's conclusion on risk and benefit perceptions also point to the potential utility of the Health Belief Model orientation for developing at least one or two public communications strategies for effective crime prevention.

> In general, the data support the notion that there are generalized responses to hazards (that is, a predisposition to feel at risk, to expect serious outcomes, to undertake preventive action and to view certain measures as efficacious in their ability to protect the individual). Thus, an individual's response to crime probably reflects his reactions to threat in general, thus supporting similar notions advanced in research efforts (Normoyle, 1980; Rosenbaum and Baumer, 1980). As a consequence, perceived risk, perceived seriousness, efficacy and precautiousness appear to be promising and viable constructs in conceptualizing the way in which people respond to and cope with stressors. (p. 131)

What we learn from the literature early on is that as far as publics who may take crime prevention actions are concerned, there is no possibility of either reaching a universal "mass" or of appealing to one with the very same particular approach, format, or message. In other words, because crime prevention action takers differ from each other, the messages and media directed to them must differ accordingly. Segmentalized audiences call for the careful targeting of messages to specifically identified publics, a degree of control that Federal agencies find most difficult to implement under the congressional prohibition against purchasing advertising time and space. Because truly "mass" campaigns that are addressed to a universal audience cannot possibly achieve universal compliance on the matter of crime prevention, the strategy is one that calls for a rifle rather than a scatter gun.

CHAPTER THREE

TAKING CRIME PREVENTION ACTIONS

There are many, many specific protective actions that the experts consider viable for the ordinary citizen to take. Further, numerous experts argue, if sufficient numbers of citizens take the prescribed actions, "crime" actually will be reduced.

Consider the McGruff campaign as one case in point. Persons who saw or heard the initial McGruff advertisements were invited by them to "Find out more. Write to Crime Prevention Coalition, Box 6600, Rochelle, Maryland."

Upon requesting further information, one would receive by return mail a very attractive, full-color, 22-page booklet, the cover of which featured McGruff asking--"Got a minute? You could stop a crime."

The contents of the booklet presents a variety of "tips"--many of which are repeats of those appearing in the original media advertisements. The tips appear under two major categories, Protect Yourself and Protect Your Neighborhood as follow:

PROTECT YOURSELF

In Your Home. Locking your doors is only the first step

On The Street. A few reminders about ways to discourage muggers

Against Rape. Not just for women only

As A Senior Citizen. Crime prevention hints for older Americans

Against Fraud. Signs that point to the most common con games

Against Arson. How to spot some early warning signs

As A Small Business Owner. How to protect yourself and your business

PROTECT YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD

A catalog of crime prevention ideas for you and your neighbors

For the most part, the crime prevention "hints" that are offered--quite appropriately--are put forth in the form of some 60 separate imperatives or action demands. That is to say, readers of this particular booklet are asked to perform a substantial number of quite different behaviors, each of which it is either implied or averred will serve to protect the actor against a particular threat as in the following quotations:

"Taking a trip. Make sure your home always looks lived-in, especially when you're not there."

"Walk confidently. Be alert--notice who passes you and who's behind you."

"When you're outside, there are places where rapists may hide--poorly lit streets, doorways or even in passing cars. Stay away from them. If you can, go out with a friend."

"If you sign a contract but later you have second thoughts don't be afraid to call it off!"

"Urge your housing authorities to close up vacant buildings or tear them down before somebody burns them down."

"Exchange work and vacation schedules with the neighbors around you so you can keep an eye on each other's homes. That way, if they're at work but the back door is wide open, you'll know something's wrong and you can call the cops."

"Don't forget the kids! Teach your children about crime prevention. While they're outside playing, they see things that adults may not notice. Make sure they know to tell parents or police. With adult supervision, kids can form youth patrols, youth escort services, or clean-up crews."

Obviously, the communicators who prepared these particular materials did not expect every reader to engage equally in all 60 actions as a consequence of being exposed to them. Rather, the demands that appear in the booklet are presented in a sort of a smorgasbord fashion wherein one is invited to pick and choose according to one's tastes and wishes. Targeting here is not in

the control of the communicator, but rather, it depends on the self-selectivity of audiences.

Additionally, one notes that the demands presented vary in their concreteness; in their complexity; in their calls for either one-time or repeated actions; and in the amount of skill and competence they require from actors in order to be successfully implemented.

In short, these particular demands are reflective of a number of general issues that confront communicators who are faced with the very difficult problem of persuading message recipients to act on the recommendations they, the communicators, advocate. Their problems are further complicated by the application of the "behavioral change" criterion as a measure of their communicators' "effects." For after all, where communicators attempt to persuade their message recipients to take specifically recommended actions, whether or not audiences do in fact act accordingly becomes the principal standard by which the "success" of their communications efforts will be judged.

It is for these reasons that communications decision-makers and practitioners ought to give very, very precise and careful attention to the action-demands they make or plan to make of their audiences.

For the most part crime prevention media efforts directed to the public have focused on disseminating a wide array of action "tips" and "hints" under two assumptions: (1) that the public is equally ignorant of all specific actions to take on behalf of crime prevention, and (2) that if the public actually engaged in the advocated behaviors, they would benefit directly by reducing or eliminating the risk of victimization.

The two images of mankind discussed earlier--Homo Mechanicus and Homo Sapiens, serve as the psychological keystones for these kinds of strategies.

As previous research has indicated, no one particular reason--be it a demographic attribute, fear of crime, ecological situs, a "protection-taking" personality, having been victimized or whatever--governs the crime prevention behaviors of individual citizens.*

"Crime prevention" behavior is disaggregated and highly variable. The University of Denver's national survey indicates that it is disaggregated in a variety of ways depending on the nature of the action itself, the advocates of the action, and on the dispositions and experiences of those who are asked to take the action.

Culling previous citizen crime prevention public survey research as well as crime prevention propaganda from around the country, twenty-five of the most common action-demands that were addressed to the public primarily via the mass media were isolated in the Denver survey (Table III.1).

Although these crime prevention actions can be classified in various ways, we will, for our purposes, use just two. Our principal break will be on the criterion of how frequently the action must be taken--whether it requires just a one-time action (e.g. installing a special lock) or whether it calls for frequent repetition over time (e.g. lock your residence entry doors every time you go out). The second classification divides actions into two types--those that are primarily oriented to protecting the person (e.g. ownership of a tear gas device), and those primarily oriented to protecting property (e.g. use a timer device when away from home).

We learn three important things from Table III.1:

First, we see that large majorities of Americans not only "know" about the "fundamentals" of home protection, but they actually do those things that (1) appear to be sensible and (2) appear to be relatively easy to carry out.

*A very detailed description of crime prevention actions taken by citizens residing in local areas in and around Chicago appears in the Lavrakas report.

With regard to these actions, "knowing" and "doing" seem to be highly correlated already. It would appear that future campaigns which stress these "fundamentals" would not only be superfluous, but they very well could bore audiences into avoidance of crime prevention messages in general.

Second, we begin to suspect from Table III.1 that variability in citizen crime prevention/action-taking is due far more to variabilities in their social circumstances: their experiences with crime and their beliefs about risks, costs, and benefits than they are to their personalities or to their disinterest in crime prevention (i.e. so-called apathy).

Third, we see that when imaginative crime prevention innovations are introduced to the public it takes more than simply gaining access to the media in order to persuade significant numbers of people to comply. It will take much more convincing effort over time than ostensibly has been made in the past to persuade more than 16 percent of Americans that "IDing" personal property is beneficial, or to convince more than 8 percent in each instance to paste anti-theft stickers on their entrance doors and to have a residential "security check-up" made of their homes.

SITUATIONAL INFLUENCES ON CRIME PREVENTION ACTION-TAKING--PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Among the factors considered to be of particular importance in affecting the crime prevention behaviors of individual citizens are their past experiences as victims of crimes as well as their beliefs about their present and future vulnerabilities.

Although the two factors of victimization and perceived vulnerability no doubt play important independent roles in affecting crime prevention actions, the two factors themselves are quite dependent on other influences as well, among which is place of residence. In other words victimization and vulnerability can be expected to affect crime prevention action-taking both directly and indirectly.

In similar fashion, where people live can be seen to influence crime prevention action-taking both directly and otherwise.

A thesis that appears repeatedly in the popular and research literature suggests that residents in very large cities are more apt to experience victimization either directly or vicariously, and are more likely to believe themselves more vulnerable to crime as compared to residents of smaller places. It would follow that as contrasted to others, residents of our major urban centers would take crime prevention actions more frequently.

Data from the University of Denver's national survey bears on these issues.

Tables III.2 through III.5 indicate the following:

o Residents of suburbs surrounding middle-sized cities who were surveyed are more likely than the sample as a whole to claim to have experienced a relatively high degree of victimization.

o Respondents residing in our major urban centers apparently do not believe themselves to be particularly vulnerable to crime overall--neither in comparison to residents of central cities in the middle-sized range nor in comparison to the population as a whole.

o Middle-sized city inhabitants in the sample, rather than residents of the largest urban centers, show a disproportionate interest in crime prevention.

o Persons who reside within middle-sized cities in the sample are most likely to engage in protective actions involving the person. And these residents show the most interest in crime prevention to begin with. Why? The data are not too clear on this. They offer a clue in that, as compared to the adult sample as a whole, central-city and suburban residents of mid-sized cities tend to report both a higher degree of victimization and a higher degree of felt vulnerability. In general, we note that respondents living in the suburbs of our middle-sized cities are considerably more likely to engage in advocated crime prevention activity overall than are residents of other places. Yet, these survey participants show no greater interest than anyone else in crime prevention overall. What they do manifest is a somewhat disproportionately higher reported degree of victimization as well as a slightly inflated perception of vulnerability.

Central-city residents of the largest urban areas sampled are more likely to be occasional and "fairly" frequent crime prevention actors. They show no disproportionate interest in crime prevention in the abstract.

Respondents who live in smaller cities ranging between 10,000 and 50,000 in population tend to be "fairly frequent" actors. They are not disproportionately interested in crime prevention. Nor do they show disproportionately low frequencies of either victimization experiences or fear of possible victimization.

In summary, with the exception of residing in and around middle-sized cities, size of areas where respondents live does not directly affect crime prevention activity in any major or consistent fashion. Despite much conjecture, residents of our major metropolitan areas are apparently no more seriously concerned about crime and crime prevention than are other Americans--with the exception of course of those who inhabit middle-sized locales. In designing future crime prevention campaigns, a variety of situational factors must be considered, not the least being the kinds of locales people live in. Certainly, the situational contexts that residents of "inner-city" ghettoes find themselves in will differ considerably in their influences on individualized crime prevention action-taking from say the situational contexts that govern the crime prevention behaviors of rural villagers. The two targets simply cannot be expected to respond in exactly the same way to all the demands of prevention communications. And for the most part, they do not respond to demands across-the-board in similar fashion.

ACTIONS THAT MUST BE REPEATED OVER TIME

Table III.6 indicates that sustained repetitious crime prevention behavior rarely takes place in more than half the cases in point. As a matter of fact, in 12 of the 15 repeat actions studied, sustained compliance occurs in less than one-half of the cases; and in 8 of the 15, sustained compliance takes place among considerably fewer than a third of all the adults sampled.

These data have isolated a problem of considerable importance to public communications practitioners--one that has been recognized in the health area for some time now. Unless they are constantly reinforced, ameliorative actions that require day-in, day-out routine repetitive behaviors will lose significant numbers of adherents over time--actions, for example, such as taking prescribed medications over extended periods or engaging safety belts in motor vehicles each time one drives (See Robertson). As a consequence, the public communications practitioner frequently must give as much attention and effort (and perhaps, even more of such) to convincing audiences to <u>continue</u> advocated actions over time as they do to convincing audiences to engage in the suggested actions to begin with. By now it is a cliché of mass communications theory (Klapper) that <u>reinforcement</u> efforts are considerably more likely to succeed than are efforts to <u>change</u> the public's beliefs and behaviors. Thus, for example, when we know that 9 of every 10 Americans lock the entry doors of their homes upon leaving (at least on occasion), but that no more than 58 percent claim <u>always</u> to do so, we can adjust our persuasion efforts accordingly. Here the strategy calls for (1) reinforcing the six in ten who are now doing the "right thing" and (2) convincing the remaining 3 in 10 to increase the <u>frequencies</u> of locking their doors. A very low priority effort would be addressed to the 1 in 10 who <u>do not ever</u> lock their doors upon leaving.

In this situation we would rest with the principle that <u>total</u> compliance with any ameliorative social action probably can never be achieved, and we would not nag the compliers to do what they already are doing.

There are numerous reasons for persons to comply with, or not to comply with, advocated crime prevention demands initially as well as repetitively. Obviously, there is no guarantee that once individuals are persuaded to take <u>a single</u> action initially, that they will continue to act in the suggested manner over time--regardless of their needs and experiences vis-a-vis the action.

One fact stands out from the University of Denver's national survey--different actions are influenced by different attributes and experiences. This means that crime prevention action taking is very much dependent on both the action itself and upon who the actors are (Table III.7). Here are three examples:

1. Where 49 percent of the sample as a whole claimed they had installed special locks in their residences,
   - 60 percent of those aged between 55 and 64 reported to have done so.

   Similarly,
   - 55 percent of the college graduates in the sample,
   - 57 percent of those who believed their neighborhoods to be particularly dangerous,
   - and 61 percent of the respondents who believed themselves to be highly vulnerable to crime

   all reported they had availed themselves of special residential locks.

2. As compared to the 48 percent of the total sample who said they were covered by theft insurance,
   - 67 percent of the college graduates who were queried,
   - 72 percent of those earning $25,000 or more annually,
   - 63 percent of the respondents who live in upper class, relatively "safe" neighborhoods, and
   - 57 percent of those sampled who believed themselves to be particularly vulnerable

   all indicated they had insurance against theft protection.

3. Where 32 percent of the adults surveyed claimed they owned a watchdog,
   - 40 percent of the respondents in the 35 to 54 age bracket,
   - 38 percent of those earning at least $25,000 a year, and
   - 39 percent of the respondents who perceived their vulnerability to be high

   all claimed possession of a watchdog.

Tables III.7 through III.11 indicate how four demographic variables (age, sex, education, and income) are related to the 15 crime prevention actions that require repetition; the influence of neighborhood danger; plus the influence of perceived vulnerability on the 15 actions. Table III.7 presents the significant correlations between these factors and those actions that are taken at least "occasionally."

Age is related to just four of the fifteen, and these four are person-oriented predominantly.

Being female is related to just three of the fifteen actions, and these are quite different from the actions that are influenced by age in that each involves avoidance behavior.

A third of the actions are influenced by education. All five of these are property-oriented. In a similar vein, compliance with fully half of the 15 actions studied--all of which are property oriented--is highly correlated with annual income.

Overall, living in "upper class" neighborhoods is more apt to inhibit crime prevention actions of the sort that were studied than it is likely to facilitate them (Table III.12). In particular, residents of "upper class" neighborhoods are least likely to stop deliveries to the home when away; to use "timers"; to notify the police when traveling; and to ask neighbors to keep an eye on residences during their absences.

In sharp contrast, residents of neighborhoods they believe to be particularly dangerous report taking six of the fifteen actions studied--five of

which clearly are person rather than property-oriented. In particular, perceptions of high risk neighborhoods are relatively highly correlated with avoidance actions.

Overall, 29 percent of the sample believed their neighborhoods were "very safe"; 50 percent believed their neighborhoods were fairly safe; and 21 percent thought their neighborhoods were very unsafe or dangerous.

Suburban residents near the largest cities, as compared to the population as a whole, were most likely to believe their neighborhoods to be "very safe" by a ratio of 41 percent to 29 percent.

As compared to the total population, residents who reside inside our largest cities were most apt to believe their neighborhoods were "very unsafe" (37 percent to 21 percent).

Table III.13 indicates that as compared to the population totally, people who view their neighborhoods as dangerous are considerably more persistent in taking person precautions that make up a third of the repeat actions studied.

Perceived vulnerability affects more actions (8) than does any other single variable that was investigated (Table III.14). In particular, perceived vulnerability appears to influence avoidance types of person-protection behaviors.

In sum, we note that demographic, neighborhood, and belief factors influence individual crime prevention actions differentially.

Age (elderly), sex (female), perceived neighborhood danger, and perceived vulnerability affect person-protection actions--particularly those that can be classed as "avoidance" actions. The findings here are consistent with those of Lavrakas.

The social class factors of education and income appear to influence property action-taking in significant fashion. However, upper-class individuals generally tend to manifest a certain lack of interest overall in the 15 types of repetitive crime prevention actions that were investigated.

In terms of developing effective public communications strategies, we come to realize that we must think of differentiated audiences not only in demographic terms, but in regard to their crime-related perceptions and beliefs as well.

Additionally, we must begin to realize that we cannot be capricious about choosing behavior for <u>everyone</u> to comply with across the board. Despite their exposure to the "mass" media, audiences will select themselves out on a variety of dimensions in terms of both paying attention to demands for actions and with regard to actual compliance with them. We must begin thinking about "tailoring" specific (feasible) demands to very explicitly defined "segments" of the mass audience--not to the "mass audience" as a whole. For example, it would be quite unthinking to concentrate messages about "stopping deliveries to the home when on vacation" to low-income women who are mostly concerned about going out from their homes alone, or to advise the acquisition of a "watchdog" for low income residents of apartment buildings where pets are not permitted.

Once again, let us return, in further examination, to those actions that require sustained repetitive behavior on the part of actors.

Table III.8 shows that in comparison to young adults and to the population as a whole, elderly people are considerably more likely <u>always</u> to keep their doors locked; <u>always</u> to venture forth at night in the company of others; and <u>always</u> to drive (or be driven) to places at night.

Women--as compared to men and to the general population--are much more apt <u>always</u> to venture forth at night accompanied; <u>always</u> to drive (or be driven) to places at night; and <u>always</u> to avoid certain danger spots in their neighborhoods (Table III.9).

College graduates are far more likely than either the least well-educated or the population overall to be consistently protective of their property (Table III.10). More so than others, they <u>always</u> lock their doors when away from their residence; <u>always</u> leave indoor lights on; <u>always</u> have deliveries stopped when traveling away from home; <u>always</u> have neighbors check their residences when they are gone; and <u>always</u> use timers during extended absences.

Without exception, the relative influence of upper income is precisely the same (Table III.11). In general, the crime-actions taken by upper socio-economic-status persons with the greatest consistency are exclusively property-oriented and involve what is to be done when absenting oneself from one's home. This is as if to say that better-off people tend to be the most consistent in efforts to protect their property during times when they cannot physically take care of it themselves.

Persons who consider their neighborhoods to be particularly dangerous are far more apt than the population overall to consistently engage in avoidance-personal protection activity (Table III.13).

And finally, just as perceived vulnerability affects the gross number of protective actions people take, so does it affect the persistence of taking 10 of the 15 separate actions studied (Table III.14). Here we note that in each of the ten instances, <u>the more vulnerable people believe themselves to be, the more likely are they to persist in taking specific crime prevention actions.</u>

It appears then that if there is one factor above others that seems to influence the taking of individual crime prevention actions by the public it

is the belief that one is vulnerable to criminal victimization. Yet, the relationship between perceived vulnerability and individual prevention action-taking is not clear-cut (Table III.15). The degree of perceived vulnerability for one thing is of considerable importance here. And bear in mind that perceived vulnerability does not correlate to an equal positive degree with all possible preventive behaviors.

Still, vulnerability beliefs appear to be uncommonly powerful correlates of prevention action-taking--particularly of those that fall within the person-avoidance rubric. And it is a variable of outstanding importance in the development of effective public communications strategies on behalf of crime prevention.

ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION IN GENERAL AND PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL VOLUNTARY CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS SPECIFICALLY

One additional demographic factor was investigated in the University of Denver's national study--membership in general and protection-specific clubs and organizations.

Overall, four in every ten respondents (43 percent) reported they belong to at least one formal voluntary group. Eighteen percent said they belong to just one club or organization; 14 percent to two; 9 percent to three or four formal voluntary groups; and 3 percent reported membership in five or more clubs and organizations.

Four in every ten organizations Americans belong to are reported to be concerned with public affairs mainly. Additionally, more than a fourth (28 percent) of these organizations are said to be oriented to civic and neighborhood improvement.

Interestingly, sheer membership in formal groups is no clear-cut indicator of how socially "active" people may be. When asked to indicate how active participants in their organizations' efforts they were, 26 percent claimed to be "very active"; 46 percent said they were "fairly active"; and 27 percent reported themselves to be "rather inactive" overall.

Are "joiners" more likely than non-joiners to engage in crime prevention actions? The data in Table III.16 show that overall, joiners are more apt to be high self-protection actors than are non-joiners. Of interest is the finding that members of five or more organizations are most likely to be multiple action-takers in regard to protecting themselves from danger (they are nearly twice as likely as non-joiners to behave in this way).

A similar trend exists with regard to protecting property against criminal acts. Here we see that the more voluntary clubs and organizations one belongs

to the more likely is one to take multiple protective actions in regard to property. A reverse pattern is noted with regard to low property protection action and membership.

Further, active participation in voluntary clubs and organizations tends to affect multiple actions in regard to both protecting the person and property (Table III.17).

One hundred and fifty-seven adults in the University of Denver's national sample--10 percent of the total--claimed that they either have belonged to or were about to form a "community group or organization that tried to do [something] about crime" at one time or another.

Projecting this datum to the some 76 million persons aged 18 and over in the U.S. population we note that thus far an estimated 7.6 million Americans have been engaged in one way or another in a formalized community crime prevention activity--at least for a short period of time.

Depending on whether one is an optimist or pessimist one can point to this datum as an indicator either of unmitigated success or disappointing failure on the part of policy decision-makers who seek to mobilize citizens throughout the land in collective neighborhood crime prevention activities.

Be that as it may, looking into some aspects of membership in these neighborhood groups affords insights into the dynamics of joining in such activities.

Nearly nine of every ten persons who ever belonged to a formal neighborhood crime protection had joined prior to 1980 when the survey was conducted. However, by Spring of 1980 fully a third no longer held such memberships.

Among the reasons cited for leaving these groups is their relatively high perceived "failures" to "reduce crime." In this regard, half the sub-group of participants voiced disappointment with their organizations'

efforts to lower the threats of crime. More than four of every ten members voiced less than high enthusiasm about their groups' effectiveness in this regard.

Persons who had joined neighborhood crime protection groups

- ... Were most likely to have been residents of their neighborhoods for five years or longer--43 percent (5 yrs plus); 25 percent (less than a year).
- ... Were most apt to know the individual members of the group prior to joining it (57 percent).
- ... Were most likely to have been invited to join (58 percent) rather than having applied for membership on their own initiative.

At least in a third of the cases, the formal protective groups in which individuals participated were described as offering various social activities (e.g. parties, outings) along with their crime prevention programs. Undoubtedly, the opportunites for informal social interaction serves as motivation to join for some as well as reasons to depart for others.

General concern with regard to crime prevention rather than concern about self-protection was cited most frequently as a reason for joining--by a ratio of 70 percent to 29 percent.

Particularly worth noting is that a full fourth of the group participants claimed that encounters with messages in the media had contributed to their decisions to join, but did not necessarily impel them to do so.

The demographic "profile" of persons (Table III.18) who become participants in community crime protection groups and organizations shows that they are more likely to be:

- o Female;
- o Between 35-54 years of age;
- o High school graduates;
- o In the $15,000 to less than $25,000 annual income bracket.

Persons who are "joiners" of various clubs and organizations in general are far more likely to become involved in community crime protection organizations (64 percent) as are "non-joiners" (36 percent).

On this score it is interesting to note that persons who belong to just one or two general organizations (20 percent) are nearly twice as likely to join formal crime protection groups as are those who belong to 3 or more organizations (11 percent). This suggests that "heavy" joiners simply may be too busy to add on an additional commitment to their general activities--one that focuses heavily on crime protection. The fact that crime protection organizations attract proportionately more persons who are "fairly" active (46 percent) as compared to those who are "very" active (37 percent) in their general organizational involvement suggests that crime protection organizations so far have been more successful in recruiting the "moderate" rather than the "strong" participants in general voluntary civic and fraternal organizations.

The more neighborhood residents one knows the more likely is an individual to join a formal community crime protection organization. In this regard we note that 44 percent of the members interviewed claimed they knew "most" of their neighbors; 40 percent said they were acquainted with "some"; and just 15 percent reported knowing "hardly anyone" in their neighborhoods.

Clearly most persons are somewhat reticent about joining in with "strangers" in most collective activities--protection against crime included.

Perhaps somewhat surprising is the fact that the majority of participants in community crime protection organizations report that they neither have experienced much victimization (52 percent) nor that they feel particularly vulnerable to victimization (59 percent).

Belong to community crime protection organizations (N = 157)

	Victimization Experience		Perceived Vulnerability	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Low	82	52	92	59
Moderate	54	34	51	33
High	21	13	14	9

In a somewhat similar vein, residents of what they believe to be "fairly safe" neighborhoods (50 percent of those who belong to organizations) are considerably more likely to join crime protection organizations than are residents who either believe their neighborhoods to be "very safe" (30 percent) or dangerous (20 percent). Here we note that it probably "makes sense" for persons in "very safe" neighborhoods not to overly concern themselves about forming or joining "unneeded" community crime protection groups. At the same time, persons who perceive their neighborhoods--and neighbors--to be dangerous cannot be expected to enthusiastically "join in" in what may very well turn out to be a hazardous enterprise.

Difficulty in generating collective neighborhood ameliorative action overall appears to inhibit membership in formal community protective groups. Six in ten (61 percent) claimed that it would be difficult (24 percent said "very difficult") to get their neighbors to join together in efforts to protect the community from criminal activity.

Two important influences on joining community crime protection organizations are (1) high interest in crime prevention (69 percent of "joiners" manifest high interest; 27 percent, moderate interest; 3 percent, low interest) and (2) strong belief that precautions taken by individuals can in fact reduce the risk of crime substantially (51 percent as compared to 45 percent who think precautions can affect a moderate reduction and 4 percent who are skeptical about the reductions that precautions can produce).

Middle ground beliefs--rather than strong or weak beliefs--regarding a variety of crime prevention issues mark membership in community crime protection organizations.

Consider the following:

... 66 percent of the members believe that citizens have equal responsibility with the police on the matter of preventing crimes; 36 percent claim citizens have more responsibility; and 6 percent say citizens have less responsibility.

... 59 percent believe themselves as concerned about crime prevention as everyone else; 6 percent view themselves as being more concerned; and 36 percent consider themselves to be less concerned than others.

... 56 percent believe themselves to be somewhat knowledgeable about crime prevention; 40 percent see themselves to be very knowledgeable; 10 percent view themselves as relatively untutored with regard to crime prevention.

... 50 percent manifest moderate confidence in their personal ability to prevent crime; 43 percent exhibit high confidence; and 8 percent reflect a lack of confidence in their ability to protect themselves.

Finally, and quite importantly, the national survey found that belonging to formal crime prevention groups is related positively to high individual protective action-taking in regard to both person and property. Here, 48 percent of the respondents who belonged to formal protective groups were high person action-takers, and 54 percent were high property action-takers. In contrast, 18 percent were low action-takers regarding the person, and 9 percent, in regard to low property protection action-taking.

Unfortunately, the data do not indicate whether participation in formal protection groups "educates" members into high crime prevention behaviors, or whether high prevention actors more often become affiliated with formal protection groups to begin with.

To sum up, people act to form or join community protection organizations for a variety of reasons ranging from fear of victimization to simply seeking out the opportunity for social contact and interaction in fairly safe environments.

What stands out with regard to membership in these organizations is the "moderation" that relates to its members' activities and beliefs. "Extremists" on either the "high-strong" or "low-weak" end of various continua are characteristically less featured in the high-membership profile than are the "middle-grounders." Joiners of community crime protection organizations appear to be quite "ordinary people" indeed.

It is unlikely that without prior social mechanisms such as high familiarity with one's neighbors and general membership in generic clubs, groups and organizations already in place, that mass mediated messages by themselves can persuade the "public" to form or to join "new" artificially imposed community crime prevention organizations simply by demanding they do.

Two strategic possibilities for public communications present themselves.

Clearly, persuading publics to initiate collective community protective actions with "strangers" from scratch--as it were--will encounter resistance from message recipients. A more promising strategy is envisioned which is oriented to persuading on-going community organizations to incorporate substantial crime prevention actions into their current agendas. Here public communications can be built around "how to" information that instructs generic organizations in the techniques of melding in protective activities as integral components of their overall programs. Such communications could take advantage of the "natural affinity" needs that are now in place in most locales around the country, rather than being thwarted by them.

Here messages directed to individuals could instruct them regarding generic groups and organizations in the community that offer, among others, protective activities. Additionally, specific instructions regarding how best to access those groups and organizations can be offered as part of such public communications efforts.

THE INFLUENCES OF CRIME PREVENTION BELIEFS ON CRIME PREVENTION ACTIONS

Respondents in the University of Denver's national survey were asked three major belief questions:

"When it comes to helping prevent crimes in a neighborhood like this, do you believe that individual citizens have more responsibility than the police, less responsibility, or equal responsibility with the police?"

Responses to this question were:

- More - 21 percent
- Less - 11 percent
- Equal - 63 percent
- No opinion - 5 percent

"Many people think that the crime rate can be reduced if ordinary citizens take more precautions to protect themselves, such as securing their homes against intruders. Others say that such precautions make little difference in reducing crime. What do you think? Do you think precautions taken by ordinary citizens can reduce the crime rate a great deal, somewhat, or hardly at all?"

The distribution of replies was:

- A great deal - 43 percent
- Somewhat - 45 percent
- Hardly at all - 8 percent
- No opinion - 4 percent

"How confident do you feel that you as an individual can do things to help protect yourself from crime--do you feel very confident, somewhat confident, or not very confident at all?"

Respondents' answers:

Very confident	-	30 percent
Somewhat confident	-	50 percent
Not very confident	-	15 percent
No opinion	-	5 percent

The gross responses to the questions posed indicate that the American public remains relatively indecisive about (1) who is the most responsible for crime prevention, (2) the clear-cut efficacy of individualized crime prevention activity in reducing the crime rate, and (3) their own abilities vis-a-vis their personal protection. In each instance, belief manifestations are indeed equivocal.

The absence of unqualified beliefs here poses serious problems to public communications practitioners' attempts to persuade the public into voluntarily taking specific advocated actions. Basically, how can publics who reflect less than categorical beliefs regarding responsibility, efficacy, and competence vis-a-vis individualized crime prevention action be expected to act--merely on demand? Before they can act must not their ambivalences and indecisiveness be cleared away? In other words, we cannot expect persons who are unclear about their crime-prevention responsibilities and competences to voluntarily act in recommended ways before their uncertainties are satisfactorily resolved. Nor can we anticipate compliance with advocated actions that are believed not to be of benefit in reducing risk--when evidence of actual benefit is lacking to begin with.

Here the obvious question relates to whether these three sets of beliefs affected the personal/property protective actions of the persons in the University of Denver's national sample.

Overall, beliefs regarding responsibility for crime prevention affected neither protective person or property actions. There was one exception--persons who claimed that individual citizens were less responsible for crime prevention (41 percent) were somewhat more inclined to be inactive in regard to actions protecting the person--as compared to the total (32 percent) and particularly as compared to respondents who believed individual citizens had even more responsibility than did the police (21 percent).

Interestingly, belief in one's ability to protect oneself does not affect actions to protect the person, but it does influence actions involving the protection of property. Table III.19 reveals that the more competent people believe themselves to be, the more apt are they to take multiple protective actions in regard to their property , and the less likely are they to take such actions infrequently.

Because it is so important a factor in determining whether crime prevention message receivers can actually take advocated actions, confidence in one's ability deserves a bit more exposition.

- Table III.20 shows that men are far more likely than women to reflect high confidence in their ability to protect themselves against crime.
- Younger persons tend to be somewhat more self-confident; seniors over 55 are proportionately less confident of their protective capabilities.
- Persons who lack self-confidence are those who have had the least education.
- Similarly, on a proportionate basis, low confidence individuals are most apt to be earning between $10,000 and $15,000.

Of additional interest is the finding that feelings of self-confidence are directly related to the perceived safety of the neighborhoods in which

people reside (Table III.21). The safer the neighborhood is seen to be, the greater is the self-confidence.

These data present a problem for planners of public communications efforts that direct audiences to specific prevention actions--particularly to older, less affluent, less well-educated, (female) persons who live in dangerous neighborhoods. In order to be persuaded to behave in recommended ways such persons must first be given a feeling of confidence that they actually can do things that will implement those actions.

But how do we go about building up self-confidence among the aged, the weak, the less well-off, and among those who live in dangerous environments?

Table III.22 shows that powerful influence is wielded by belief in the efficacy of individual preventive actions to reduce the crime rate. The patterns are clear. The firmer the efficacy belief, the greater are the number of personal and property protective actions taken. Obversely, the weaker the efficacy belief, the fewer are the personal protective actions taken.

The national survey data indicate that efficacy beliefs impact rather strongly on self-confidence vis-a-vis protective action-taking. Table III.23 reveals that the more people believe in the efficacy of individualized crime prevention actions, the more self-confidence will they reflect. This is particularly dramatic in the reverse--the lower the beliefs regarding efficacy, the lower is the self-confidence that is expressed.

We see similar relationships between beliefs about the responsibility that citizens have with regard to preventing crimes and the feelings of self-confidence that they manifest (Table III.24). In general, the stronger are people's beliefs regarding citizen responsibility, the more self-confident

they feel. Obversely, the weaker are the public's beliefs about citizen responsibility, the less self-confident they feel.

Finally, and of considerable significance, is the highly positive correlation that exists between claimed knowledge about crime prevention and self-confidence. Table III.25 shows in dramatic fashion that the more information about crime prevention people claim to acquire, the more confident in their ability to protect themselves and their property do they become. This means that one important function for public communications crime prevention information is not so much the conveying of intellectual information per se, but rather, the reinforcement of those who are self-confident to begin with as well as the building up of self-confidence among those who lack it.

Additional beliefs regarding the performance of various local institutions vis-a-vis crime prevention were investigated with the following results:

	Performance Rating		
	Very good/good	Fair/Poor	No Opinion
Local police	58%	39%	3%
Neighbors	46	35	19
Local media	45	43	12
Local volunteer organizations	31	32	27
Local elected officials	24	57	19
Local courts	23	60	17

Again we note a lack of clear-cut belief consensus in either direction--this time regarding the efficacy of various local institutions in preventing crime. Closest to a consensus of sorts are the proportionately high negative beliefs voiced roughly by 6 of every 10 respondents in regard to the performance of local elected officials and local courts.

A reverse favorable belief pattern is discernible in regard to the performance of local police. However, an important fact to note here is that

4 of every 10 Americans sampled believe that their local police are doing less than a "good job" in regard to protecting them from crimes.

That Americans who were surveyed are less than fully enthusiastic about the performance of the police is further reflected in the following data:

- 63 percent believe that the police protection in their neighborhoods is "just adequate"; 14 percent think it is "more than adequate"; and 18 percent opine it is "hardly adequate at all."

- 23 percent of the sample reported that they had contacted the police at one time or another during the year preceding the interview.
  Of the 348 individuals who asked the police for help in the previous year

  ... 45 percent said they were "very satisfied" with the responses and outcomes.
  ... 24 percent reported they were satisfied "somewhat."
  ... 27 percent indicated they were relatively dissatisfied with the responses and outcomes.
  ... 4 percent voiced no opinion.

- Finally, response to the question "How much of the time do you think you can trust local police officers here to act honestly and fairly?"

  ... 18 percent replied "always."
  ... 47 percent said, "most of the time."
  ... 26 percent answered, "just some of the time."
  ... and 9 percent claimed the police could be expected to behave honestly and fairly "hardly any time at all."

To return to the public's beliefs about <u>crime prevention</u>, worth noting is that next to the high performance rating accorded police is the one respondents place on their neighbors. Put another way, the public holds relatively favorable beliefs about both the police and their neighbors as agents of crime prevention.

Respondents manifested considerable indecision with regard to the performances of local media and voluntary organizations vis-a-vis crime prevention.

These findings have considerable bearing on the kinds of sources one uses to lend credibility to crime prevention messages. Surely, one must give careful consideration to relying on local judges and politicians as sources of crime prevention information that is directed to the public. At the same time one must remember that even the use of police as crime prevention sources will not automatically be met with universal public acceptance.

Do the various beliefs about the crime prevention performances of local institutions affect the crime prevention actions that citizens take? Overall, they do not. In other words, the actions that citizens take to protect their persons and property are relatively unaffected by how they regard the performances of local institutions to protect them from crime. Note these examples:

		Take frequent actions to protect:	
		<u>The Person</u>	<u>Property</u>
Rate local police:	Very good/Good	34 percent	36 percent
	Fair/Poor	31 percent	34 percent
Rate neighbors:	Very good/Good	36 percent	38 percent
	Fair/Poor	31 percent	33 percent
Rate local media:	Very good/Good	36 percent	34 percent
	Fair/Poor	32 percent	39 percent
Rate local courts:	Very good/Good	35 percent	34 percent
	Fair/Poor	32 percent	37 percent

CRIME PREVENTION OPINION LEADERSHIP

Seeded throughout the adult population of the United States are persons who, by virtue of their perceived characteristics, knowledge and expertise, are more likely than others to be sought out for their ideas and guidance regarding what to do about crime prevention. These individuals are crime prevention opinion leaders. Opinion leaders serve as links between the more formalized sources of crime prevention information such as the mass media and the people who look to them as reliable personal sources of ideas and guidance. In doing so, crime prevention opinion leaders are informal gatekeepers of crime prevention information who disseminate their own personal versions of such information by word of mouth through the informal networks of communication that exist in every group and community.

Depending on who they are and how they function, crime prevention opinion leaders can either facilitate or hamper purposive public communications efforts on behalf of crime prevention.

Respondents in the University of Denver's national sample were asked, "Which happens most often--people come to you for your ideas and advice about things to do to prevent crimes or do you go to others for ideas and advice about things to do to prevent crimes?"

- 19 percent replied that "people come to them"--the crime prevention opinion leaders.
- 32 percent said they go to others--the crime prevention opinion followers.

The remaining half replied that they could not classify themselves in either rubric.

The fact that a fifth of the adults sampled claim they serve as viable informal sources of crime prevention ideas and advice to another third of all American adults is somewhat startling.

One cannot help but wonder--who are these opinion leaders; from where do they get their ideas; what precisely are they passing on by way of information and advice?

From the national survey Table III.26 profiles both the opinion leaders and the opinion followers in regard to crime prevention ideas and counsel.

- Crime prevention opinion leaders are most apt to be men; followers, women.
- Crime prevention opinion leaders are most apt to be aged 35-54; they are least likely to be younger persons--less than 25 years old. Followers cluster in the 25-34 age bracket; they are least likely to be senior citizens.
- Both leaders and followers cluster in the high school graduate category.
- A plurality of crime prevention opinion leaders report annual earnings between $15,000 and $25,000. Followers cluster in the $10,000 - $25,000 ranges.

As might be expected, crime prevention opinion leaders (to be referred to as CPOLs from here on) are considerably more likely to "get around" more in the community generally as compared to followers (CPOFs). Here we note that 51 percent of the CPOLs as compared to 41 percent of the CPOFs report that they belong to general community organizations and clubs. In the former instance, 6 percent belong to five or more clubs and organizations; in the latter, 1 percent belong to five or more clubs and organizations.

Again, 31 percent of the CPOLs as compared to 23 percent of the CPOFs consider themselves to be "very active" in their organizations and clubs.

Another indication of the greater community social mobility of the CPOLs--where 48 percent of the CPOLs claim they know "most" of their neighbors, 33 percent of the CPOFs offer the same response.

Not only do opinion leaders get around more, but they talk about crime prevention more, almost twice as often as do followers. On this, 18 percent

of the opinion leaders as compared to 10 percent of the opinion followers reported that they talk about crime prevention "very frequently" with those persons with whom they ordinarily come into contact.

Data from the national survey suggests that opinion leadership is to an important degree a derived rather than a substantive status in its own right. Here, six of every ten crime prevention opinion leaders claimed to be opinion leaders in neighborhood matters overall, while nearly two-thirds (64 percent) of the crime prevention opinion followers report that they follow the direction of others in regard to general neighborhood concern as well.

We can assume that where neighborhood opinion leaders function as highly localized sources of ideas, advice and ultimately, persuasion in regard to the neighborhood generally, most of these same individuals will also become respected sources of crime prevention information and counsel. The challenge here is to persuade the remaining minorities of neighborhood opinion leaders to serve in similar capacities.

Of particular interest is the finding that a substantial majority of CPOLs (56 percent) report membership in formal community protection organizations at one time or another. By way of comparison, 43 percent of the CPOFs claim similar memberships.

Data from the survey show that neither vulnerability beliefs nor victimization experience affect crime prevention opinion leadership. That is to say, leaders do not necessarily derive their status from having experienced victimization nor does the fear of possible victimization necessarily impel people to become seekers of informally transmitted crime prevention information and guidance.

Four factors other than vulnerability perception and victimization experience appear to be particularly influential in the determination of

crime prevention opinion leadership. They are: (1) greater interest in crime prevention (Table III.27); (2) being better informed about crime prevention (Table III.28); (3) believing strongly in the efficacy of individual crime prevention action-taking (Table III.29); and (4) manifesting high confidence in one's ability to protect one's self (Table III.30).

Overall then, as compared to CPOFs, CPOLs are considerably more likely to be both interested in and knowledgeable about crime prevention, and they are more apt to believe in the ability and efficacy of individuals to take protective actions. In short, CPOLs are turned to for advice and information mostly because they are seen to be "expert," sincere and confidently enthusiastic. These qualities not only make for perceived opinion leadership, but as we shall see, they are the very qualities that contribute to source credibility as well.

BEING AND BECOMING INFORMED ABOUT CRIME PREVENTION

When asked, "How much do you think you know about how to make yourself and your home less likely to be victimized by criminals?",

26 percent thought they knew "a great deal";

61 percent averred they had "some" knowledge;

13 percent replied that they "don't know much" or else could not tell how informed they are about protection against crime.

In other words, most Americans in the sample believe themselves to be fairly to well-informed about crime prevention at this time, at least according to their self-reports.

Experience with victimization affects the sense of being informed positively (Table III.31). As experience with victimization increases so does the self-perception of being knowledgeable about crime prevention, and vice versa. Of course it is quite possible that as a consequence of the victimization experience people do learn more about prevention directly from the agencies involved--particularly from the police. At least these persons believe they have "learned" something about protection from those experiences.

Believing one is well-informed about crime prevention affects perceptions regarding both vulnerability to crime and taking protective actions.

Table III.32 indicates that for majorities of respondents lack of knowledge often is related to actually feeling more optimistic about risk.

Table III.33 shows that the more informed people believe they are about crime prevention, the more prevention actions in regard to both self and property are they likely to take.

What is important to note from these data is the lack of high positive correlation between the sense of "knowledgeability" and either vulnerability beliefs or action taking.

On the matter of action-taking we witness a clear refutation of the Homo Sapiens school of thought. Knowledge does not "cause" advocated action to happen across the board. In actuality, we note that no more than four in ten "highly informed" individuals take "very frequent" protective person actions. The majority do not. In the same vein, nearly half of those who consider themselves to be well-informed are not persistent in their property protection actions. Turning it around, we note that fully a fourth of the persons who classify themselves as being relatively "ignorant" about crime prevention nevertheless are the most persistent in "doing the right things" in regard to person protection, while more than a fifth of the ill-informed are the most persistent in regard to property protection.

With regard to the influence of knowledge on perceptions of risk, we have evidence on the possibility that "ignorance" may indeed be a precursor to "bliss." The problem posed here focuses on the possibility that the acquisition of that "information" regarding crime "prevention" actually produces more fear about the possibility of victimization than would be the case in the absence of such information. This is precisely the case with regard to cancer prevention information that people acquire. The more informed people become about the serious consequences of cancer and the limitations of efforts to "prevent" it, the more fearful of cancer they become, and as a consequence, the more resistance to information they generate. The same may be true of encounters with crime prevention information.

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INTEREST IN CRIME PREVENTION

Before publics will either pay attention to or comply with action demands that appear in the media, they must first be interested in crime prevention. At least that is what mass communications effects theory might lead us to expect.

The University of Denver's national survey found that overall, just a slim majority (52 percent) of Americans are "very" interested in the prevention of crime; 38 percent are just mildly interested; and one in every ten is "hardly" or not at all interested in crime prevention generally.

When asked whether their interest in crime prevention had grown or diminished over the twelve months preceding the interview, 44 percent of the sample reported an increase in interest; 3 percent a decrease; and the remaining 51 percent replied that their interest in crime prevention had remained static.

Asked to indicate what specifically had contributed to their increased interest in crime prevention over the period of a year, respondents offered the following:

News stories respondents have seen or heard about crimes or crime prevention	20 percent
Crime prevention public service ads that respondents have seen on TV, radio, or in newspapers and magazines	19 percent
Actual crimes that have been committed against respondents or against people they know	18 percent
Crime or crime prevention talks respondents have had with other people	11 percent
Fictional works that respondents have seen in the media about crime	3 percent

Other influences	2 percent
No particular influence	3 percent

Clearly, media news, purposive crime prevention communications, and the fact of victimization each played fairly important roles in generating increased public interest in crime prevention.

The datum regarding exposure to public service advertisements about crime prevention is encouraging, for if they can do anything, "PSAs," as they are called, can generate interest in protection.

Interest in crime prevention and action are correlated, although not in an absolute fashion.

Table III.34 shows that interest in crime prevention is far more likely to be related to taking property protection action than it is to influence person protection action.

Secondly, we note that with regard to both person and property protection, the more interested in crime prevention that people are the more protective actions they take. The reverse holds with regard to the relationship between tepid interest and infrequent action-taking.

EXPOSURE TO CRIME PREVENTION INFORMATION

The majority of Americans (60 percent) surveyed encounter information about crime prevention quite haphazardly--on occasion mostly. Relatively few adults (20 percent) come across such information "often," while an additional fifth "never" come into contact with crime prevention at all (or cannot recall doing so).

Persons with high victimization experience are more apt to have had frequent exposures to crime prevention information, while persons low in victimization experience more often will hardly ever encounter such information at all (Table III.35). However, one must bear in mind that no more than a third of those individuals with high victimization experience are likely to be frequent seekers of information about crime prevention, indicating that victimization experience alone does not automatically motivate people to seek out information regarding the prevention of crime with persistence.

Perceived vulnerability appears as a somewhat stronger motivator here (Table III.36). Nearly half the people who report frequent exposure to crime prevention information also claim to be highly fearful about possible victimization. The greater the sense of vulnerability, the more frequent is exposure to prevention information.

Again we must ask ourselves, "Does frequent exposure to crime prevention information increase the fear of risk, or does fear of risk generate frequent exposure to crime prevention information?" We cannot tell from the data in hand.

Suffice it to say that by now we have seen enough interactions between fear and information to suggest further exploration.

Sheer frequency of exposure to crime prevention information apparently does not affect action-taking vis-a-vis the person positively, but is related to the taking of protective actions on behalf of property (Table III.37). Here we witness a relationship in which the more frequently individuals have contact with protection information, the greater is their property protective action.

Of particular interest is the fact that much of the crime prevention information that the public appears to garner comes from public service advertisements they see or hear in the media.

All in all, more than four in ten (43 percent) persons interviewed in the national sample averred that they pay "a lot of attention" to public service advertisements that focus on the prevention of crimes (Table III.38). As a matter of fact, attention given to crime prevention ranks third below the public's attention to personal health/medical PSAs and to PSAs about keeping fit and energy conservation. One of the principal reasons for devoting considerable attention to crime prevention PSAs that respondents cited was their "believability" and persuasiveness. On this score eight of every ten respondents surveyed found the PSAs they paid attention to to be "convincing" (18 percent considered them to be "very convincing").

By far, television news and information about crime is considered to be the most accurate. Newspapers rank a distant second to television here. Note these findings:

Asked which version of several conflicting crime news reports they would believe most,

- 48 percent of the persons interviewed indicated the version on television;
- 26 percent pointed to the newpaper account;

- o 6 percent cited the magazine story;
- o and 5 percent, the radio version.

Apparently, because they believe television is quite credible with regard to crime news reporting, the great majority of adults (61 percent) claim they give most of their attention to PSAs that are presented to the public via that particular medium.

- o 16 percent claimed they devoted most of their attention to PSAs that are published in newspapers.
- o 8 percent each say they give their greatest attention to magazine and radio PSAs.

Table III.39 indicates that the amount of attention respondents claim they give to PSAs about crime prevention does relate to their actions in a positive, even linear fashion. That is to say, the more attention people say they pay to crime prevention public service advertisements the likelier they are to engage themselves heavily in protecting both their persons and their property.

This looks very promising indeed. However, before tossing our caps to the heavens, we should note several sobering caveats.

First, the majority of the high attenders do not engage in the highest degrees of actions. Perhaps this is so because the "majority" here may not need to engage in heavy action-taking.

Second, consider the fact that substantial proportions of attenders nevertheless are engaging in heavy protective action-taking vis-a-vis both the person (17 percent) and their property (29 percent).

Finally, we encounter a "chicken-egg" problem here once again. Is action-taking a result of attention to PSAs, or are heavy action-takers more likely to be heavy PSA attenders?

THE INFLUENCES OF EXPOSURE TO NEWS AND DRAMAS ABOUT CRIME

Table III.40 shows no direct relationship either between the experience of victimization and attention to crime news or between attention to crime news and the perception of vulnerability. In other words, whatever relationships exist reflect small "tendencies" rather than substantive interactions.

Table III.41 indicates that residents of neighborhoods they believe to be "very safe" are the least likely to pay much attention to television crime news. There is no substantive relationship between belief in citizens' responsibilities in preventing crime and attention to crime news either in the press or on television (Table III.42).

Essentially, whether people believe themselves able to prevent crime is unrelated to the attention they give to crime news in the press and on television (Table III.43). Interest in crime prevention does appear to be positively related to attentive exposure to both televised and print press reports of crime in general (Table III.44).

Here we note that with regard to both television and newspaper news about crime, persons who are most attentive also are most interested in crime prevention. The reverse is evident in that those who are the least attentive in both instances are also the least interested in preventing crimes.

Finally and most important to note, Table III.45 reports no substantive correlation between attentive exposure to crime news and the taking of crime prevention actions by citizens.

An exception worth noting here indicates a minute positive relationship between high attention to crime news and action-taking with regard to the person. What is important to bear in mind is that we have no substantive confirmation of the Skogan and Maxfield "vicarious victimization" hypothesis.

This hypothesis suggests that exposure to "news" about crime unduly may affect the public's concerns about it as well as their orientations to what ought to be done about crime. Nor is there evidence from our data with regard to the reverse hypothesis bearing on the possible influences of victimizations and fear on undue attention to crime news. It would appear that the public's concern about crime and the taking of protective actions by individuals are the consequences of situations and experiences that appear to be quite removed from attentive exposure to crime news in the media.

The vicarious victimization hypothesis suggests additionally that exposure to television drama affects the public's orientations to crime and to crime prevention in generally "negative" ways.

Data from the University of Denver large-scale study again offer no substantiation for hypotheses that posit strong causal relationships between victimization experience and frequent exposure (Table III.46), between frequent exposure and perceived vulnerability (Table III.47), and between frequent exposure and individualized crime prevention action-taking (Table III.48).

One small relationship worth noting is reported in Table III.49. Here we see that where 19 percent of the sample as a whole manifests a high degree of interest in crime prevention, 26 percent of those who are frequent viewers of television crime dramas claim to be highly interested in such protection.

Whether exposure affects interest or whether interest affects exposure cannot be ascertained from the data. In fact, mass communications research suggests that perhaps a factor "X" not studied in this particular investigation affects both phenomena simultaneously. Suffice it to note that there is a relationship here that may be helpful in shaping strategy. For example, it might not be a bad idea at all to consider placing (or persuading broadcasters to place) crime prevention PSAs in and around popular television crime dramas.

Finally, the "vicarious victimization" hypothesis suggests that "inaccuracies" in crime dramas produce unrealistic fears among viewers, and in turn these fears may inhibit individualized crime prevention action-taking.

Again, the national survey undertaken by the University of Denver gives no substantive support for these speculations across the board.

Overall, just one in ten viewers believe that television crime dramas are "very accurate." Tables III.50-53 indicate that viewers who consider televised crime dramas to be very realistic are somewhat less inclined to have experienced much victimization. They are somewhat more inclined to (1) believe themselves highly vulnerable; (2) to be interested in crime prevention; and (3) to take person-protection actions consistently.

Again, the directions of these relationships are unknown. What does deserve attention is the possibility that crime prevention messages that may be inserted in television crime dramas (either as PSAs or as components of the dramas) might serve to enhance viewers' interest in crime prevention overall.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE USES OF PUBLIC SERVICE ADVERTISEMENTS IN CRIME PREVENTION

Given the above, we turn to one particular crime prevention campaign, based upon public service advertisements, as an evaluative case study. We will be concerned largely with who was exposed to the campaign, and the kind of effects it had on them, and why. The campaign to be considered is the Advertising Council's initial "Take a Bite Out of Crime" program, featuring the now somewhat familiar McGruff cartoon character. The campaign was launched in January 1980, and has received considerable play in the nation's media since. Our concern is with the campaign's first four-month phase, based almost completely on public service advertisements running as television and radio spots and newspaper and magazine display ads. In brief, the ads in one form or another depicted the McGruff cartoon dog character inviting citizens to help "Take a Bite Out of Crime" by doing such things as locking up their homes, keeping a watch out in their neighborhoods, and the like.

In order to place the campaign and our evaluation of it into a more generalizable and productive context, we first need to consider the broader purview of information campaigns based on public service advertisements.

PUBLIC SERVICE ADVERTISING: AN OVERVIEW

Public service advertisements are promotional materials which address problems assumed to be of general concern to citizens at large. PSAs typically attempt to increase public awareness of such problems and their possible solutions, and in many instances also try to affect public beliefs, attitudes,

motivations and behaviors concerning them. Most PSAs emanate from non-profit or governmental organizations, and these usually receive gratis placement in broadcast and print media. The Advertising Council serves as something of a clearing house for many national public service ad campaigns, and enlists the services of major advertising companies to produce and distribute the ads while charging sponsoring groups for production costs only.

Those PSAs warranting free media placement are ordinarily relegated to status behind regular paid ads and are apt to appear only as space or time become available. Most televised PSAs, for example, run during the least watched viewing periods, while newspaper PSAs are rarely seen on the more heavily traveled pages. Competition between PSA sponsors for media placement is heavy, and many of the ads fail to be disseminated at all.

The ads, of course, reflect the individual concerns of their sponsors. Content analyses of televised PSAs in the early 1970s indicated that nearly half of them dealt with health or personal safety topics, including alcohol and drug abuse, medical check-ups and care, traffic safety, nutrition and the like (Hanneman, McEwen and Coyne, 1973; Paletz, Pearson and Willis, 1977). Other ads were distributed over such subject areas as environmental concerns, community services, educational and occupational opportunities, consumer issues, volunteer recruitment, general humanitarian concerns, and crime prevention. While most ads offered informative and in some cases somewhat persuasive messages, others were funding appeals from the sponsoring organizations, the majority of which were non-profit national service groups. Government agencies were responsible for only about a quarter of the ads. Sixty-second spots outnumbered shorter ones, and nearly two-thirds of all PSA-devoted time was between 7:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. on weekdays. While comparable data on PSA placement on radio and in newspapers and magazines are

unavailable, there is little reason to suspect sizeable differences in their content, distribution or sponsorship.

Considering the enormous financial and time commitments given PSAs by both their producers and exhibitors, surprisingly little is known about who attends to them and even less concerning their possible influences. In perhaps the only documented field study of PSA audiences per se, Paletz et al (1977) found that nearly half of the adults interviewed in a limited 200-person sample could recall having seen televised PSAs. Health and environmentally related ads received the most individual mentions. Over a third of the sample said they had been somehow "affected" by what they saw on PSAs, and 15 percent had been prompted by PSA exposure to give money to a cause or organization. Five percent had written for further information on the basis of something they had heard about via PSAs.

Audience evaluations of television PSAs in experimental laboratory situations have been found to be influenced to some extent by source, message and receiver characteristics. Ads with Advertising Council source identification, for example, tended to elicit more positive evaluations than those identified as emanating from other non-commercial or commercial groups (Lynn, Wyatt, Gaines, Pearce and Vanden Bergh, 1978). Furthermore, the type of appeal or persuasive argument used was more predictive of variance in PSA evaluations than was the issue or topic dealt with. Emotional appeals were likelier to generate positive evaluations (Lynn, 1974). While receiver characteristics were generally less predictive of PSA evaluations (perhaps in part due to the limited samples used), there was some tendency for higher socio-economic status individuals and those scoring high in fatalism to rate PSAs more positively (Lynn et al, 1978). Older and less educated persons, however, were likelier to be aware of sources of the PSAs (Lynn, 1973).

Well-planned and executed public information campaigns including PSAs as a main component often seem capable of triggering responses from at least some members of their target audiences. Two traditional indicators of such responses have been the volume of requests received for more information concerning an issue and the increase in financial contributions to sponsoring groups. Several successful national campaigns over the years based largely upon television PSAs have generated information requests numbering in the thousands per week over the short run, and even local campaign efforts can result in hundreds of such requests weekly. Of course, whether the recipients of that information are making use of it in any meaningful way is a largely unanswered question. However, the few rigorous empirical evaluations that have been carried out of the more consequential effects of such campaigns suggest minimal influences due to media components by themselves. It appears particularly difficult to affect change in such deep-rooted behavioral patterns as alcohol and drug abuse and cigarette smoking (Hanneman and McEwen, 1973; Schmeling and Wotring, 1976; O'Keefe, 1971; Atkin, 1979). Campaigns may enjoy more limited success in terms of increasing knowledge about some topics (Salcedo, Read, Evans and Kong, 1974) and attitude change may result under some conditions (Mendelsohn, 1973), particularly if non-media supports such as interpersonal communication channels are operative (Douglas, Westley and Chaffee, 1970; Maccoby and Alexander, 1979).

It also may be that given their pervasiveness in media channels PSAs serve systemically important functions. If consumer advertising can be said to reinforce basic dispositions of the public toward capitalism, free enterprise and materialism, then perhaps PSAs to some extent bolster their audiences' feelings toward such expressed ideals as fellowship, humanitarianism, charity, cooperation, democracy, and governmental benevolence. Paletz et al go further

in arguing that the social and political import of televised PSAs goes beyond their explicit contents in terms of "the values they contain, the images they collectively propound of authority and American institutions, their portrayals of the nature and causes of societal problems, and the solutions they designate for those problems...public service advertising should be considered as one way in which the American public is imbued with the values and attitudes that contribute to the current functioning and stability of the American political system" (p. 74).

Their abbreviated content analysis of television PSAs revealed that most of them included depictions of cooperation among citizens as an overriding theme. Moreover, cooperation, including increased individual awareness and concern as well as collective action, was often shown as a basis for solving many societal problems. Paletz et al found little if any PSA content indicating social conflict as either a cause of, or possible solution to, the ills described. Controversy was generally avoided, as was mention of citizen participation through political channels as a means of problem attack. The authors note that the content also gave a consistently positive view of governmental agencies; health, religious and charitable organizations; and traditional American institutions overall. While many PSAs urged some form of citizen action, Paletz et al suggest that most of it constituted "pseudo-participation" in the form of donating money or time, or seeking more information, as opposed to potentially more meaningful activities, including political ones, which might provide decision-making input into the sponsoring groups. The authors point to possible dangers in PSAs serving propagandistic functions which could simply reinforce status quo social and political relationships while at the same time giving the appearance of promoting action and change.

Similar claims, of course, have been made over the years about possible influences of many forms of media content, including news, on audiences. However, consistent data supporting or refuting these arguments have been difficult to come by. It has generally proved far easier for concerned investigators to read both socially damaging and socially beneficial portents into media messages than to trace their ultimate impacts on their audiences.

A critical element neglected in the above examinations of PSAs has been a most basic component in any audience research undertaking: Who makes up the audience for PSAs? What kinds of people actually attend to them? How are PSAs perceived by the public at large? It is questions of this order which must be broached before considering the scale of possible influences of the messages on the public, and the societal ramifications of those influences.

While the paucity of previous data and theory addressing PSA audiences renders this investigation exploratory, some tentative propositions can be posed to guide the research. First, one might expect that persons more aware of and attentive to PSAs within each medium--television, radio, newspapers and magazines--would have higher exposure rates overall within each medium. People watching more television are likely to at least run into more televised PSAs, and perhaps attend to them more. More importantly, it was our strategy to seek out some of the more motivationally based components of media usage and relate those to public service ad attendance. It was expected that individuals using each medium more for purposes of seeking information, as opposed to entertainment, would pay greater attention to PSAs. And, the more attentive persons were to PSAs, the more credible and helpful they would be perceived as being. Further, it was predicted that persons paying more attention to commercial advertising within each medium would be heavier attenders to PSAs as well. While the characteristics of people paying attention

to commercial ads are beyond our scope here, it was felt that at a minimum such persons are more keyed to heeding content appearing in media space and time formats associated with advertising overall.

Linking traditional demographic descriptors of audiences to PSA attendance is somewhat more speculative. While one can argue that many PSAs are employed as fund-raising devices and as such may be aimed at higher income groups, many others aim at disseminating information and advice to socially and economically disadvantaged segments. Since distinctions between PSA contents were not possible here, the most that could be done was to determine if overall profiles of PSA users could be achieved. One might expect, for example, that because most televised PSAs appear during daytime viewing hours, women working at home would be more available as an audience.

In line with Paletz et al's reasoning and the ambiance of PSAs overall, it was expected that individuals more attentive toward PSAs would exhibit greater trust in government institutions as well as in other people, and would feel less alienated from society. The same should hold for persons seeing PSAs as more credible and helpful in social problem solving. Presumably, to the extent that the ads were having broader-based social influences, their emphasis on themes of fellowship and cooperation would be associated with increased interpersonal trust among their audiences. Moreover, one would expect greater trust in the source of so many PSAs--governmental agencies. The positive and optimistic views of social problem solving and human behavior in general depicted in PSAs would seem related to decreased alienation among audiences.

One research issue more generally addressed here is the extent to which people attending to PSAs do so out of specific concern with PSA content, as opposed to paying attention to them more as a function of regular media use

habits. If the attention stems from specific concern with PSAs, we would expect similar non-media variables to predict PSA attendance across all media, assuming that proper controls are inserted for within-media orientations. If, on the other hand, PSA attendance derives more from regular use habits pertinent to each medium, we would expect differences across media in the ability of various non-media indicators to predict PSA attendance.

More important, of course, for the present research effort is the identification of citizen orientations toward crime and examination of the extent to which those might be associated with citizen use of public service ads. This is especially critical since no previous research could be located specifically associating citizens' beliefs, attitudes and behaviors concerning crime prevention with their uses of public service advertisements. Since ads pertaining to crime prevention compose an insignificant fraction of all PSAs, there is no reason to suspect that citizens regularly depend on them for prevention information and advice. On the other hand, one might argue that people concerned about crime prevention are apt to have other concerns related to social and physical well-being, and as such may be more drawn to PSAs for the range of content they provide on topical problems overall. This might apply to both persons who perceive crime and its prevention as personal problems to be coped with within their immediate environs as well as to persons who might perceive the problem as a more abstract societal concern but needing attention nonetheless.

Our focus at this juncture was on determining simply the extent to which various citizen orientations toward crime prevention are related to PSA attendance, credibility and perceived helpfulness. Crime orientations assumed most pertinent for the purposes here included citizens' levels of interest in felt responsibility, confidence, knowledge, and perceived effectiveness

vis-a vis crime prevention techniques, and their perceived need for crime prevention information. An overall objective was to investigate whether these citizen crime prevention orientations per se were associated with usage of public service advertising, regardless of regular media use characteristics and other demographic and socio-psychological factors.

THE AUDIENCES FOR PUBLIC SERVICE ADVERTISING

Data pertinent to the above issues were primarily gathered in the first wave of the panel survey, which had numerous items focusing on usage of PSAs in general.

Public service advertisements were described to respondents as being those which differ from product-type ads in that they "tell people about how they can stay healthy, what they can do to help themselves, where they can go for help at social service agencies, and so forth...they tell about things like traffic safety, cancer prevention, help with alcohol and drug problems, crime prevention and so on." Respondents were then asked whether they usually paid "a lot of attention, some attention, or hardly any attention at all" to PSAs on each medium--television, radio, newspapers and magazines respectively. They were also asked whether they found PSAs overall to be "very believable, somewhat believable, or hardly believable at all." As indicators of how helpful PSAs were perceived as being, respondents were asked whether they found them to be "very helpful, somewhat helpful, or hardly helpful at all" first in making people "aware of problems that may affect their well-being" and second in "helping people solve problems they may have."

With respect to more general media orientations, items ascertained how much time respondents spent daily each with television, radio and newspapers,

and how many magazines they read over a month's time. For each medium, they were also asked it they attended to it mainly as a source of information and news, or mainly as a source of entertainment. Lastly, amount of attention paid by respondents to advertisements on each medium for "products and other things to buy" was measured.

Specific crime prevention orientation measures used in the present analyses included how concerned respondents thought they were compared to most other people about protecting themselves from crime, and the extent of responsibility they though citizens had for helping prevent crime. Additionally, respondents were queried as to their level of confidence in protecting themselves from crime and how much they thought they knew about crime prevention techniques. Another series of questions ascertained whether prevention techniques employed by ordinary citizens could help reduce crime, if respondents thought that their taking more preventive steps would reduce their risk in becoming a victim, and the likelihood that they would take more preventive steps. And, they were asked how much of a need they saw themselves as having for crime prevention information.

Other indices included the Michigan Survey Research Center "trust in people" scale and the Srole anomia scale. Trust in government was indexed by two items ascertaining how much of the time respondents thought their local government and the federal government could be trusted to "do what is best for the people." Typical demographic indicators were also used.

General Indicators of PSA Orientations

As might be expected, the most attended-to PSAs were those appearing on television, with 40 percent of the respondents saying they paid "a lot" of attention to them and only 16 percent reporting paying "hardly any" attention. Twenty-two percent said they paid a lot of attention to radio PSAs, followed

by 14 percent for newspapers and eight percent for magazines. Over half the respondents also named televised PSAs as being the type they paid the most attention to. Forty percent of the sample also said they found PSAs to be very believable, and nearly a third saw them as very helpful in both making people aware of problems and in helping people solve them (Table IV.1).

Not only were the respondents by-and-large attentive to the ads, but 55 percent could describe a particular one they had recently seen, and nearly half of the sample reported they had learned something from the ad that they hadn't known before and had discussed the PSA with at least one other person. A fifth of the group said they had written or phoned for more information concerning something they had heard about in a PSA. Thus the messages appear to be remembered by sizeable proportions of the public, and are capable of prompting action among a significant minority.

Turning to descriptors of what kinds of people are most attuned to public service ads, it is clear that certain media orientations are highly associated with PSA attendance (Tables IV.3,4). Respondents spending more time with television and newspapers were significantly more likely to pay greater attention to PSAs appearing in those media. The relationship was considerably weaker in the cases of radio and magazines. However, only in the instance of radio was higher PSA attention significantly associated with the use of a medium for informational purposes. This suggests that different degrees of motivation may be important in predicting attention, depending upon the medium being considered. It is interesting to note that information seeking was negatively correlated with time spent with both broadcast media, but positively associated with newspaper time and number of magazines read.

The strongest predictor of PSA attention across all media was attention to product ads. The relationship was particularly salient for print media.

The distinct possibility is thus raised of an audience type more oriented toward advertising in general, regardless of source, content or type of appeal.

Table IV.4 also depicts the efficacy of the demographic and psychological variables as predictors of PSA attention, with the media orientations controlled for. While it is apparent from these results that the non-media indicators do have direct impact on PSA attendance, it is difficult to make a case for audiences attending to the ads per se across all media channels. Rather, different audience types seem particularly attentive to PSAs within specific media.

Thus sex is the key discriminator only in the case of televised PSAs, with women significantly more attentive. That the majority of PSAs are on television during daytime hours when they are more available to many women could well be a factor here, even though actual time spent with television has been partialled out.

Older and more educated respondents were also somewhat more attentive to television PSAs, albeit nonsignificantly so. On the other hand, heavier radio PSA attenders were most marked by a higher degree of anomie, along with higher education and a tendency to place greater trust in government institutions. Of a different cut yet were persons paying greater attention to newspaper public service ads, with older age the strongest indicator, followed by trust in government. The only significant non-media predictor of magazine PSA attendance was marital status, with those married more attentive.

In spite of the statistical strengths of the above differences, there were more subtle similarities across all media which deserve mention. For one, women, older persons, and the more educated consistently reported greater attendance, regardless of medium. While the coefficients in some cases are

slight, the trend is noteworthy. Also, a curious juxtapositioning occurs between anomie and trust in government with respect to PSA attendance. When the zero-order correlation between anomie and PSA attention is positive, as in the case of newspapers and radio, the association between trust in government and PSA attention is likewise positive. Given the moderately negative zero-order coefficient between anomie and trust (-.21), the possibility exists that among some more alienated persons PSAs serve a function of establishing or, more likely, reinforcing a higher degree of institutional trust. Nonetheless, there appears to be little overall support here for Paletz et al's contention that PSAs reinforce particular dispositions toward government.

Variation in credibility accorded PSAs by the respondents was largely a function of degree of attention paid to both televised and radio broadcast ads. This replicates the consistent finding in studies of other media content areas that greater attention or exposure to a particular message type is positively associated with increased credibility, with the causal path quite likely a reciprocating one. Presented with these expectedly high associations between PSA attention and credibility, as well as perceived helpfulness, we found it appropriate to control for PSA attention levels across all media in our examination of non-media predictors of these evaluative components (Table IV.5).

Among the demographic and psychological audience factors, only anomie appeared as a strong, but nonsignificant, predictor of credibility of the ads when attention levels were controlled. That the more alienated found PSAs less credible parallels previous suggestions that such individuals ascribe less believability to media sources per se (McLeod, Ward and Tancill, 1965). It should be pointed out that sex was a significant indicator of credibility

prior to insertion of the controls for attention, with women scoring higher. However, it seems that much of the variance in credibility accounted for by sex can be accounted for by the higher attention paid to PSAs by women.

There was a slight tendency for both older and higher income respondents to perceive PSAs as credible, but somewhat surprisingly trust in government and in other people were essentially unrelated to credibility. This leads to speculation that perhaps the credibility attached to PSAs derives more from the "expertise" component of that attribute than the trust component (Hovland and Weiss, 1951).

Credibility correlated moderately with perceptions of PSAs as being helpful in making people aware of problems (.34) and in solving problems (.26). However, sex proved to be the only significant predictor of both helpfulness dimensions, with or without controlling for PSA attention levels. Women were thus not only generally more attentive to PSAs but saw them as providing greater help to persons as well. Younger respondents were somewhat likelier to view the ads as increasing audience awareness, but not necessarily as facilitating problem solving.

Crime Prevention and PSA Orientations

Table IV.6 depicts the beta weights denoting the relative predictive power of each crime prevention orientation on attention to PSAs within each medium, controlling for the block effects of other media orientations and the demographic/socio-psychological characteristics discussed above. While significant effects are few and difficult to interpret, the prevention orientations overall add considerably to the variance explained by the previous characteristics, suggesting that the prevention orientations per se can serve as important indicators of PSA usage. The general picture across all media suggests that more "positive" orientations toward crime prevention

are associated with greater attention to PSAs. The associations were particularly strong for concern over crime, confidence regarding prevention, likelihood of taking preventive measures and need for information. A tentative conclusion is that those persons apt to be more interested in and receptive toward crime prevention information are likewise more attentive to the main vehicle being utilized in the present campaign.

Table IV.7 shows the associations between crime prevention orientations and evaluations of PSAs in terms of their credibility and perceived helpfulness. While the beta weights were again appreciably low, positive prevention orientations tended to be related with favorable evaluations of PSAs. This was particulary true in the case of perceived effectiveness of prevention measures. However, greater need for prevention information was negatively, albeit slightly, predictive of PSA credibility and helpfulness, perhaps suggesting that the information need felt was for more detailed or extensive knowledge. Respondents more concerned about crime apparently not only tend to be more alienated and distrustful of other people, but may carry some of that suspicion over to PSAs as well. They were significantly less likely to see PSAs as credible, and slightly less likely to perceive them as helpful.

SUMMARY

More detailed analyses are needed to examine the extent to which women are more interested in prevention as a function of household roles versus self-protection. Subsequent analyses on the impacts of the Advertising Council crime prevention campaign will take advantage of these findings by tracing the exposure to and uses made of campaign materials by respondent subgroups varying in their dispositions toward PSAs overall and crime prevention.

CHAPTER FIVE

CITIZEN RESPONSE TO THE MCGRUFF CAMPAIGN

We now turn to examining citizen reactions to the initial McGruff campaign itself. In turn, we will consider what kinds of people the campaign reached, those persons' self-evaluations of the campaign's efficacy, and more objective over-time measures of how they may have been affected or influenced by the campaign. An overview of the methodology and analysis plan appears in Chapter One.

EXPOSURE TO THE CAMPAIGN

SUMMARY: Thirty percent of the national sample reported having seen at least one of the "Take a Bite Out of Crime" advertisements. Most saw it on television. Those exposed to the campaign were generally heavier users of mass media and paid particular attention to public service announcements overall. They were decidedly younger, and likelier to be male and in middle to lower social class strata. The elderly were conspicuously low in exposure. The more altruistic and distrustful of others tended more to have been exposed to the advertisements. Persons more concerned about crime and in perceived need of prevention-related information were likelier to recall the advertisement. Those already having more positive dispositions toward prevention were no more likely than others to recall it.

Simple exposure to campaign stimuli was measured in terms of respondents' ability to recall having seen any of the McGruff advertisements in any of the media. Respondents were classified as having been exposed if they either:

(1) mentioned the Advertising Council "Take a Bite Out of Crime" ad when they were asked to describe any one particular recent public service ad that stood out in their memory; or (2) indicated recognition of the ads when they were shown to them by the interviewer.

The national sample data that provide the more definitive overview of what kinds of people were exposed to the campaign, or at least recalled having been, in terms of demographic and other more objective indicators. Only six respondents in the national sample mentioned the ad without interviewer aid, and 441 said they recognized the ad when prompted by the interviewer. Both groups together constituted 29.7 percent of the sample.

Of those exposed:

--66 percent said they saw it on television;

--Seven percent heard it over the radio;

--Seven percent saw it in a magazine;

--Seven percent saw it on a billboard;

--Six percent saw it in a newspaper;

--Five percent saw it on a poster;

--Two percent saw it on a "car card" in a public transportation vehicle.

GENERAL DETERMINANTS OF CAMPAIGN EXPOSURE

Several sets of variables were considered important as possible predictors, or at least correlates of, exposure to the campaign in the national sample analysis. These included general orientations toward the mass media, demographic characteristics, various psychological attributes, interpersonal activities, and orientations toward crime and its prevention. Indices were constructed within each of the above sets to reflect the most

meaningful categories of variables for overview purposes, and the makeup of these is described in Appendix A. In the analyses which follow, many of the individual items comprising the indices are also presented for purposes of elaboration.

Exposure and Mass Media Orientations

One would expect that a primary predictor of exposure to the "Take a Bite Out of Crime" advertisements would be simply the amount of overall exposure to mass media. The more time spent with media, generally, the more opportunity for incidental exposure to an ad, motivational considerations aside. The national survey findings summarized in Table V.1 bear this out, with only 21 percent of the low general media exposure group recalling the ad as compared to 34 percent of the high general media exposure group. Furthermore, the finding holds for specific amounts of time spent with television and with radio overall (Table V.2). No significant differences were obtained with respect to print media, perhaps in part a function of the lower rates of exposure to the ads in newspapers and magazines overall.

It might also be expected that individuals more inclined to use mass media for purposes of obtaining information, as opposed to entertainment, would have greater recall of the informationally based advertisements under study. This too was borne out by the overall results, with information-seeking media users likelier to recall exposure to the "Take a Bite Out of Crime" materials than were entertainment-seeking media users. However, the differences did not prove to be significant within each of the media examined (Table V.3).

Our previous examination of audiences for public service advertising suggested that many persons were somewhat more attentive to PSAs overall, regardless of their content, and that these persons appeared to be more

attentive to media advertising content per se, regardless of their total media exposure patterns. The present results indicate that respondents' degree of sensitivity to PSAs (including attentiveness and other attributes of involvement with PSAs) was a primary predictor of exposure to the crime prevention PSAs. Thirty-eight percent of the respondents classified as "high" in general PSA sensitivity recalled the ad. Upon closer inspection (Table V.4), persons more exposed were likelier to see themselves more "influenced" by advertising content in general, to be more attentive to PSAs appearing in all media, to view PSAs as more helpful and credible, and to have sought out further information about topics as a consequence of PSA exposure.

Yet another consideration concerning media content which might affect exposure to the campaign concerns interest in and attention to crime-related content. Specificially, audience members more attuned to crime-oriented entertainment programs and news accounts of crime might have their attention triggered by the crime-related subject matter of the ad, and perhaps also by the similarity of the cartoon dog character to various prototype fictional detectives. Indeed, a positive and significant association was found between exposure to the McGruff advertisements and media crime attention overall. More specifically, those exposed tended to watch more televised crime programs and to pay greater attention to news about crime in all media (Table V.5).

The regression analysis presented in Table V.6 compares the relative predictability of ad exposure by overall media exposure, media functions, PSA sensitivity and media crime attention. The strongest predictor of exposure remained to be general PSA sensitivity, with media crime attention also proving significant. Thus, audiences' more content-specific media exposure preferences appear more indicative of ad exposure than does simple overall

amount of time spent with mass media. Moreover, we appear to have one segment of individuals exposed more on the basis of interest in PSAs overall, another group exposed to McGruff more on the basis of attention to crime content (and perhaps more interested in crime overall); and likely a third group sharing both characteristics. It should be noted that while these descriptive insights are helpful, the total variance explained by these factors alone was only three percent.

Exposure and Demographic Characteristics

Broadly speaking, respondents recalling having seen or heard the "Take a Bite Out of Crime" advertisements were likelier to be younger, male, employed full time, and residing in households with children (Table V.7). They also tended to live in less affluent neighborhoods, to be located in smaller cities and towns, and to be less satisfied with their neighborhoods as places to live.

The characteristic most graphically separating those exposed from those who were not was age. Nearly half of all the respondents aged 18 to 24 could recall the ads, while no more than a fifth of those over 54 could. About 30 percent of the respondents in the middle age groups were exposed. Nearly a third of all male respondents recalled the ads, as compared to 27 percent of the women. Members of racial minority groups were somewhat more likely to have encountered the ads.

While no significant differences were found among social status characteristics, there was a greater tendency for middle-income persons and those seeing themselves occupying the middle and working classes to have been exposed. Ad recall was lowest within the bottom income and perceived social class strata. Exposure was about equal over most education levels, the exception being that 24 percent of college graduates recalled having seen or

heard the advertisements. More full-time employed persons than those working part-time or unemployed recalled the ad. These results probably are a function of heavier male attendance to the ads. Essentially, no differences were found between occupational categories, nor were welfare recipients likelier to have been aware of the ads.

Marital status was unrelated to advertisement recall, but proportionately more respondents with children in the household had seen or heard the ads.

Whether or not respondents owned their residences, and type of residence occupied, were unrelated to recall. However, higher exposure rates were found among respondents who live in lower working class neighborhoods, and among persons indicating lesser satisfaction with their neighborhoods as living environments. Length of residence in a particular neighborhood made no difference in terms of ad recall.

Media placement and accessibility of media to respondents may have interacted to bring about the divergence in exposure rates across geographic regions and among different sizes and types of communities. The greatest degree of exposure to early "Take A Bite Out of Crime" ads was reported in the South Atlantic and western Mountain states, while the lowest degree of exposure occurred in the Eastern North Central and Pacific Coast regions. This may reflect varying availability of the McGruff messages to the public in these areas, for as yet unknown reasons. On the other hand, residents of suburban areas reported less exposure than did persons living in central city areas, but small city and town residents exhibited the highest recall. Putting citizens' interest in the ad content aside at this point, one partial explanation may be that urban dwellers have more opportunity to see and hear a diverse media array carrying the ads than do suburban residers, while media outlets in more rural areas are apt to carry more public service advertising overall, including this particular campaign.

Taken at face value, these somewhat gross demographic indicators suggest that at least two social groups who, given their heightened perceived vulnerability to crime, may have been highly appropriate targets for the Advertising Council prevention campaign were among the lowest in exposure to it. Women and, to some extent, lowest income level individuals appear likeliest to have bypassed the ads. However, it should be noted that the campaign's audience did include sizeable proportions of all demographic subgroups. For example, the subgroup lowest in exposure--the elderly--still included 20 percent recalling the ad.

The descriptive account presented thus far does not allow inferences concerning the relative predictive power of each demographic attribute separately, when others are controlled for. Nor does it take into account variations in media orientations within demographic segments which might account for some of the associations between demographic groups and exposure. The regression analysis depicted in Table V.8 attempts to clarify some of these relationships. Only the major demographic indicators are included, and the beta weights reflect the relative influence of each media and demographic variable controlling for all others. Age emerges as the most powerful predictor, with sex and education, as well as general media exposure and PSA sensitivity, becoming significant. Several interrelationships deserve further exploration.

For one, among the media orientations overall media exposure replaces media crime attention in significance. It appears that the association between media crime attention and ad exposure was primarily an artifact of higher crime attention and greater ad exposure among the young, and particularly within the 18- to 24-year-old subset. Age and media crime attention had a negative correlation of .11, while age and media exposure have a correlation

coefficient of nearly zero. Furthermore, while 24 percent of the 18- to 24-year-olds were in the low crime attention group, 47 percent of them were in the high crime attention cohort. And, within the youngest age group ad exposure remained nearly constant across levels of media crime attention. Thus, the association between crime attention and ad exposure is sharply attenuated when age is controlled for, and for the sample as a whole general media exposure becomes a significant independent predictor of campaign exposure.

The predominance of age in these analyses is further indicated in comparisons with other demographic variables. Table V.9 clearly shows that men and women in the youngest age group were almost equal in ad recall. Older men were proportionately more likely to have encountered the McGruff PSA than were older women, with the difference markedly great in the age 55 and older cohort. No more than 16 percent of the women over age 64--a group particularly high in their concerns about vulnerability to crime--recalled seeing or hearing the ad. The strength of age is somewhat diminished when it is compared against the presence of children in the household (Table V.10). Fifty-two percent of respondents under age 25 with children in the home recalled the ad, as compared to 36 percent of same-aged respondents without children. While children do appear to make a sizeable difference in exposure for that one age group, the overall pattern of diminished exposure with increasing age holds regardless of the presence of children.

Nor do education, income or neighborhood type attenuate the pattern of age's influence on exposure (Table V.11). Younger respondents were the most exposed across all education, income and neighborhood type categories, and the elderly were generally the least exposed. Moreover, women had lower recall rates than men did across all of these categories. A general profile thus emerges of the youngest respondents being the most exposed regardless of

other characteristics, with those over age 54 least exposed. Among the elderly, recall rates tended to be lower for females, those earning under $10,000 in annual income, and residing in lower working class neighborhoods. The less educated were significantly more likely to see and hear the advertisements, even when controlling for their relatively higher general media exposure rates (primarily accounted for by television). However, that circumstance may be largely due to the drop in exposure among college graduates rather than a progressive decline through the lower educational categories.

Exposure and Psychological Characteristics

Four basic psychological characteristics were measured in the study: (1) altruism, or concern with helping others as opposed to greater selfishness; (2) alienation or sense of powerlessness as conceptualized empirically by the Srole anomia scale; (3) trust in people; and (4) trust in governmental institutions, including national government, local government, and local police organizations. Table V.12 clearly indicates that those respondents exposed to the Advertising Council campaign scored higher in altruism than those who were not exposed. Further, they were significantly less trustful of both other persons and institutions. Scores on the alienation index did not discriminate between the two groups. The contrasting findings for altruism versus trust are somewhat suprising, given that greater concern with helping persons correlated positively with both personal trust ($r = .11$) and institutional trust ($r = .15$). A closer look at the nature of the interaction is presented in Table V.13. The marginal percentages indicate that while 40 percent of the respondents in the high altruism-low trust cell were exposed early to the McGruff campaign, 27 percent of those in the high altruism-high trust category behaved similarly. The same general result held in comparisons

between altruism and institutional trust. The table also reveals that the finding may partly be considered a function of age, with 69 percent of the 18- to 24-year-old in the high altruism-low trust group exposed, but with only 40 percent of the youngest respondents in the high altruism-high trust group recalling the ads. However, the impact of age on exposure is undiminished by the addition of these psychological attributes as a group, as the regression analysis in Table V.14 indicates. Altruism and institutional trust emerge as the only significant, albeit weak, psychological predictors of exposure. It may be that higher altruism combined with lower trust forms a specific ideological disposition toward at least greater recall of the ad.

Exposure and Interpersonal Activities

There was no evidence that the extent of respondents' social activities in terms of neighborhood integration or organizational membership were associated with campaign exposure (Table V.15). Because of the lack of findings even approaching significance, further analyses are not presented.

Exposure and Crime and Crime Prevention Orientations

Persons exposed to the campaign were likelier to have been criminally victimized or to have had members of their families victimized (Table V.16); to have greater interest in crime prevention, to feel more competent concerning crime prevention, and to be engaged in fewer crime prevention activities (Table V.17). It is likely that the contrast between higher interest/competence and less activity is in part a function of age and sex, with more young males fitting into that particular mold.

However, it is of course difficult to discern from the national data the extent to which ad exposure is an antecedent or a consequence of crime and prevention orientations. We turn to the panel analyses to help sort that out.

A Panel Analysis of Selectivity Factors in Exposure

The purpose of the panel analysis data regarding exposure is to examine some of the more psychologically based predictors of exposure, taking advantage of data gathered in interviews prior to the campaign without fear of their having been contaminated by exposure itself. It should be noted that, as is indicated above, the panel sample has limited generalizability, particularly as compared to the national sample. The group considered includes only residents of three mid-sized metropolitan areas, and is over-represented by females. Nevertheless, while the demographic characteristics may be somewhat less representative than might be hoped for, we believe that we have an adequate cross-section of individual orientations to the mass media, crime and crime prevention factors discussed below.

Ninety-three panel respondents (18 percent) recalled having been exposed to at least one of the McGruff advertisements. Seventeen respondents mentioned the ads without interviewer aid. Seventy-eight percent reported that they had seen the PSAs on television, with the remaining responses about evenly distributed over the remaining media.

Speaking first to demographic indicators, the results by-and-large concur with those of the national survey, with the exceptions that younger persons were not as strongly inclined to be exposed, nor were men (Table V.18). But the overall pattern held in that those likelier to be exposed included lesser educated, lower income, and working class neighborhood persons. Those with children in the home also tended more to fall into the exposed cohort. Also, in general agreement with the national results were findings, albeit nonsignificant, that persons higher in overall media exposure and more attentive to public service advertisements generally tended to be exposed to the campaign (Table V.19). Similarly, those paying greater attention to crime-related

content in the media overall were significantly more likely to recall the ads. Sensitivity to PSAs in general failed to be the significant predictor here that it was in the national sample.

There is mixed support here for the classic selective exposure (or retention) hypothesis that only individuals who are more interested in or concerned about a subject are likelier to be exposed. Respondents' concern about crime prevention, sense of responsibility concerning prevention, feeling of competence regarding prevention, and behaviors taken regarding prevention were all unrelated to exposure to the McGruff campaign (Table V.20). Apparently, existing dispositions regarding prevention per se were not a relevant factor in determining exposure to these particular PSAs.

On the other hand, feelings about and experiences with crime itself were more productive in that regard. Having been victimized, as well as perceiving one's neighborhood as being more dangerous in terms of crime, were both significantly predictive of campaign awareness (Table V.21). Moreover, respondents who indicated a need prior to the campaign for more information about crime prevention were significantly likelier to have been exposed, as were those who expected to pay greater attention to prevention-related information which they encountered (Table V.22).

The relative strengths of these blocks of variables is further illustrated in the regression analysis depicted in Table V.23. Crime orientations emerge as the only significant predictors, save for media crime attention.

At this juncture we infer that exposure to the early McGruff ads was in large part generated by concern over crime and perhaps a felt need for more information on how to cope with it. Individuals who were more concerned with prevention per se were, if anything, less likely to have been exposed. At least in the former sense, the campaign appears to have reached an appropriate

target audience worth aiming for. Of course, there remain many possible targets of equal importance that the campaign--at least in its initial stages--may have bypassed.

EFFECTS OF THE CAMPAIGN

SUMMARY: From the national survey we learned that in terms of subjective self-reactions to the campaign, well over half of those exposed could verbalize what the ads were about, and believed the ads to be effective in making a positive impression on audiences. Over a quarter of those recalling the PSAs said they had "learned" something about crime prevention from them; 43 percent claimed they changed some of their attitudes, and 15 percent said they have changed some of their behaviors as a result of exposure to them.

No clear profile emerged of the characteristics of persons claiming information gain or changed attitudes as a result of campaign exposure. However, they did tend to come from lower social strata, and they manifested less trust of other people. Women and persons from lower income groups were likelier to have said they changed behaviors as a consequence of exposure.

The more objective change-over-time measures indicated that exposure to the advertisements appeared primarily to increase concern about crime prevention and prevention-related activities. However, change in each of these varied over social groups. Generally, concern appeared to increase as a consequence of exposure among those who initially saw themselves to be more at risk, while prevention activities tended to increase among those previously seeing crime as less of a threat. Moreover, campaign exposure appeared to increase individuals' perceptions of (1) their neighborhoods as dangerous, and (2) their perceived vulnerability to crime.

The analysis of campaign effects relies upon two components: (1) self-reported reactions to the campaign, based primarily upon the national sample data, and using the Mendelsohn Active Response Test; and (2) more objective change-over-time scores on indices included in both waves of the panel. Following a presentation of the evidence from each source, combined analyses will be examined and summary inferences provided.

NATIONAL SAMPLE ANALYSIS OF ACTIVE RESPONSE TEST DATA

General public reaction to the campaign in the national and panel samples was measured along several dimensions based upon the Mendelsohn Active Response Test (Mendelsohn, 1962). Unlike many single-attribute measures of communication effectiveness, MART assumes that reactions to mass communications involve cumulative patterns or processes within audience members. These cumulative patterns incorporate successively, involving degress of response, beginning with simple "learning" or awareness of the message, moving into psychological integration of what is learned, and then to more favorable dispositions with regard to the intent of the message. Such dispositions may include information gain, attitude change, and/or behavioral change. For the purposes here, responses to the initial McGruff crime prevention campaign were organized into three main categories, including:

1. Simple exposure as indicated by recall or awareness of having seen or heard any of the public service advertisements (previously described).
2. Integration of the message as measured by:
   a. Ability to verbalize the ad's intent;
   b. Self-perception of the ad's effectiveness;
   c. Affective evaluation of the ads;

d. Value of the message for other persons;

e. Predisposition for action based upon the ads.

3. Change in levels of information, in attitudes and in behaviors as a result of exposure to the PSAs.

Taken together, investigation of these various levels of responsiveness to the ads provides a wide-ranging view of the initial campaign's impact upon audiences.

Message Integration

Seventy percent of those exposed to the campaign were able to verbalize at least a general response related to crime or crime prevention when asked what they though "the ad was trying to get across" (Table V.24). Forty percent were able to give a more specific response, ranging from "watch out for criminals" and "work together to stop crime" to "lock all doors and windows" and "keep a light on." It should be noted that lack of ability to verbalize the campaign's intent did not necessarily mean that the content was lost or misunderstood. In many instances, respondents were able to answer subsequent questions pertaining to the ads which indicated they had remembered some of the content.

Sixty-four percent of the exposed group said they felt that the ads were effective in the sense of "getting through" to them. While responses to a subsequent open-ended item asking why they felt so were generally quite vague, the modal response appeared to be along the lines of the ads "reminding" them of things they should know, or the ads being generally informative. Respondents indicating that they felt the ads were ineffective generally referred to them as being too vague or to child-like in its "cartoon" approach.

As for affective evaluations, over half of the respondents exposed reported being more pleased than annoyed with the ad, with only nine percent

saying it left them with negative impressions over all. Of those more pleased by the PSAs and giving meaningful open-end responses, about two-thirds said they like the ads for reasons associated with them being "informative" or "helpful" or as providing a "good service," while the remainder found the McGruff format itself appealing. Audience members who displayed annoyance readings generally gave vagueness or lack of specifics as their reasons, with a minority reacting negatively to the cartoon format and the dog character specifically.

Over half of those recalling the ads considered their contents worth passing on to friends or relatives, and 17 percent said they were thinking about eventually doing "something" suggested by the ads. The open-end responses were consistently general in terms of "doing more to prevent crime" and the like rather than contemplating the taking of specifically recommended actions.

Information Gain, Attitude Change and Behavior Change

Respondents were classified as having gained information if they indicated that they had learned or found out anything about crime prevention from the PSAs that they had not known before. Twenty-eight percent of the exposed group answered affirmatively (Table V.25). When asked what they had learned, most answered in such general terms as "being more alert" and "protecting the house from burglars." However, over a third named specific measures, with the modal response being "locking up doors and/or windows in the home."

Attitudinal change was indexed by two items ascertaining whether the ads had made them any more concerned or any less concerned about crime, and whether it made them feel any more confident or less confident about being able to protect themselves from crime. Only eleven respondents in each instance indicated that they had become less concerned or less confident.

Individuals were counted as having changed their attitude in the positive sense if they reported that the ad made them either more concerned about crime or more confident about prevention, or both. Forty-three percent were so classified.

Fifteen percent said that they had changed their behavior in the sense of doing something that they probably would not have done if they had not seen or heard the ads. Of the 66 respondents in this group, 43 specifically mentioned locking doors and windows as the activity undertaken. Another five mentioned leaving on lights, with the remainder noting such steps as removing car keys, having a neighbor check the house while away, and removing property from their parked automobiles.

Summary

The data presented thus far are of course difficult to assess in terms of any absolute standard as to whether the campaign "succeeded" or not. Such decisions must rest in part on criteria established by the campaign sponsors and producers. Moreover, comparable evidence pertaining to public service campaigns, particularly in the crime prevention section, is most difficult to come by. (Hence one of the rationales underlying this study.) However, the fact that the campaign was recalled by nearly 30 percent of this sample, and by inference by approximately that proportion of the adult public, appears most noteworthy. It seems a particularly strong accomplishment given the reliance of the campaign on "free" air time and print space, and the great competition for that access from other public service sector organizations.

The above findings also reveal that the majority of people who saw or heard the initial ads were left with a positive impression of them in terms of both their substance and format. The ads did not appear to "turn off" more than a miniscule portion of their audience, and there was no evidence of

a "boomerang" effect in the sense of them making audience members any less concerned about crime, or feeling less competent about their ability to help prevent crimes.

While the intended effects of information gain, attitude change and behavior change appeared to occur only among a minority of those exposed, the same result is found in nearly all public communication ventures, and again absolute criteria for success are open to debate. Applying relevant data to the sample as a whole, and generalizing to the public:

--Approximately eight percent gained information from the campaign;

--13 percent underwent attitude change;

--Four percent indicated change in behavior with respect to prevention action-taking.

Several caveats are in order at this point. First, the above data reflect only respondent self-reports concerning their reactions to the campaign. More definitive empirical tests of campaign impact will have to await analyses of more objective change measures utilized in the two-wave panel study. Second, below we will address who were most likely to be counted among attenders to the campaign, and who among them were most affected. Such analyses are critical for determining whether the ads were reaching, for example, individuals already interested in and knowledgeable about crime prevention, or relatively uninvolved citizens from perhaps more crime-prone circumstances. And, we need to be concerned with the more general issue of why citizens responded as they did to this particular campaign, what their general orientations are toward crime prevention, what orientations they have toward the mass media and the relevance of those to crime prevention communication efforts, and how such efforts might be made more effective.

DETERMINANTS OF AUDIENCE REACTIONS

The three primary areas of concern in terms of campaign effects included whether audiences gained information, changed attitudes, or changed behaviors. Following the pattern of analyses above, each of these will be examined in turn.

Reported Information Gain By Audience Characteristics

Twenty-eight percent of the respondents who had been exposed to the crime prevention advertisement reported that they had learned something about the topic as a result. While no clear profile of the characteristics of this group emerged, and while the sample sizes are small, some general trends are worth noting (Tables V.26a-d). For instance, information gain appeared to be somewhat greater within lower social status groups. Having learned something about prevention was reported by 33 percent of the respondents lacking a high school diploma; by 44 percent of those perceiving themselves as lower social class; by 34 percent of those employed as craftsmen or operative workers; and by 34 percent of members of racial minorities. In the only statistically significant demographic finding, residents of working class neighborhoods were likelier to have gained knowledge than were upper-middle class neighborhood dwellers. While younger persons were likelier to have been exposed to the ad, they were no likelier than older respondents to have learned anything as a consequence. However, despite the diminished exposure rate among persons over age 64, thirty-two percent of them indicated information gain. Thus there was a tendency for those in demographic groups typically associated with greater crime vulnerability to have gotten information from the campaign once exposed to it.

Moreover, individuals who might be viewed as more suspicious of others tended to have learned from the ads. Those generally low in trust in people were significantly likelier than those who are more trustful to have reported information gain, while 22 percent of those high in altruism indicated that they had learned something. Institutional trust and alienation did not discriminate in terms of knowledge gain.

Respondents' interpersonal activity and mass media orientations were by-and-large unassociated with information gain. However, individuals sensitive to public service advertisements were slightly more likely to have learned something than those less sensitive. This was accounted for in part by persons seeing PSAs as more credible being significantly likelier to have reported information gain (Table V.27). Also, respondents perceiving themselves as more influenced by advertising overall and watching television more for information purposes had a greater tendency to indicate gain in crime prevention knowledge. To the extent that media orientations did play a role in information gain, then, it appears that individuals more attuned to media as a source of reliable information learned more from the ads.

As discussed previously, relationships between such variables as information gain and crime or crime prevention orientations are difficult to interpret at this point. However, the data indicate that no significant associations were found among these factors in any case (Tables V.28a-b). There was a tendency for higher perceived vulnerability and victimization experience to be related to information gain, which would support the view that individuals in more crime prone circumstances may have learned more. This would be particularly true with regard to victimization experience, since it is unlikely that information gain would affect awareness of having been victimized. Higher feelings of competence in crime prevention were

somewhat positively related with information gain, but not significantly so. Again, whether the already more competent may gain more information as a result of being so, or vice versa, remains open to question.

The multiple regression analysis presented in Table V.29 for summary purposes sheds little further light on the factors underlying information gain. At most, it indicates the relatively low power of any of the included variables in predicting information gain. As noted above, among the primary, albeit nonsignificant, indicators are neighborhood type and trust in people.

Reported Attitude Change by Audience Characteristics

Although 43 percent of the respondents recalling the advertisement indicated a change in attitudes regarding crime and/or its prevention, markedly little was found in the way of characteristics discriminating them from persons who remained unchanged (Tables V.26a-d). As in the case of information gain, neighborhood type was a significant factor, with residents of upper-middle class areas once again reporting the least change. However, no general trends based on consistent differences in attitude change across the various social status characteristics emerged. Educational level, income, perceived social class, and occupation, as well as age and sex, all failed to meaningfully differentiate between changers and nonchangers. Somewhat interestingly, inhabitants of smaller cities and towns appeared to have been more influenced than were larger urban area dwellers, perhaps as a function of their having initial attitudes toward crime and prevention based less upon direct experience.

There were slight and nonsignificant tendencies for those more altruistic and less trustful of other people to report having changed their attitudes, as well as for those higher in neighborhood integration, media exposure use of media for informational purposes, and PSA sensitivity. Positive and significant associations were found between attitude change and PSA credibility,

perceived utility of PSAs for issue awareness, and receptivity to advertising influence overall.

Of potential import is the finding that persons paying greater attention to mass media crime content were significantly likelier to have been influenced by the McGruff ads. As a corollary, those who find television crime entertainment programs to be more realistic, as well as the individuals who pay more attention to broadcast news about crime, exhibited greater attitude change. Any explanations offered for these relationships at this time would be highly speculative. One possibility is that greater exposure to media crime content preconditions audiences to hold certain attitudes which were somehow modified by the prevention ads.

Respondents who changed their attitudes were minimally more likely to see themselves as vulnerable to crime and as living in higher crime risk areas (Tables V.28a-b). However, they were significantly likelier to have interest in crime prevention, to feel competent in protecting themselves, and to engage in prevention activities. The logical assumption is that the campaign thus increased at least their interest in prevention somewhat, but determination of the magnitude of change will have to await the panel analysis.

In general, attitude change appears to have occurred among individuals with many of the same attributes as were found related to information gain. However, the associations were generally weaker, and they need to be viewed even more tentatively. The summary regression analysis in Table V.29 reveals the only significant predictor of attitude change to be the problematic one of attention to crime in the media.

Reported Behavior Change by Audience Characteristics

Respondents who reported having changed their behavior as a consequence of the campaign differed somewhat from those who were merely exposed, or who

gained information, or who changed attitudes. Indeed, the 15 percent who acted in some way more closely resemble what might be considered an "ideal" target group for crime prevention efforts (Tables V.26a-d).

Demographically, women, persons in lower income households, residents of homes with children, and welfare recipients were significantly likelier to have indicated behavior change. Included in the change cohort were 20 percent of the women (versus only 10 percent of the men); 20 percent of those earning under $10,000 annually; and 29 percent of the welfare recipients. Moreover, 18 percent of racial minority group members; 19 percent of non-high school graduates; 22 percent of those seeing themselves in the lowest social class; and 20 percent of those low in neighborhood satisfaction reported change.

Thus, at least two groups typically seen as more crime victimization-prone, women and the socially disadvantaged, had a greater tendency to act as a result of exposure to the ad. However, a third cohort--the elderly--was decidedly less likely to do so, with a rather scant six percent of them responding. In fact, 18- to 24-year-olds proved to be the most active age group. While these findings are interestingly illustrative, caution must be used in inference-building due to low sample sizes.

Psychologically, respondents less trustful of other people were significantly likelier to change behavior, and the more altruistic were marginally higher in change. Mass media and interpersonal characteristics were generally unassociated with taking action, an exception being that persons higher in PSA sensitivity were likelier to change. And, those more receptive to advertising influence overall had a greater tendency to change.

Taking action was significantly greater among respondents who saw themselves as more vulnerable to crime, and somewhat greater among those with (1) victimization experience and (2) living in higher crime risk areas. As

for crime prevention orientations, taking action was positively and significantly related to prevention interest and activity, and respondents higher in prevention competence and employment of property protection devices were slightly likelier to have changed behavior.

The regression analysis depicted in Table IV-6 indicates that the two most important predictors of behavior change were sex and PSA sensitivity. The lessened predictive power of social status variables apparently stemmed from a higher proportion of women in lower status ranks actively responding to the campaign.

A PANEL ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN EFFECTS

The campaign-exposed and unexposed groups were compared in terms of the amount of change respondents demonstrated on measures of numerous criterion variables over the two waves of the panel. Three sets of criterion variables were examined: (1) those depicting crime prevention orientations, the focal point of the campaign; (2) those representing orientations toward crime itself; and (3) measures of more general social and political attitudes. In addition to the obvious need to investigate as fully as possible the effects of the campaign on prevention-related concerns and behaviors, it was thought that the campaign might well have more subtle consequences on how the audience felt about crime, as well as about other related aspects of the social and political environments.

The analytic plan to be followed below includes first comparing the mean change scores for the exposed versus the unexposed groups. While this provides many insights into probable campaign effects, it does nothing to control for the possible effects of extraneous variables on the change scores.

Toward that end, the second stage of analysis involves a rather stringent procedure utilizing multiple regression analysis. While we obviously cannot control for all possible stimuli which may have impinged upon either exposure to the campaign or, changes in pertinent scores between the two waves of interviews, we can at least take efforts to minimize interference from the more obvious ones. Among the most likely of these were: (1) respondent encounters with other crime prevention campaign efforts between the waves of interviewing; (2) exposure to crime-related mass media content during that period; and, of course, (3) direct encounters with crime during that period. Measures reflecting each of these stimuli were inserted into the regression equation. Specifically, these included whether the respondent had heard about any crime prevention activities in their locales since the pretest (Prevention Activities Index); the Media Crime Attention Index; and the Victimization Experience Index.

As a more conservative device, we also chose to include in the equation as control variables the block of seven primary demographic indicators most associated with crime and prevention orientations, including age, sex, education, income, children in household, neighborhood type and neighborhood satisfaction. It appeared likely that any unidentified extraneous variables tending to influence the change scores would do so unevenly across at least some of those demographics, and thus "controlling" for the demographics would help minimize their impact. It was also hoped that this would minimize any effects based upon interaction between the pretest interviewing round and exposure to the campaign or other between-interviews stimuli.

Following these regression analyses, we will then examine differences in how various kinds of respondents appear to have been influenced by the campaign.

While rather small sample sizes in some cases limit our inferences, the trends are often illustrative.

Crime Prevention Orientations

The mean change scores for the crime prevention orientation indices for the campaign-exposed and unexposed groups are presented in Table V.30. In terms of attitudes toward crime prevention, the exposed group significantly differed from the unexposed only in that they became more concerned about prevention between interviewing waves. Noteworthy yet nonsignificant differences were found in the direction of those exposed indicating that they felt more confident about protecting themselves from crime, more knowledgeable about prevention techniques, and accorded greater effectiveness to citizen preventive efforts. It should be noted that among those exposed, all precampaign to postcampaign changes on attitudinal measures were positive, except for prevention responsibility. The campaign had no discernible impact on individuals' feelings as to how much responsibility citizens had for helping to prevent crime.

As for changes in reported prevention behaviors among the respondents, those exposed were significantly likelier than those not exposed to have reported taken more actions to protect themselves and to have looked out for possible crime in their neighborhoods. In fact, the exposed group reported greater change on every one of the specific protective actions, except for doorlocking (Table V.31). Observing activity did not actually increase significantly among those exposed to the campaign, but rather it decreased among those not exposed. Seasonal variation in outdoor activity, among other possible factors, may have played a role here. Utilization of property protection devices and reporting of crime to law enforcement authorities were both down slightly for the exposed and unexposed groups between interview

rounds, at a minimium suggesting scant campaign impact upon them. Crime prevention organizational activity appeared to be similarly unaffected.

The campaign-exposed were likelier to indicate that they anticipated both carrying out more prevention activities in the future and paying more attention to prevention information when exposed to it. Both groups indicated a lesser need for information about prevention, perhaps in part a consequence of interviewing effects.

When additional controls were applied to the above relationships through regression analysis, most of the significant associations held (Table V.32 through V.44). In Table V.32, for example, concern about prevention at Time 2 served as the dependent variable, with Time 1 prevention concern entered in the first block of the hierarchical regression equation, allowing it to explain as much of the variation in the Time 2 score as it could. In the second block of the equation, the demographic indicators were included for the above-noted purpose of serving as an "overall" control on unspecified extraneous variables. The third block consisted of three variables seen as likely to affect prevention concern as well as the other dependent variables: (1) victimization experience; (2) attention to crime in the media overall; and (3) exposure to other prevention campaigns. Finally, exposure to the initial McGruff campaign is entered as a dummy variable in the fourth block. Thus, the impact of campaign exposure alone is assessed when the influences of all previous factors have been "controlled out," and the association remains significant. It was also found that increased attention to media crime content in general was related to higher concern about prevention. (The possibility remains that additional variation within this model may be explained by effects of interactions between the independent variables. Those were not directly tested for at this stage, given our primary purpose

of determining the simple strength of campaign influences when other factors are controlled for. The more important interactive possibilities, e.g. demographics by exposure, are considered below.)

The other crime prevention attitudinal variables remained unrelated to the campaign exposure, or to any other likely factors. Indeed, the total proportion of variance explained in the attitudinal measures by all of the independent variables considered never exceeded 10 percent.

Among the crime prevention behaviors examined, only observing activity was significantly predicted by campaign exposure (Table V.39), with the Beta value for overall prevention activity falling just short of significance (Table V.38). Observing activity was also predicted by exposure to other prevention-related content. Victimization experience positively predicted use of property protection devices, but did not predict the more active forms of prevention behavior. Interestingly, women were more likely than men to have increased prevention activities between interviewing waves, and one can only speculate as to whether the first round of interviewing may have had a differential impact on women, perhaps making them more concerned and more prevention-active.

Campaign exposure continued to significantly predict anticipations of both increased prevention activity and greater attention to prevention-related messages (Table V.42). Attention to crime-related media content also predicted anticipated prevention activity (Table V.44).

More detailed anlayses suggest that certain types of respondents were likelier to shift on specific change indices than were others. Although the relatively small sample size limits statistical inferences in many cases, the trends are noteworthy. For example, increases in concern about prevention and confidence in protecting oneself were more apparent among the men who

encountered the ads than among the women who did so; the lesser educated; those in lower to middle income groups, residents of working class neighborhoods, and particulary among those who were well-satisfied with their neighborhoods (Tables V.45 to V.57). Moreover, concern was likelier to rise among ads-exposed persons who perceived themselves initially as more vulnerable to victimization and residing in higher risk areas, among the more alienated, and the less trustful.

Engagement in prevention activities seemed likelier among campaign-exposed younger persons, those with children in the home, middle-income groups, those in working class neighborhoods, those more satisfied with their neighborhoods, and those feeling less vulnerability to crime. A quite low correlation coefficient of .08 between the prevention concern and prevention activity change scores further suggests that those affected attitudinally were dissimilar from those affected behaviorally. Increased observation activity was found more among those exposed who were over age 55, in lower income groups, and more satisfied with their neighborhoods. Exposure appeared to have more impact on expected future prevention behavior among the college-educated, those with children, and those more satisfied with their neighborhoods. Those who recalled the campaign and said they would pay more attention to prevention-related information in the future tended to be in the lesser-educated and lowest income group.

It should be noted that overall, campaign exposure had no discernible effect on such criteria as a sense of individual responsibility for crime prevention, one's level of confidence in helping to prevent crime, perceived knowledge of prevention techniques, perceived effectiveness of prevention techniques, or increased use of household security devices.

Thus, there appears to be some indirect evidence at this point that while exposure to the campaign initiated a rise in concern about prevention among those already somewhat concerned about crime per se, it also elicited an increase in prevention activity among persons who initially perceived crime as less of a threat.

Crime Orientations

The analysis of change scores on crime orientation items by whether or not respondents were exposed to the campaign revealed a significant difference in only one case: Citizens who were exposed to McGruff perceived their neighborhoods as more dangerous during daytime hours than did those who were unaware of the ads (Table V.58). However, for all other crime orientation items the tendency was for campaign exposure to be positively associated with perceptions of increased crime in the neighborhood and greater vulnerability to crime. Moreover, when the control variables were inserted into the regression analysis, campaign exposure emerged as a significant predictor of neighborhoods being seen as more dangerous both at night as well as during the day, and increased likelihood of having one's home broken into or burglarized (Tables V.59 to V.64). In each of those cases, it appears that women were more affected by exposure than were men (Table V.65). Additionally, the lesser educated respondents seemed to have their perceptions of less neighborhood safety more influenced by exposure than were college educated (Table V.67). This same apparent tendency for increased impact of exposure held for lower income and working class neighborhood groups, as well as for those more satisfied with their neighborhoods and the middle-aged (Tables V.66, 68, 70, 71).

Thus the campaign may have triggered perceptions of heightened threats to safety from crime on at least some of the dimensions examined here, and largely among women and lower social status groups.

General Psychological Orientations

Exposure to the McGruff campaign was not found to influence respondents' more general orientations toward their overall social and political environments. Neither the single-variable nor the regression analyses yielded significant differences between the exposed and unexposed groups on such indicators as alienation, trust in people, and trust in municipal and federal government and the police (Table V.72 to V.77).

While the campaign may have had influence on somewhat more transitory orientations of individuals toward crime and its prevention, it does not appear to have left a mark on more stable and enduring psychological characteristics.

Campaign Effects and the Active Response Test

Reactions to the advertisements were also measured on several dimensions of the Mendelsohn Active Response Test, which relies on audience self-reports of effects and is described more fully in the national survey report. The pattern of responses of the panel group to key components of the MART were quite similar to those of the national sample. Thirty-three percent of the panel said that they had gained information from the McGruff advertisement in terms of having learned something about crime prevention that they had not known before. The corresponding figure for the national sample was 28 percent. Fifty-eight percent of the exposed panel (vs. 43 percent nationally) said that the advertisements had affected their attitudes about prevention in that they had become either more concerned or more confident vis-a-vis crime prevention. And, 20 percent of the exposed panel (vs. 15 percent nationwide) reported they had changed their behaviors in the sense of doing something they probably would not have done if they had not seen or heard the ads. One can reasonably speculate as to whether the somewhat higher response percentages in the panel

may be a consequence of pretesting interaction effects. At any rate, the general trend of responses to the MART appear quite consistent across the panel and national samples, lending greater credence to the comparability of the two groups for the purposes of drawing reasonable inferences jointly from them as appropriate.

It is also illustrative for validation purposes to point out the degree of correspondence between the self-reported measures and several appropriate and more objective change score indices (Table V.78). While reports of having gained information were significantly associated with increased sense of personal responsibility about prevention (an overriding theme of the campaign), such reports were unrelated to feelings of being more knowledgeable about prevention techniques. In fact, the latter relationship was slightly negative, suggesting again that to the extent that "learning" took place among most respondents, it was more in the sense of their discovering that they could be doing more on their own to protect themselves, while at the same time perhaps not remembering that specific steps were recommended. The vast majority of both national sample and panel respondents, when asked what it was they had learned, answered in such general terms as "being more alert" and "protecting the house from burglars."

Significant associations between attitudinal change scores and self-reports were not found, but change in the key indicator of concern about prevention rose with increased self-reported attitude change. Reported behavioral change, however, was significantly related to more respondent steps being taken to protect both person and property. Changes in observing activity and policy reporting were essentially unassociated with behavioral self-reports. All in all, however, the MART indices and the more objective change score measures appear to be in general agreement in terms of pointing to the key areas of campaign effects.

SUMMARY AND PERSPECTIVES

The preliminary findings from the panel and national samples largely suggest that the "Take a Bite Out of Crime" campaign reached sizeable proportions of citizens in its opening stage, and had various kinds of impacts on at least some of them. It seems clear from both analyses that exposure to the McGruff advertisement was likelier among those persons who perceived themselves to be more "crime-prone," particularly those from among lower socio-economic cohorts. It also appeared to be a group which ordinarily is relatively less concerned about crime prevention as a subject of interest. Thus, many of those reached seem to compose one justifiable target for such a campaign. Nationally, those exposed were likelier to be males and younger persons, and individuals more attentive in various ways to public service advertisements overall. In the more limited urban area panel samples, these characteristics were not as strongly apparent.

The campaign appeared most effective in generating concern about crime prevention, and in increasing the dispositions of those exposed to carry out more prevention-related activities. Concern about both crime and its prevention was particularly heightened among those who initially saw themselves more at risk from crime, including members of lower and working-to-middle class groups. Increased preventive activity was not necessarily greater among such individuals, however; those more inclined to act were found more among middle-income working class persons, particularly those with children in the home. Exposure to the ad, in general, was associated with greater likelihood of individuals seeing their neighborhoods as dangerous, and their property being more vulnerable to criminal activity.

Exposure to the campaign did not have discernible impact on either (1) respondents' sense of personal responsibility for preventing crime, (2) their self-confidence regarding protecting themselves, (3) what they thought they knew about prevention techniques, (4) how effective they thought individual prevention actions may be in preventing crimes, or their propensity to use household security devices.

Further insight into the above results may be gained by examining the responsiveness of citizens to crime prevention information campaigns in general. Specifically, respondents were asked about their levels of exposure and attention to such messages overall and their perceived need for prevention-related information.

Table V.79 indicates that while in some ways those respondents exposed to the introductory McGruff ads superficially resemble respondents who tend to be more exposed to prevention messages overall, when multivariate controls are inserted media-related factors evolve as the major significant predictors, along with alienation and victimization experience. In short, the likeliest groups to be exposed to prevention content appear to be those who are high in media exposure, who use media more for informational purposes, who are particularly sensitive to PSAs, and who are more attentive to media crime content.

Unlike the findings for those exposed to McGruff, no differences were found for age, sex or education when media orientations were controlled for. Once again, one may only speculate at this point as to the content, format or placement characteristics of the Advertising Council campaign that made it more accessible to the young, men and the lesser educated. Nevertheless, the inference seems quite clear that that particular campaign was reaching a somewhat different subset of individuals than those typically exposed to

prevention information efforts. Here we are faced with such possibilities as the dog character being perhaps somehow more male-oriented and "macho" and/or the cartoon format being more appealing to lesser educated and younger individuals.

If we consider the types of individuals who pay greater attention to prevention-related messages, the disparities are even greater (Table V.80). Older persons, women, those more trustful of institutions, those more PSA-sensitive and attentive to crime content, and those who perceive themselves more crime-vulnerable were all significantly likelier to attend more to prevention messages. In sum, most of the "expected" characteristics of individuals with a stake in knowing about prevention seem to form the core of this group. Thus, while exposure to such messages appears largely incidental and at any rate is based primarily upon media orientations, those who pay the closest attention appear to comprise a credible target audience for the content of such messages. One implication is that there is a fair amount of inefficiency in prevention communication efforts if a main goal is to reach those audiences with the greatest need for such information, and who apparently would pay greater attention to it. To the extent that those most exposed differ from those most attentive, "waste" may exist within the diffusion process. This inference is strengthened by the results presented in Table V.81 which indicate that those who seem themselves most in need of prevention information are likelier to be those with perceptions of greater vulnerability and neighborhood risk, women, and the more attuned to PSAs and media crime content.

Constructs such as perceived need of course are highly relevant motivationally, and have been addressed in a more theoretical vein in terms of the now-familiar "uses-gratifications" approach to communication effects

(Blumler and Katz, 1974). This viewpoint essentially argues that media effects need to be treated as being based upon interactions between audience motivations and patterns of exposure. The efficacy of such a perspective is quite clearly evident in several instances here. Table V.82 depicts correlations between change scores and time one measures of perceived need and anticipation of being influenced by crime prevention campaigns, also a time one measure. Anticipatory influence has been found a highly predictive variable of political campaign effects (O'Keefe and Mendelsohn, 1979), and it appears fairly important here as well. We see that among the exposed group, both previous perceived information need and anticipation of influence are significantly predictive of persons in the exposed group taking more actions toward protecting themselves from victimization. The two variables are also strongly and positively related to several other prevention change score measures in directions congruent with the model.

It appears that those exposed to the Advertising Council campaign were likelier than those unexposed to see themselves as having a need for such information. Exposure to the ads was significantly related to overall prevention exposure, but a large share of that association was due to the impact of media orientation factors on both of the variables. On the other hand, those affected by the campaign were generally those both appearing to need such information and paying more attention to it. Attitude change and behavior change were likelier to result among individuals reporting more need for prevention information and those paying greater attention to it when they received it. Thus, exposure to the initial McGruff campaign appears to have had some meaningful consequence for those accustomed to attending to and needing information from such campaigns in general.

CHAPTER SIX

ASSUMING CONTROL: STRATEGIES FOR PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF CRIME PREVENTION

Research in mass communications indicates that in order to be effective, communicators of messages designed to prompt audience actions must be in control of as many elements of the process as is possible. This means that communicators have to exercise maximum control over targets, themes, appeals, media and timing if they wish to influence behaviors regarding crime prevention. Lacking control over media placement and timing, Federal government agencies such as LEAA are at a particular disadvantage on the matter of exercising maximum communications control. For these agencies inserting control over the remaining elements is a sine qua non condition for achieving success.

In this chapter important elements in targeting and theme and appeal formulation are discussed in terms of both the issues that are involved as well as the prospects we see for their possible resolution.

We have seen that in the matter of individuals taking individual crime prevention actions, there are no clear-cut one to one "cause-effect" relationships.

Individuals who have been noted to take a variety of protective actions have been doing so ostensibly for a variety of reasons--some of which are:

1. Demographic and neighborhood-oriented;
2. Experiences with victimization;
3. Beliefs about their vulnerability to crime;
4. Beliefs in their ability to protect self and property;

5. Beliefs in the efficacy of individual crime prevention action-taking to reduce the threat of crime;
6. Interest in and knowledge about crime prevention;
7. Exposure to the mass media.

What we have learned fundamentally is that no one strategy; no one campaign; no one thematic/informational thrust--by itself--is likely to persuade significant numbers of people of heterogeneous backgrounds, experiences, and beliefs to initiate and repeat advocated crime prevention actions on behalf of their persons and property across the board.

Further, we have learned that a public information campaign like McGruff that is directed to the "public" at-large can be effective in persuading certain sub-groups of that "public" (i.e. mostly "resource-rich" citizens) to take one-time property protection actions. Information efforts demanding person-protection actions (other than avoidance) that require a certain amount of self-confidence and repetition over time are likely to encounter difficulty in persuasion--particularly among those sub-publics (i.e. women, the elderly, the less well-off, and residents of "dangerous" neighborhoods) who may be relatively pessimistic about the outcomes of such actions.

Given these circumstances it is difficult to lay down one particular public communications strategy that can offer success across the board, particularly where communicators cannot control either the media in which their messages will appear or the times during which they will be disseminated. What can be done is first to give consideration to a number of communications issues that will affect the control of any public information efforts that are developed on behalf of crime prevention. Afterwards, it will be possible to give thought to several "pay-off" control options that come to the fore.

The issues in common that will be considered relate to implementing controls over belief, fear, risk-perceptions, source credibility, information, social marketing, and the communicator's responsibility to audiences.

CONTROLLING CRIME PREVENTION ACTION DEMANDS

The decision to act or not in accord with authoritative media recommendations cannot be viewed as "an-all-or-none," one-time "knee-jerk" piece of behavior that occurs as a direct consequence of each and every exposure to each and every crime prevention communication.

Rather, protective decision-making must be perceived as a process in which the receiver of a particular recommendation must move through a series of stages or phases in each of which the individual interacts with his/her own dispositions, beliefs, and experiences, as well as with other individuals, and extraneous events. Incoming recommendations consequently are filtered through all this at each stage of the protection-action decision process. And what is most distressing to communications practitioners, at any one stage, the majority of message recipients may--and most often do--reject the specific actions that are being suggested. The data from the public's reactions to the initial McGruff campaign undergird the principle here.

Clearly, only persons who are interested, concerned, and wish to "do something" will perceive those messages that best fit in with their interests. Most frequently the unmotivated and disinterested will be unaware of most crime prevention messages that the media present. Further, only the motivated will be ready to act on advocated actions. Here the principle is that without motivation there can be neither perception of crime prevention messages, nor compliance with their demands.

In other words, before a person can take a suggested protective action, there must be a "state of readiness," a "predisposition" to take that particular action. Fishbein and Ajzen (322) share this observation with their "intent" construct. The researchers point out that intention to perform is the most

powerful predictor of actual behavior, and that persuasive communications must try to strengthen audiences' intentions to behave in specific appropriate ways...not in vague or gross general ways. Public communications may be effective in influencing the intent to behave in very specific ways where they fail to directly affect the behaviors themselves.

In either circumstance, readiness or intention is very much rooted in people's beliefs, and certain specific beliefs seem more powerful in impelling protective action intent than others (i.e. beliefs relating to vulnerability, self-confidence, efficacy--or "benefit"). The trouble is not everyone shares these beliefs and motives to an equal degree to begin with.

CONTROLLING WHAT PROSPECTIVE TARGETS BELIEVE AS VARIABLES THAT INFLUENCE ACTIONS

Beliefs are learned assumptions about reality which human beings can assert as truths.

Beliefs are easy to identify, because they are concrete assertions that must readily be capable of being introduced by the phrase--"I believe that..." "I believe that much crime can be prevented by individuals taking precautions." "I believe that God will take care of me." "I believe that no matter what you do to protect youself--if criminals want to get you, they'll get you."

In health, beliefs usually have a probabilistic aspect to them. That is to say, a good portion of our beliefs about health is concerned with "likelihood" types of phenomena. For the most part, these "likelihood" beliefs focus on just two aspects of health:

- o the likelihood of coming down with a serious incapacitation or fatal condition or disease;
- o the likelihood that certain actions to be taken by the believer will actually either prevent, reduce, or eliminate that threat.

We see the same kinds of interactions with regard to "likelihood" beliefs about possible crime victimization, and beliefs regarding the "likelihood" that advocated protective actions will realistically diminish the possibility of such victimization.

Milton Rokeach (898) divides beliefs into three major types according to their sources and "centrality" or importance to the individual's personality. "Central" beliefs are those we acquire during our socialization and maturation. "Central" beliefs are rooted deep in our psyches, and they remain relatively immutable to external manipulations such as public communications often attempt.

In contrast, "outlying" beliefs are far less functionally significant for our personalities. Because these beliefs generally are not consequential in the sense that giving them up requires restructuring major aspects of our psyches, they are more amenable to external manipulation and change.

For example, it is far easier to change one's belief about which flavor of ice cream is the tastiest than it is to persuade a Christian Scientist that modern medicine can benefit the health of mankind nearly as well as the Lord.

- Fundamentally immutable beliefs are:

  Incontrovertible "central beliefs" that everyone in a position to know believes similarly (e.g. "I believe that criminals should be brought to justice").

- Beliefs that are amenable to change are:

  "Peripheral beliefs" that are derived either directly or indirectly from authorities who are relatively well trusted (e.g. the Pope, the President, Nobel laureates. "I believe that Chief Justice Burger's approach to crime is the right one").

- Beliefs that are highly amenable to change are:

  "Inconsequential beliefs," which if changed, leave others unaffected (e.g. "I believe that 'Hill Street Blues' is a more informative crime show than was the old 'Streets of San Francisco' series").

Beliefs serve at least four very important functions for the people who hold them:

1. Beliefs help us to "make sense" out of what often appears to be chaotic or incomprehensible.
2. Beliefs provide us with emotional satisfaction in the form of rationalizations. We can easily excuse ourselves from complying with certain recommended actions on the basis of one or more of our beliefs.

3. Because all our beliefs are acquired from particular sources such as parents, teachers, books, doctors, friends, spouses, and so on, we learn to depend upon our own versions of who and what is authoritative according to our own particular personal make-up and experience--and not according to extraneous claims to authority. Consequently, we depend a lot upon what significant others want or would like us to believe, and we often act accordingly.
4. Beliefs are instruments for change. Because beliefs can and do outgrow their usefulness for the individual under conditions of maturation, coercion, education, experience and persuasion, they can, when they change, serve as impelling forces for change in behavior as well.

Beliefs may undergo change under five major conditions:

- Their sources are no longer considered to be credible.
- The dispositional socio-psychological attributes that have served to sustain them no longer do so.
- They lead to extremely unrewarding consequences.
- They become radically incongruent with the beliefs of majorities of the "others" who are significant to individuals.
- Similarly, beliefs may change as consequences of persuasive communications wherein the beliefs expressed by credible sources are moderately discrepant with our own beliefs--not extremely so. It should be noted that where discrepancies between sources and receivers of belief communications are either extremely high or extremely low, the likelihood that induced change will occur will be zero or near zero.

Two additional belief attributes are essential for the practitioner of public communications in crime prevention to be aware of:

1. Because our beliefs serve both intellectual and emotional functions, often simultaneously, they may or may not always be "logical" or "consistent." Inconsistencies in our beliefs can make much psychological sense, while not making much cognitive or intellectual sense at all. Thus, without discomfort of any sort we often hold, and hold on to, beliefs that appear to be simultaneously contradictory and irrational (e.g. the simultaneous belief in science and in astrology). Changing any single belief, other than central beliefs, does not necessarily produce appropriate changes in all others that may apply to a given phenomenon.
2. We are able to separate our intellectual abstract beliefs from our personal behavior beliefs quite comfortably, again in ways that appear to be both illogical and inconsistent. Thus, it is quite "reasonable" from a personal, subjective point of view to proclaim, "Of course I believe the Surgeon General's findings that smoking cigarettes can be harmful, but I do not believe that smoking cigarettes will be harmful to me."

Sheer intellectual information communications that are "rational," "logical" and "consistent" often make very little impact on our "non-rational," "illogical," and "inconsistent" beliefs. Logic and emotion generally do not impact upon each other. Accusing someone of being "illogical" about a particular belief

system will more likely result in hostility towards the communicator than in compliance with the communicator's recommendations.

When trying to change targets' beliefs, communicators might well bear this in mind. Success potentially lies more in efficacious attacks on the sources of beliefs than it may in either directly challenging the beliefs themselves or the believers.

THE HEALTH BELIEF MODEL (HBM)

We now can turn to a specific set of belief interactions labeled the Health Belief Model, and we can begin to explore some of the potentials of that model for developing effective public communications strategies for crime prevention.

We have selected the Health Belief Model from those available in the theoretical literature because it provides highly useful explanations of how audience characteristics, knowledge, beliefs, and actions interact in influencing behavior.*

*We are as well aware of the shortcomings of the Health Belief Model as are the scientists who have worked with it and the critics who find it too flawed to be useful to them. It is not our purpose to enter into the HBM debate in this particular work.

We direct the reader to the following considerations at this time:

- o As a model, HBM can explain a minimum of the interactions that may impel action-taking. No model can explain all the interactions that may impinge on any single behavior or series of behaviors.
- o Nor can any model explain direct cause-effect interactions in any single case. Like most models in the social sciences, the attractiveness of HBM rests in the prospects it presents more than in the questions it resolves.
- o Research on the Health Belief Model has been scattered and haphazard so that no comprehensive body of solid and consistent empirical evidence is currently available.
- o Nevertheless, the research conducted thus far on HBM is quite promising, particularly in developing and refining prevention action-taking hypotheses to be tested at some future time.
- o The reader must be apprised of the three most serious shortcomings of HBM research thus far:
  1. The model fundamentally is a linear cognitive one in which individuals are viewed as moving from one belief to another in an ordered fashion to a final decision to act or not. Of course phenomena-like "health" and "crime" are surrounded by emotion as well as cognition, and people do not necessarily always decide to act (or not) in a step-by-step ordered rational decision process.
  2. Thus far most research on HBM has been retrospective in its methodology, focusing on subjects' recollections of their health beliefs after they have taken specific health actions. Here, control for rationalization after the fact is missing.

Maiman and Becker (671, p. 384) offer a particularly succinct statement of HBM interactions:

> "The Health Belief Model, which is concerned with the subjective world of the acting individual, proposes the following theoretical conditions and components:
>
> - o The individual's psychological 'readiness to take action' relative to a particular health condition, determined by both the person's perceived 'susceptibility' or vulnerability to the particular condition and by his perceptions of the severity of the consequences of contracting the condition.
>
> and
>
> - o The individual's evaluation of the advocated health action in terms of its feasibility and efficaciousness (i.e. his estimate of the action's potential 'benefits' in reducing actual or perceived susceptibility and/or severity) weighed against his perceptions of psychological and other 'barriers' or 'costs' of the proposed action (including the 'work' involved in taking action).

(* cont'd.)

The acid test for HBM will be in demonstrating its power to predict particular health actions to be taken by particular groups and individuals a priori.

3. Still to be worked out is the precise power of health beliefs alone to predict specific health actions versus their power when they are combined with demographic and psychological variables. Our position is that health and crime beliefs must interact with other predisposing and intervening characteristics, motives and experiences before they can impel specific health actions.

While recognizing its shortcomings, we maintain that the Health Belief Model is particularly applicable to public communications efforts on behalf of two principal reasons:

1. HBM has been the focus of high-powered theoretical and empirical attention for over two decades now, and it has been found to be uniquely applicable in the area of prevention behavior, a focus that is particularly relevant for crime prevention efforts. Overall, we agree with Becker et al.'s HBM research review conclusion (77, p. 104) that "while no one study provides confirmation of the model variables, each has produced internally consistent findings which are in the predicted direction--taken together they thus provide strong support for the model."
2. HBM carries with it far greater promise for developing meaningful strategies for effective public communications than any of the myriad schemes we have examined (e.g. Diffusion of Innovation Theory; Learning Theory; Balance-Consistency Theory; Information Processing Theory; Stimulus-Response Theory; Social Learning Theory).

- Finally, a 'stimulus,' either 'internal' (e.g. perception of bodily states) or 'external' (e.g. interpersonal interactions, mass media communications, personal knowledge of someone affected by the condition) must occur to trigger the appropriate health behavior; this is termed the 'cue to action.'"

In short, the Health Belief Model views the health actions individuals decide to take as direct outcomes of their subjective desires to lower or eliminate susceptibility and severity (i.e. threat) according to their estimates of the benefits to be gained from those actions.

Graphically, according to Becker and Maiman (1975) the components of the Health Belief Model look like this (Figure 1):

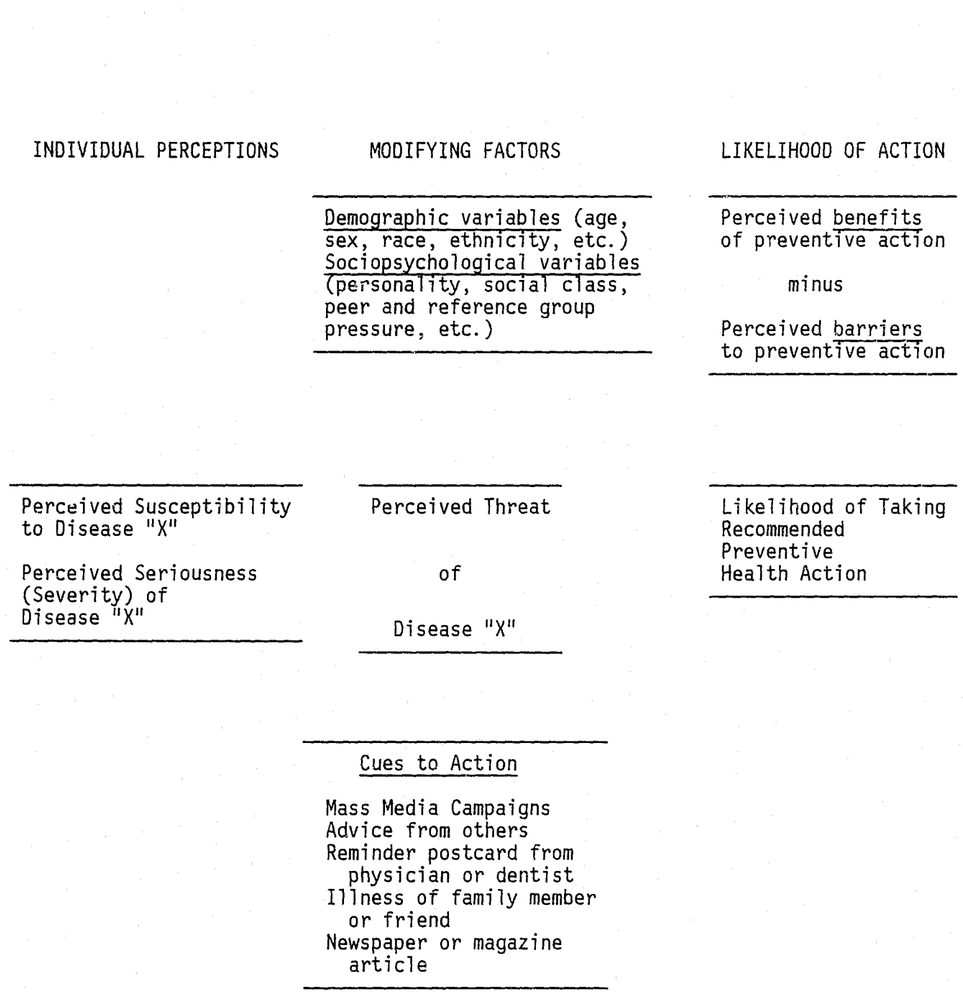

FIGURE 1. Source: M.H. Becker and L.A. Maiman, "Sociobehavioral Determinants of Compliance with Health and Medical Care Recommendation," Medical Care XIII:1, 1975. p. 12

Unlike constructs such as "attitudes," "entropies," "assumptive technique," "conditioning," "attribution," "behavior modification" and such, which are generally obtuse, ephemeral and multidimensional, beliefs are altogether concrete and binary. Either we believe something to be so, or we do not. Additionally, we do act on our beliefs. Finally, because we act on our beliefs (as well as other forces) and beliefs are potentially modifiable, we can conclude that if we can possibly change certain inappropriate crime prevention beliefs, inappropriate behaviors flowing from them likewise may be corrected ultimately.

The mass media are peculiarly suited to the formation and modification of beliefs--crime beliefs included. They are not suited to changing behavior either directly or by themselves.

In particular, a critical domain of "modifying factors," demographic and socio-psychological variables, has been accumulated over time--a domain that simultaneously serves either to facilitate or to hinder message recipients' compliance with media recommended actions. "Modifying factors" then become critical phenomena for the communicator to heed--because, as we have seen, in each and every communications instance their interactions with other factors will spell either success or failure. As previously indicated, the media may provide message recipients with "indirect" psychological benefits which ultimately may translate themselves into motivations for acting.

In effect, a major persuasion task before the public communications practitioner is to overcome the barriers represented by these "modifying factors" by attempting to manipulate audiences' beliefs.

One possible route to accomplishing such manipulation is through stressing the consistency of proposed actions with existing audience dispositions, beliefs, experiences and habits. By no means is this simple to do, because

by definition there exists a discrepancy between what the communicator wishes those publics to do and what they have been doing all along.

Many psychological theorists (e.g. "cognitive dissonance" school) argue that when faced with discrepant intellectual or "cognitive" information, the receiver must cope with it somehow in order to sustain a state of "balance." One way to cope--to achieve consistency--is to comply. When compliance does occur under such circumstances, we refer to the process as "conversion." The message receiver has been converted from one point of view or piece of behavior literally to an opposing perspective or action suggested by a communications source.

Of course compliance (or yielding, as it is referred to in communications research) is just one pathway--a highly rational and rare one, we might add--that an individual who is confronted with discrepant intellectual information may follow.

The other means that the human organism uses to fend off possible discomforts that discrepant information often portends are non-rational--affective--in nature. These rejection techniques include avoiding discrepant information where possible, or misperceiving it or misbelieving it, or "downgrading" its importance or relevance. Or all the above.

Overall, the popular balance-consistency model of compliance under discrepant message stimulation has proven to be a rather poor predictor of compliance with ameliorative action promotion messages for two major reasons. First, intolerance of discrepancy or inconsistency is not uniform. Depending on both personality and circumstance, the thresholds for inconsistency are not uniform. Depending on both personality and circumstance the thresholds for inconsistency vary dramatically from individual to individual and from group to group. Consequently, more often than not we resolve dissonance

tensions simply by accepting inconsistencies as inconsistencies and nothing more. Secondly, people often have needs for information that actually outweigh the possible adverse consequences of discrepancy alone.

Consider that for many of us there comes a time when we "just know" that our visit to a diagnostician will result in "bad" medical news--that is, in information that will be inconsistent with many of the "facts" as we would like to believe them to be. Inconsistency notwithstanding, we persist in requesting the examination. Regardless of the inconsistency discomforts that are certain to be involved, we are motivated to seek the physician's "bad news" in order to reduce the risks of serious illness or death rather than simply to reduce the tensions that might arise from what the physician might say.

Conversions as consequence of encounters with descrepant media messages alone occur only rarely, if ever at all.

The opportunities before practitioners in public communications on behalf of crime prevention lie largely in the area of reinforcement, not conversion. Public communications in crime prevention can be as devoted to reinforcing positive protective behaviors among those who already behave positively, as much as they are given over to trying to "save the sinners" who may be doing either "nothing" about crime prevention or perhaps "doing the wrong things." Moreover, in those instances where dissemination of discrepant information is unavoidable, public communications practitioners should learn to build upon the specific beliefs that specific publics already hold, rather than attempting to destroy incongruent beliefs of targets by pointing out how ignorant, how irresponsible, how illogical, how apathetic those particular believers are. Remember, most of our beliefs about crime are relatively central to our individuality and are deeply rooted in our

ideologies. We are not very likely to give them up without a struggle merely because we are asked to, or, worse yet, as a consequence of being shamed and insulted into their surrender.

All persuasive communications directed to publics must demand that their targets take specific actions. If they do not demand a specific action, such communications must be considered didactic and outside the rubric of this report. In crime prevention, messages that are designed for the great majority of persons who have not experienced victimization plus the minority who have, the total number of separate voluntary actions that can be readily demanded are surprisingly few in number--no more than five:

1. Sustain positive behavior (e.g. continue locking the entry doors);
2. Cease or diminish negative, or at-risk, behavior (e.g. don't leave the car keys in the ignition when leaving the vehicle);
3. Take precautionary measures regardless of the environment (e.g. install a dead bolt lock; "I.D." your personal property);
4. Adopt or increase precautionary behavior in suspicious or unsafe environments (e.g. keep an eye on your neighbor's residence; contact the police when you notice suspicious persons or behaviors);
5. Avoid unsafe environments (e.g. don't go out alone in suspicious locales; drive instead of walking in dangerous areas).

The Health Belief Model instructs us that persons will take actions such as these only if they are believed to be more beneficial than costly in reducing perceived serious threats. At this point let us review eight principles that have emerged from health risk-benefits research thus far. Adopting these findings to crime prevention communications, we are in a position to forewarn practitioners to be alert to their possible operation in many of the situations their control efforts undoubtedly will encounter.

1. People who neither have experienced victimization nor have undue concerns about the possibility of victimization are motivated to underestimate their chances of becoming victims of crime. Consequently, one objective the communicator ought to consider pursuing is to raise the estimates of risk among those who may deny they, in fact, are in danger. Before attempting to raise risk perceptions, however, the communicator must be certain that targets thoroughly understand the concept of risk to begin with.
2. If a crime threat is perceived to be zero, the tendency to comply with a recommended crime prevention action will be zero. Again, the problem here is to form realistic risk beliefs among (1) the unaware, (2) the misperceivers, and (3) the misbelievers. A word of caution: One must be extremely careful in generating realistic risk beliefs among targets who do not have them. If you do it too gently, no one will pay much attention to such messages. If you do it with too heavy a hand, as in using raw high fear appeals from low credibility sources, you will generate avoidance, anxiety or immobility more often than impelling appropriate action as in Principle 4 below.
3. If a benefit is perceived to be zero, the tendency to comply with a recommended action will be zero. Unless the communicator can spell out with greatest specificity exactly what benefits will actually accrue to targets from acceding to a particular crime prevention action suggestion, the skeptical, the unconcerned or the non-informed targets will give that recommendation a zero rating, and they will subsequently tend to ignore the action recommendation. Furthermore, if targets are skeptical about the law enforcement/

criminal justice system's ability to actually help them (or if they don't know much about them) no amount of simple urging will move them. Here the prime objective is more didactic than persuasive. First, targets must know how the criminal justice/law enforcement system works (as well as about its dysfunctions). Second, targets must be given reasons to believe in the ability of the systems to actually help to prevent or reduce victimization threats as they, the targets, perceive them.

4. If perceptions of threat are substantially greater than the perceived benefits, the tendency to comply with a recommended action will be zero. Here, the task for the communicator is to attempt to allay realistic anxieties as much as possible by trying to overcome misbeliefs and misperceptions--if and where such exist. In cases where in reality "benefits" from certain recommended actions are either vague or obtuse (e.g. "I.D.ing" personal property will reduce or eliminate burglary) or else they are in substantive contention (e.g. the continuing debate among professionals about the efficacy of individual versus societal responsibility for crime prevention), the thoughtful communicator probably should consider either holding off until consensus regarding actual and true benefits emerges, or else the responsible communicator should inform publics about the issues involved, and possibly recommend putting off taking certain actions until the issues regarding their efficacy are finally resolved. Another strategy worth considering involves offering targets "secondary" psychological assurance messages as "benefits." Under no circumstance should the responsible communicator suggest a crime prevention action whose benefit to the target either

is unclear, is in doubt, or will place message targets in jeopardy. Those communicators who were party to the "great swine flu" immunization hoax of some years ago must bear the same guilty verdict of unmitigated public irresponsibility as has been accorded to the health professionals who dreamed the odd and dangerous scheme up in the first place. In crime prevention the truth is that for the most part the benefits supposedly to be derived from a multitude of actions are more hypothetical and speculative than factual. Communications that either hide this truth or else ignore it not only deny their targets the information they need to make meaningful decisions about their own lives, but they too become part of and help to sustain the quackery of irresponsible propagandizers for "benefits" that either do not exist or cannot possibly be delivered.

5. The tendency to comply with a recommended action will be strongest among individuals who believe themselves to be at maximal risk and who simultaneously believe strongly in the benefits to be derived from compliance. This is another way of saying that the communicator's easiest task is simply to reinforce what already is there among certain publics. Consequently, "realistic believers" are always the most ready to adopt reasonable action suggestions that may appear in the media. All these targets need is reasonable information about a true "danger" and what to do about it. But even under such "ideal" audience disposition circumstances as these, we have witnessed that there are few guarantees that automatic universal compliance will occur, or that if initial compliance does occur, that it will continue over time.

6. Unless a given recommended action is perceived as a truly effective means for preventing or solving a perceived problem, it will not produce compliance...even among those who believe in the efficacy of individualized protective actions. Here the communicator must try to "guarantee" at a relatively high rate of probability that the particular actions advocated will result in the benefits promised for the large majority of persons intending to take the prescribed actions. If the communicator cannot offer such explicit assurance, no claims whatever should be made or implied regarding actual primary benefits to be derived from the actions prescribed. Again, here too the communicator can fall back on providing secondary indirect "assurance" benefits instead.

7. Even if an action is perceived as being potentially efficacious and beneficial by demands recipients, it will not be complied with automatically, particularly if at the same time the action is perceived to be either inconvenient, negatively consequential, expensive, unpleasant, embarrassing, complicated, unavailable, upsetting, or as requiring high frequencies of repetition over time. In other words, even where targets may believe in the efficacy of a given action, they may not intend to take the advocated action for a variety of reasons other than their intellectual acceptance of the recommendation as an idea. In these situations communicators might very well aim their messages at community officials to eliminate as many barriers to compliance as possible (i.e. increase police "visibility"; or decrease the cost and complexity of an advocated action prior to recommending those actions to the public).

8. Intellectual information, while often necessary, is frequently not sufficient to the development of crime prevention beliefs that can impel compliance or even intent to comply. Consequently, people who are unconcerned about a particular aspect of their security to begin with are (1) least likely to attend to communications relating to that aspect of self-protection or (2) to believe in the efficacy of recommended actions, should their exposure to such material occur either by accident or through coercion.

CONTROLLING INFORMATION

"Information" of an intellectual nature should not be wasted on targets who already have sufficient information. In no sphere of learning is there a 100 percent saturation of accepted information. Consequently, communicators often must satisfy themselves with information penetration ceilings probably in the 60-75 percent and over range. Efforts to go beyond the 75 percent limit can be extremely costly, and often they will result only in the most minute information gains-- tiny gains that hardly merit the efforts to achieve them.

Common sense tells us that if after intensive media efforts over the span of years no more than say, 60 percent of a target has learned a particular crime prevention fact--it is quite unlikely that "just one more" campaign will increase that proportion substantially.

Rather than futilely attempting 100 percent crime prevention information saturation across the board, communicators must begin to view information as vehicles through which the health beliefs of likely targets may be formed and changed, to serve eventually as motives to act. Unlikely targets can be assigned the very lowest information effort priorities possible.

We have seen that there is a problem in persons not repeating the actions they already have knowledge about. Additionally, we have noted the absence of a one-to-one relationship between being suitably informed and the taking of appropriate crime prevention actions.

CONTROLLING AT-RISK BELIEFS

Before message recipients actually take a recommended action, they either must first believe or be persuaded to believe that they are at risk. Once targets believe they are in some danger (not overwhelming danger), they then should be persuaded to behave as if the recommended action will do away with that danger either completely or at least in part.

The "at-risk" role is ambiguous, threatening and difficult to assume simply on demand. Epidemiologically it is possible to ascertain certain probabilities of danger for certain population cohorts who share certain demographic and ecological attributes like age or sex or place or residence as well as certain negative habits like leaving entry doors unlocked. But individuals do not ordinarily calculate personal risk in terms of epidemiological probabilities that characterize social aggregates, even when such "objective" risk estimates exist. Rather, they operate on the basis of subjective estimates of risk which may or may not correlate with the more objectively derived actuarial probabilities. In fact, these subjective estimates of hazard probabilities are nothing more than beliefs about risk. As such, they function exactly as all beliefs do. Their origins and dysfunctions are the same as well.

As individuals, we must operate mostly within a context of uncertainty about the crime victimization hazards we face. No one can tell us with precision exactly what the chances are that we, Mr. Howard Graves or Miss Margaret Fortuno will, for example, actually be mugged, robbed, raped, or burglarized; nor can anyone clearly indicated how severe a consequence any of these events will generate for us. Neither can anyone offer us a precise probability that a particular action on our part will prevent a given crime

from taking place. At most, we will encounter seemingly authoritative "best guesses." In most instances seeking such precise risk information from an authoritative source such as the police will not clarify the uncertainty; but instead, it may actually increase it. For the "authorities" in crime prevention can no more offer "guarantees" regarding risk than can anyone else. This is so because the state of the art simply does not allow the experts to make such precise risk estimates for any single case that involves any individual or small group of individuals.

McIntosh (720, p. 170) observes that uncertainty occurs when we "are unable to assign definite values to objects and events and/or are unable to accurately predict outcomes." The human organism cannot tolerate such ambiguity for too long a time, because prolonged uncertainty breeds anxiety. We curb or avoid such anxiety by creating or relying on our own subjective probability estimates of risks by assuming certain beliefs about the occurrence of crime and its prevention that we acquire from all kinds of sources and store away over a lifetime. Here our "information" repertoires are more ideological than intellectual.

We make subjective estimates of risk on socio-cultural, psycho-social, and personal perceptual and ideological grounds. The results rarely coincide with actual risk probabilities because the mathematics of probability are free from emotion, while our personal subjective judgments of crime victimization risks are almost entirely affective.

Consider, for example, the roles that factors like age (social maturation) and magic play in our estimates of victimization risks. The younger we are as males, for example, the more willing we are to take "macho-type" crime-related risks primarily, because we believe that the mystical intervention of "luck" will serve to correct the bad judgments our immaturity often forces us

to make. The older we get the more "careful" we become and the fewer are the risk-taking behaviors we engage in and the greater are the avoidance actions we take. The faithful among us often depend on "Fate" or on the "Divine" to intervene and reduce the risks that the institutional system seemingly is unable to accomplish.

Clearly, communicators will have a tough job on their hands in trying to convince many publics who believe quite seriously that luck and Divine supervision will keep them secure; convince them that, in fact, they may be in considerable danger...danger that requires "rational human" intervention if it is to be avoided, diminished or eliminated.

And, in a way, this is precisely another major objective for the public communications practitioner to pursue--to accomplish congruence between targets' subjective estimates of the risk of being victimized and the actual risks more or less "objectively" calculated.

For college-educated cosmopolitan targets who are trained to deal with abstract "risk probabilities," actuarial evidence in mathematical/statistical terms may be sufficient.

For the majority of Americans in any target group who lack a college education, the presentation of such actuarial evidence can only be confusing and uncertainty-provoking. Perhaps information-giving in forms other than sheer exposition--forms that are narrative, dramatic, or even humorous--might be important to pursue for such targets. McGruff is an excellent example of the ability of these non-expository formats to reach less well-educated sub-populations.

CONTROLLING FEAR APPEALS

Among others, the tasks of public communications on behalf of crime prevention are:

- o To reinforce risk beliefs that are already in congruence with actual risk;
- o To lower those risk beliefs that, in fact, overestimate actual danger;
- o To increase those risk beliefs that, in fact, underestimate actual dangers.

In each of these instances the communicator must cope with the problems of fear. The higher the risk that a threat actually poses, and the more serious its potential consequences are perceived to be, the more fear will individuals manifest regarding any aspect of that phenomenon.

In mass communications "fear appeals" are used to describe the highly negative consequences message recipients are likely to endure if they do not comply with the communicator's demands. Strong fear appeals generally are used in dramatic, often hyperbolic, presentations of serious, painful, costly, and even fatal consequences of non-compliance.

The empirical literature on the relationship between exposure to fear-arousing messages and subsequent action-taking is large in number, complex, contradictory, and far from definitive in terms of its guideline potentials. For some time now there has been a debate among scholars who have been trying to decide whether high fear arousal or low fear arousal is more persuasive in motivating message recipients to take advocated actions.

Two schools of thought have emerged--the Yale School of Janis, Feshback, and McGuire and the Wisconsin School represented by Leventhal.

1. The Yale School--basing its conclusions on the fear-drive experiments its representatives have conducted--advocates low fear arousal tactics overall.

The argument is this. If you increase the vividness of a threat to the point that no clear relationship between the "punishment" and the desired behavior can be discerned by the audience, the audience will "cope" with the threat by avoiding it--and by not complying with the advocated action. Non-compliance will result from audiences' resentment over having been unduly frightened.

Note that existing empirical data derived from drive theory research offers little in the way of strong support for the light approach.

Indeed, the bulk of contemporary research evidence points to the opposite conclusion--high fear arousal communications are generally more persuasive than are weak fear arousing types under particular circumstances.

2. Leventhal (624, 628, 630) subscribes to the high fear arousal conclusion from his somewhat complicated "parallel response theory" perspective.

In short, Leventhal argues that fear messages typically set off two "parallel" response systems.

On the one hand is a "glandular" and emotional fear response (i.e. "fear control" response). On the other is a coping response effort that is designed to minimize the impact of the danger (i.e. "danger control" response). Faced with the prospect of threat, the message recipient assesses the solutions offered as possible guides for decision-making.

If a communication does not offer realistic solutions to the threats it poses, recipients will respond on the fear control level and will reject or avoid the promulgated high threat message.

However, if high threat communications not only offer solutions to the dangers posed but indeed actually supply the "specific action instructions" recipients need to overcome the threats, they are very likely to be persuasive.

Parallel response theory remains little more than an interesting theory at this point. Here, too, empirical evidence is both sparse and inconclusive.

Where then are we on this matter of the efficacy of high versus low fear arousal communications?

If we regard the areas of consensus among reviewers of fear arousal research (94, 181, 243, 491, 606, 895, 1000) as sources for guidance, we can develop a number of tentative "generalizations" that can address the concerns of public communications practitioners. Until the empirical evidence is firmed up considerably more satisfactorily, these generalizations will have to serve as guidelines of a sort:

1. High fear arousing communications overall are more likely to affect beliefs, attitudes, and intentions to behave than they are likely to affect behavior itself. Remember that vulnerability beliefs are more likely to affect seeking out informal information about crime prevention than they are to influence action-taking per se.
2. If high fear arousing communications are to affect behavior in any way at all, the following conditions must prevail:
   a. They must come from sources that enjoy the highest degree of credibility among recipients. Even so, high threat messages must be backed up by powerful evidence for their danger claims.
   b. They must be addressed to persons with self-perceptions of high esteem and confidence in one's abilities to cope with dangers effectively.
   c. They must be directed to message recipients who are used to coping with threat rather than avoiding it. For example, it

would be unwise to direct high fear appeals to women who perceive the neighborhoods they live in to be dangerous.

d. High fear appeals must be directed to those who do not believe themselves to be at risk, and not to persons with high anxiety about risk. Messages that increase audiences' beliefs of vulnerability while stimulating their sense of fear will produce avoidance and rejection. Here message recipients will perceive the danger to be terrible, but they will believe themselves to be helpless to control it. Feelings of helplessness lead to resignation...not to positive action-taking.

Succinctly put, persons who believe themselves to be highly vulnerable to crime cannot simply be frightened into taking appropriate actions other than avoidance perhaps.

Further generalizations to keep in mind are the following:

3. The level of threat that a message contains does not affect the learning of the factual matter it contains.
4. A message's level of threat does not influence an audience's interest in a given topic. Contrary to lore, high threat messages are not any more powerful "attention-getters" than are other message types--particulary when audiences have the opportunity to avoid them.
5. Under high fear arousal, the more specific recommended actions are about the precise steps to take to accomplish them, the more impelling to action will they be.
6. The simpler they are, and the more readily high danger reduction actions can be carried out, the more persuasive will high fear arousal messages be.

CONTROLLING SOURCE CREDIBILITY

There are two equally important processes--one vertical, the other horizontal--by which crime prevention beliefs are seen to be disseminated to various publics.

The vertical version suggests that crime prevention beliefs originate exclusively with the "experts" and then "percolate" downwards until they reach the lay publics eventually.

The horizontal belief diffusion model suggest that beliefs about crime prevention are shaped and influenced mostly by the peers we trust and regard as authoritative (i.e. opinion leaders). Depending on who our peers may be, the protection beliefs they pass on to us may be "officially sanctioned science," or else they may be in the form of totally unscientific "folk knowledge." Regardless of how scientific it may be, most crime folk knowledge is passed on in a multi-stage process from the source, to the media, to opinion leaders, to the peers of opinion leaders--that is, to their relatives, friends, neighbors and co-workers. We generally pick up more of our crime prevention beliefs quite casually from the people we know and trust (i.e. crime prevention opinion leaders) than we do from formal remote, anonymous "authorities." And most of the time, crime prevention knowledge comes to us in the form of "cultural truisms"--that is, in the form of "realities" that are believed to be true by large aggregates of people, despite the absence of evidence to substantiate them. For many of us, the "cultural truisms" about crime we carry around with us serve as powerful counterforces to "science" or to the pronouncements of "authorities." They allow us to find merit in a variety of questionable theories, principles, and recommendations.

For many of us folk crime prevention knowledge is "authoritative." Considering the state of the art regarding the causes and prevention of crime, most of the "knowledge" that is available is really more ideological than it is scientifically empirical.

Depending upon who we are and where we are culturally, sociologically, and psychologically, we either derive our beliefs about risks mostly from a scientifically empirical (i.e. "authoritative") system or mostly from the cultural system.

Regardless of the sources of our crime victimization risk beliefs, unless those sources are perceived as being believable, they will not be persuasive.

It was Aristotle who some 2,000 years ago observed the sine qua non nature of source credibility in the persuasion process.

> "Persuasion is achieved by the speaker's personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible. We believe good men more fully and more readily than others."
>
> (Rhetorica, p. 29)

The axiom that in order to be persuasive message sources must be believable, has become a law of communications firmly embedded in contemporary research. And contemporary research has concluded that "credibility" is not a particular trait to be attributed to the communicator. Rather, like beauty, source credibility is in the eyes of the beholder. Perceptions of the credibility of message sources, therefore, always are subject to change.

Of course various attributes that sources either manage to project (or not to project) to audiences will affect those audiences' perceptions. Psychological investigations of "source credibility" have delineated several that seem to hold up to experimentation over time (95, 408, 1001).

- Perceived expertise--the source is believed to be capable of making correct assertions.
- Perceived trustworthiness--the source is believed to believe in the validity of the assertions he or she makes, combined with an audience perception of altruism on the part of the source.
- Attractiveness or dynamism--the source is considered to be "with it," empathetic, likeable, familiar, similar to the audiences.

Of course, with messages that appear in the media, the credibility of the medium in which the message is disseminated must also be perceived positively if persuasion is going to occur. If a highly credible source appears in a medium of low credibility, persuasion will be seriously hobbled.

Current research indicates that both the vehicles of mass communication as well as the particular operators within a medium are judged to be either credible or not.

These days, most older, less affluent and less well-educated adults believe that television is the most believable medium. And we have seen how audiences overall accept television as the most reliable source of news about crime.

Better educated, higher earning adults are most apt to rely on print media as the most credible sources of information and ideas.

Additionally, viewers and readers are likely to consider CBS, NBC, and ABC more credible than the local "independent" channel and the New York Times and Washington Post more believable than the National Enquirer and the New York Daily News.

Judgments of media credibility generally are based on the perceived objectivity, authenticity, and dynamism of individual media.

In the area of crime prevention, where the communicator more often than not must increase perceptions of threat, it is absolutely essential to use only the highest possible credible sources. The same is true when what the

communicator has to say is highly discrepant with what targets already believe. Consider the effect of a highly credible source like Franklin D. Roosevelt in the campaigns against polio or of the "trustworthiness" and "attractiveness" that Betty Ford projected in endorsing messages about the dangers of breast cancer and the necessity of early diagnosis.

Conversely, communicators should try to avoid low credible testimonial sources--no matter how popular or glamorous they may be. Once targets perceive a particular source as "inappropriate" in terms of expertise and trustworthiness (even though they may consider the source to be "attractive") audiences will be incited to develop counterarguments against the source rather than being persuaded to develop an appropriate at-risk belief, or to take an advocated action.

Of course, not all communicators can be equally highly credible. One way to increase the persuasiveness of a low-credible source is to enhance sources' trustworthiness by having them argue against their own personal best interests--with evidence of selflessness.

Further source credibility principles the practitioner of public communications on behalf of crime prevention should be aware of are:

- What targets think of the source of a message will directly influence their reaction to that message.
- Audiences react more favorably to message sources who they perceive to be similar to themselves.
- In order to enhance his/her credibility, the communicator should initially (where possible) express some ideas and beliefs that are held by the particular audiences addressed.
- The more negatively disposed targets are initially to an issue, the more will they pay attention to high-credible sources. Conversely, the more favorably disposed targets are to an issue the more apt are they to heed messages stemming from a low-credible source.

Although the matter of source credibility is critical to developing at-risk beliefs among publics who do not view themselves as vulnerable, the complexities involved do not allow for simplistic formulas.

For example, it is not at all clear that the "police" are automatically and universally accepted as credible sources of crime prevention information. Nor are the reaction data to the early McGruff campaign indicative of universal automatic acceptance of a cartoon dog-in-a-trench-coat as the best possible "spokesman" for crime prevention. For one, a number of interviewees misperceived the McGruff character to be one that is primarily suited for children, but not necessarily for adults. In the same vein, because older persons tend to be more fearful of dogs in general, a number of elderly respondents felt threatened by the McGruff character in the campaign.

CONTINUED

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CONTROLLING TARGET DELINEATION

Good public communications strategies vis-a-vis crime prevention must be based on sound empirical data regarding both demographic and psychological attributes of various publics; their crime prevention knowledge levels; their beliefs and values regarding a wide range of pertinent risk/benefit phenomena; their media habits; their crime-related histories and experiences; and their positioning in socially supportive and informal communications networks.

Simplistic opinion "surveys" of public knowledge levels combined with retrospective self-reports of crime encounters analyzed against gross demographic characteristics of sample populations are nearly useless for the purpose of developing sound public communications strategies. What is needed a priori are the kinds of systematic "social marketing" investigations that have been outlined by researchers such as Zaltman and Vertinsky (1160). Here, systematic investigation of the sociological, psychological, and experiential attributes of potential targets is conducted prior to developing messages and dissemination strategies in order to delineate the motives of potential actors eventually either to comply with or reject recommended crime prevention that may be only on the drawing boards. The purpose of social marketing research in crime prevention is to guide public communications practitioners into (1) identifying prospective high and low message compliers so that efforts can be focused on the highs and not wasted on the lows, and (2) "tailoring" messages to the specific needs, beliefs, experiences, and motives of specifically identified (in psycho-social terms) high prospect targets.

In developing strategies for public communications, the practitioner must think "audience segmentalization"--not "mass communication."

Overall, the five mass media action demands previously mentioned will always be addressed to six quite different "publics" in the very least.

1. Those who presently indeed are, and will remain, relatively "safe," know it and believe themselves to be safe.
2. Those who presently indeed are, and will remain, "safe," but believe themselves to be at risk.
3. Those who presently are, and will remain, at risk, know it and believe themselves to be at risk.
4. Those who presently are, and will remain, at risk, but believe themselves to be "safe."
5. Those who may be only temporarily safe, but have a good chance of becoming "at risk."
6. Those who may be only temporarily at risk, but have a good chance of becoming safe.

If you consider that in each of these "non-demographic" target sub-groups there will be individuals who either believe or who do not believe in the efficacy of their individualized actions to diminish, control, or eliminate the threat of victimization, the absolute minimal number of separate targets to be addressed within any one demographically identified cohort will be a minimum of twelve!

Clearly, the crime prevention messages appearing in the "mass" media cannot possibly be addressing homogeneous "masses" who are expected to react to such messages in exactly the same way at exactly the same time.

Categorically, there is no such phenomenon as a "mass" audience. It is doubtful whether such ever actually did exist. Audiences not only are dis-aggregated--researchers in mass communications refer to the segmentalization of audiences--but they differ from each other in so many ways that most "mass" messages addressed to the most people will be inapplicable to most audiences most of the time. The rather massive Public Broadcasting Television effort, Feeling Good, learned this lesson the hard way. Most viewers of the

series attended only those messages that they perceived to be relevant to their particular health interests, beliefs, and concerns; and they ignored all those which they considered to be irrelevant. The result was that most of Feeling Good's health messages were ignored by most of its so-called mass audience (515, 746).

To a large extent the initial McGruff campaign has experienced a similar fate. As Elihu Katz and his associates have indicated (1973), "...people bend the media to their needs more readily than the media overpowers them."

At best, purposive mass communications campaigns are risky undertakings. The less control the communicator has with regard to precise target delineation, with regard to explicit message and demand "tailoring," and with regard to specific high potential media placement, the less control will (s)he have over the communication process in toto. The less overall control then, the more reliant will the communicator have to be on what the audience will do to his or her messages--rather than on what a highly controlled effort might accomplish vis-a-vis explicitly identified targets.

Resorting to a scatter-gun strategy which aims at everyone in the hope of hitting someone cannot subsitute for lack of control.

The fact is that the public communications can insert a high degree of control with regard to all three--targets, messages and media. But first the communicator must set priorities with regard to tackling the more essential issues that reflect the highest potential for success. This calls for a multi-tiered mass communications plan instead of one flat overall approach.

First, priority decisions must be made regarding what limited number of feasible specific protective actions communicators wish specifically identified

(both demographically and psychographically) targets to take. Public communicators can be guided in such determinations by the data on protective action-taking in this report.

Communicators can cut down on the numbers of actions they are promoting by not focusing on actions that are already engaged in by majorities of the public; by not focusing on actions that are questionable in regard to the "benefits" they produce; by not focusing on person-protection actions that require mental alertness and physical skills which cannot be acquired simply by reading a pamphlet or watching a PSA; and by not recommending infeasible actions that are complex and difficult to undertake, such as suggesting to individuals who reside in what they consider to be dangerous locales to "form" patrols with their "neighbors."

The determination of which action-demands shall be given high, low and no priority goes hand-in-hand with the delineation of specifically identified targets to whom the demands will be addressed. Here again the present study indicates that targets must be identified not only demographically, but as well in terms of:

1. Where they reside;
2. Past victimization experiences;
3. Concerns and fears about their vulnerability;
4. Their current protective action-taking;
5. Their crime prevention related beliefs concerning responsibility, self-competence, and efficacy of individual protective action-taking;
6. Their knowledge about and interest in crime prevention;
7. Their media habits;
8. Their reactions to specific crime prevention media messages.

In planning strategies along these lines, an important procedure at the start is literally to write down all pertinent data on forms that should be headed with captions something like this:

Action Demand	Benefit to Actor	"Cost" to Actor	Is Demand Priority: High	Moderate	Low	Target Description: Demographic	Crime Related Experiences, Concerns, Beliefs, and Protective Action Orientations and Behaviors	Media Orientations and Habits

Once the action-demands/target priorities determinations are made, the planner can move into the development of a four-tiered message strategy that is (1) information oriented, (2) reinforcement oriented, (3) belief-motivation oriented, and (4) action-oriented.

It is needless to point out that the sole purpose of "information" is to enlighten by virtue of its ability to reduce uncertainty. Its purpose is not to affect behavior. The data from our studies certainly demonstrate the relative impotence of "information" alone in regard to its influence on crime prevention behavior.

Still, we note that "information" is the only tool that public communications practitioners have to work with. But it is erroneous to assume that intellectual information is the only available tool here.

We have noted that various targets require risk estimation information; reassurance information; concrete "benefits" vs "costs" information; and above all, instrumental information which spells out in very specific detail precisely what is being demanded from the target along with the specific

steps the target must take in order to (1) carry out the demands to the letter, and (2) to experience the exact net benefits that compliance will produce.

The range of "information" messages that can possibly be useful here is quite limited as we see it...possibly no more than eight in number:

1. Exposition of the "at risk" concept, including data on victimization and its causes;
2. Placement of target on a specific risk point on the continuum with exposition regarding consequence expectancies;
3. Exposition regarding synergistic interactions between negative behaviors and high risk environments;
4. Exposition regarding efficacy of the modern crime prevention system;
5. Exposition regarding the efficacy of individualized protective actions;
6. Information regarding sources of help other than the police, and how to gain access to them;
7. Proofs for claims;
8. Exposition regarding rationalization, delay and denial mechanisms.

Additionally, there is just one benefit that crime prevention message targets must be "informed" about; namely, that compliance with the advocated action will indeed result in either the reduction or elimination of a specific crime threat or danger.

All too often, in their zeal to "change attitudes and behavior," purposive public communications practitioners simply forget to reinforce the "good guy" majorities that already are practicing advocated actions. They forget to "stroke" the individuals who practice positive behaviors with "well-done," "thanks," and "keep up the good work" messages--messages that can serve two very important functions. One is creating a favorable climate in which

positive action-takers are encouraged to continue to behave in an approved fashion. The other being the setting of "examples" vis-a-vis "recognition" (i.e. social reward) that is accorded to persons who do indeed comply with ameliorative demands.

Perhaps the most important finding from the University of Denver research is that by virtue of their disinterest in crime prevention, or their lack of self-confidence, large numbers of Americans are not prepared to take many of the protective actions that are being advocated.

In the specific we have noted that there is considerable skepticism about the efficacy of individualized protective action-taking and that beliefs about the ability of such behaviors to actually reduce crime have a powerful influence on protection action-taking; on membership in informal community protection organizations; and on individuals' beliefs regarding their own personal competence to prevent crimes.

Similarly, we have noted strong interactions between interest in crime prevention and being (and keeping) informed about it; joining in with formal community groups; and taking (property) protective actions.

The data suggest that perhaps it has been premature to launch action-demands campaigns on behalf of crime prevention without first building up a very solid "climate for acceptance." That is to say, without creating "high interest" in crime prevention before demanding crime prevention action-taking, the likelihood of the tepid behavioral reactions that the early McGruff PSAs generated will be enhanced. In a similar vein, we cannot expect individuals to take recommended crime prevention actions if they do not believe that those actions will actually reduce or eliminate the threat of crime.

There is much work to be done, particularly in regard to strengthening public beliefs in the efficacy of individualized protective action-taking.

Additionally, target publics such as women, the elderly, and residents of dangerous neighborhoods need to have their beliefs in their own competence to protect self and property strengthened. Finally, interest in crime prevention per se must be sparked to a much greater extent than heretofore.

A FINAL NOTE: CONSIDER THE CONSUMER

All this must be done well before we can expect large-scale success with action-demands campaigns. In other words, we must begin from the beginning and start building the public's motivations to act on behalf of crime prevention instead of trying to force them to act regardless of motivation.

Thankfully, it is not too late to commence with the task right now.

In doing so we offer a final note for the communications practitioner to consider. In addition to adopting the best empirically grounded strategies possible, the practitioner in crime prevention public communications must behave responsibly in recognizing the communications rights of the communications consumer. To wit:

1. The crime prevention consumer has a right not to be insulted--not to be treated as dumb, ignorant, neglectful, irresponsible, or apathetic.
2. Consumers have a right to receive crime prevention messages that are of interest to them; that are relevant to their needs; and not to the interests and needs of the communicator.
3. Crime prevention communicators must practice truth in labeling. The consumer has the right to know which communicated facts are totally true, which are partially true, and which are mere speculations and hypotheses. He or she must be given all the evidence on which assertions of "truth" are offered.
4. The crime prevention information consumer has a right to messages that are attractively put together, that are stimulating, that are easily comprehended, and well organized so that processing of the information by individuals can be accomplished with celerity and ease.

5. Crime prevention information consumers have the right to be addressed unobtrusively. They have the right not to be shouted at, conned, hustled, ridiculed or coerced.
6. Crime prevention consumers have the right to reject all demands that require inordinate expenditures of effort, time, or money on their part. They also have the right to reject all demands upon them that are vague, obtuse, and that are infeasible.
7. Crime prevention information consumers have a right to know the specific benefits they will experience if and when they comply with prevention action demands. They have a right to know all the negatives that are involved in complying with advocated actions as well.
8. Consumers of crime prevention information have the right to reject messages that are mundane, prosaic, dull or pedantic--messages that lack imagination, appeal, and regard for their audiences.

A Mass Communication Strategy for
Generating Citizen Action Against Crime

Crime Prevention and Public Communications
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Campaign Art Sample

CRIME PREVENTION CAMPAIGN
MAGAZINE AD NO. CP-1014-80
2¼" x 5" [110 Screen] CM-2-80

APPENDIX 2

Summary of Indices Used

SUMMARY OF INDICES USED

I. PSYCHOLOGICAL INDICES

A. Altruism. Sum score of the following items, divided into three levels. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement on this card.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
a. Every person should give some of their time for the good of their neighborhood or town or city	2	1	0
b. People who fail to finish a job they promised to do should feel very badly about it	2	1	0
c. We would be better off if we could live our own lives the way we want and not have to be concerned about doing things	1	2	0
d. In school I usually volunteered for special projects	2	1	0
e. Letting your neighbors down occasionally is not so bad, because you just can't be doing good for everybody all the time	1	2	0

B. Alienation. Sum score of the following Srole Anomia Scale items, divided into three levels.

I am going to read you some statements with which you may agree or disagree. From this card tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a. In spite of what some people say, the life of the average person is getting worse	5	4	3	2	1
b. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future	5	4	3	2	1
c. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself ...	5	4	3	2	1

d. These days a person doesn't really know who can be counted on 5 4 3 2 1

e. There's little use in writing to public officials, because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average person 5 4 3 2 1

C. Trust in People. Sum score of the following University of Michigan Survey Center items, divided into three levels.

Generally speaking do you believe that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?	Can be trusted	2
	Can't be too careful	1
	Don't know	0
Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?	Try to be helpful	2
	Just look out for selves .	1
	Don't know	0
Do you feel that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?	Would try to be fair	2
	Would take advantage	1
	Don't know	0

D. Trust in Institutions. Sum score of the following items, divided into three levels.

How much of the time do you think you can trust the Federal Government in Washington to do what is best for the people?	Just about always	4
	Most of the time	3
	Some of the time	2
	Hardly at all	1
	Don't know	0
How much of the time do you think you can trust the local government here to do what is best for the people?	Just about always	4
	Most of the time	3
	Some of the time	2
	Hardly at all	1
	Don't know	0
And how much of the time do you think you can trust local police officers here to act honestly and fairly?	Just about always	4
	Most of the time	3
	Some of the time	2
	Hardly at all	1
	Don't know	0

2. INTERPERSONAL ACTIVITY INDICES

A. Neighborhood Integration. Sum score of the following items, divided into three levels.

Do you know most of the people in this immediate neighborhood, some of the people, or hardly any of the people in this neighborhood?	Most of the people	3
	Some	2
	Hardly any	1
	Don't know	0
All in all, is this the kind of neighborhood where people seem to go their own way, or is it the kind of neighborhood where people seem to be really concerned about each other?	Go own way	1
	Concerned about each other	2
	Don't know	0
Do you get along well with most of the people in this neighborhood, some of the people, or hardly any of the people?	Most of the people	3
	Some	2
	Hardly any	1
	Don't know	0
About how often during the past seven days have you had talks with people in this neighborhood, that is, with people who are not in your family and household?	0 times	1
	1-3 times	2
	4-6 times	3
	7 or more times	4

B. Organizational Membership.

Altogether, how many organizations and clubs do you now belong to?	None	0
	One	1
	Two	2
	Three-four	3
	Five or more	4

3. MASS MEDIA ORIENTATION INDICES

A. Media Exposure. Sum score of the following items, divided into three levels.

On the average weekday, how much time do you usually spend watching television from the time you get up until you go to sleep?	Less than two hours	1
	2 to less than 4 hours ...	2
	4 or more hours	3
	Don't know	0
On an average weekday, how much time do you usually spend listening to the radio, both inside and outside your home?	Less than 2 hours	1
	2 to less than 4 hours ...	2
	4 or more hours	3
	Don't know	0

How much time do you usually spend looking at a newspaper on an average weekday?	None	0
	1-20 minutes	1
	21-40 minutes	2
	41-60 minutes	3
	61 minutes or more	4
	Don't know	0
About how many different magazines do you usually get to look at or read over a month's time?	None	0
	One	1
	2-3	2
	4 or more	3
	Don't know	0

B. Media Functions. Sum score of the following items, divided into three levels.

On this card are two approaches different people have to different activities. Both may apply to how you feel. But, please tell me the one statement, A or B, that applies to you more for each activity I will read to you.

	A. (Relaxation)	B. (Information)
Looking at or reading magazines? ..	1	2
Listening to the radio?	1	2
Watching television?	1	2
Looking at or reading newspapers? .	1	2

C. Sensitivity to Public Service Advertising. Sum score of the following items, divided into three levels.

Most advertisements and commercials advertise different products and other things that people can buy. But there are also other kinds of commercials and advertisements that tell people about how they can stay healthy, what they can do to help themselves, where to go for help at social service agencies, and so forth. These are call public service announcements and advertisements, and they tell about things like traffic safety, cancer prevention, help with alcohol and drug problems, crime prevention and so on.

In general, how much attention do you give to public service ads:

	A lot	Some	Hardly any	Don't know
On television?	3	2	1	0
On radio?	3	2	1	0
In newspapers?	3	2	1	0
In magazines?	3	2	1	0

All in all, do you find public service ads to be very convincing, somewhat convincing, or hardly convincing at all?	Very convincing	3
	Somewhat convincing .	2
	Hardly convincing ...	1
	Don't know	0

How helpful would you say are public service advertisements in making people like yourself aware of problems that may affect their well-being? Are they very helpful, fairly helpful, or hardly helpful at all?	Very helpful	3
	Fairly helpful	2
	Hardly helpful	1
	Don't know	0
In terms of helping people like yourself to solve problems they may have, would you say that public service advertisements are very helpful, fairly helpful, or hardly helpful at all?	Very helpful	3
	Fairly helpful	2
	Hardly helpful	1
	Don't know	0
Have you yourself ever written or phoned in to get more information about something you heard or read about in a public service advertisement?	Yes	2
	No	1
	Can't recall	0
Can you tell me about any one particular recent public service ad that stands out in your memory?	Recalled	1
	Not recalled	0

4. CRIME COMMUNICATION ORIENTATION INDICES

A. Attention to Media Crime Content. Sum score of the following items, divided into three levels.

How often do you watch police, crime, or detective programs on television? Do you watch them very often, sometimes, or hardly ever at all?	Very often	3
	Sometimes	2
	Hardly ever	1
	Don't know, varies ..	0

How much attention do you ordinarily give to news about crime?

	A lot of attention	Some attention	Hardly any or none	Don't know
On TV?	3	2	1	0
On the radio?	3	2	1	0
In the newspapers?	3	2	1	0
In magazines?	3	2	1	0

B. Crime Discussion

When you talk with neighbors and people you consider close to you, including family and friends, do you discuss things about crime very often, sometimes, or hardly ever at all?	Very often	1
	Sometimes	2
	Hardly ever at all ..	3
	Don't know	0

5. CRIME ORIENTATION INDICES

A. Neighborhood Crime Perception

Within the past year, do you think that crime in your neighborhood has increased, decreased, or remained about the same?

Increased	1	
Same	2	(SKIP TO ___)
Decreased	3	
Not been here that long	4	(SKIP TO ___)
Don't know	0	

Were the crimes you had in mind mostly the kind that involve the loss of property and things that people value; or, do they mostly involve physical injury to people; or, are they mostly the so-called "victimless" crimes that don't involve loss or injury, such as gambling and prostitution?

Property crimes	1
Injury crimes	2
"Victimless" crimes	3
Don't know	0

B. Perceived Neighborhood Safety at Night

How safe do you feel or would you feel being out alone in your neighborhood AT NIGHT--very safe, reasonably safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe?

Very safe	1
Reasonably safe	2
Somewhat unsafe	3
Very unsafe	4
Don't know	0

C. Neighborhood Crime Risk

How dangerous do you think this neighborhood is compared to other neighborhoods in terms of crime? Do you believe it is much more dangerous, more dangerous, about average, less dangerous, or much less dangerous?

Much more dangerous	1
More dangerous	2
About average	3
Less dangerous	4
Much less dangerous	5
Don't know; can't tell	0

D. Property Vulnerability

How likely do you think it is that your residence will be broken into or burglarized during the next year--do you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?

Very likely	3
Somewhat likely	2
Not at all likely	1
Don't know	0

E. Personal Vulnerability

How likely do you think it is that you personally will be attacked or robbed within the next year--do you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, or not at all likely?

Very likely	3
Somewhat likely	2
Not at all likely	1
Don't know	0

F. Perceived Vulnerability. Sum score of the following items, divided into three levels.

How likely do you think it is that your residence will be broken into or burglarized during the next year--do you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?	Very likely	3
	Somewhat likely	2
	Not very likely	1
	Don't know	0
How likely do you think it is that you personally will be attacked or robbed within the next year--do you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, or not at all likely?	Very likely	3
	Somewhat likely	2
	Not at all likely ...	1
	Don't know	0

G. Victimization Experience. Sum score of the following items.

Have you yourself been a victim of a crime during the past few years?	Yes	2
	No	1
Has any member of your immediate family (whether or not in same household) been a victim of a crime during the past few years?	Yes	2
	No, don't know	1

6. PREVENTION ORIENTATION INDICES

A. Prevention Concern. Sum score of the following items, divided into three levels.

Overall, would you say you are very interested, fairly interested, or hardly at all interested in crime prevention?	Very interested	3
	Fairly interested ...	2
	Hardly interested ...	1
	Don't know	0
Compared to most other people, would you say you are more concerned about protecting yourself from crime, about as concerned as others, or less concerned than others are?	More concerned	3
	About as concerned ..	2
	Less concerned	1
	Don't know	0

B. Prevention Responsibility

When it comes to helping prevent crimes in a neighborhood like this, do you believe that individual citizens have more responsibility than the police, less responsibility, or equal responsibility with the police?	More responsibility .	3
	Equal responsibility	2
	Less responsibility .	1
	Don't know	0

C. Prevention Confidence.

How confident do you feel that you as an individual can do things to help protect yourself from crime--do you feel very confident, somewhat confident, or not very confident at all?	Very confident	3
	Somewhat confident ..	2
	Not very confident ..	1
	Don't know	0

D. Perceived Prevention Knowledge.

How much do you think you know about how to make yourself and your home less likely to be victimized by criminals--do you think you know a great deal, know some things, or don't you think you know much at all?	Know a great deal ...	3
	Know some things	2
	Don't know much	1
	Don't know	0

E. Perceived Prevention Effectiveness.

Many people think that the crime rate can be reduced if ordinary citizens take more precautions to protect themselves, such as securing their homes against intruders. Others say that such precautions make little difference in reducing crime. What do you think? Do you think precautions taken by ordinary citizens can reduce the crime rate a great deal, somewhat, or hardly at all?	A great deal	3
	Somewhat	2
	Hardly at all	1
	Don't know	0

F. Property Protection. Number of things done, divided into three levels.

Here is a list of some things people sometimes do to protect their homes against burglary. Please tell me which of them, if any, you've done in this household.. Just read me the appropriate numbers.	Property engraved with I.D.	1
	Local police do security check of home	2
	Special locks on doors/ windows	3
	Peep-hole/window in door..	4
	Outdoor lights for security	5
	Anti-theft stickers on doors	6
	Operating burglar alarm system	7
	Dog at least partly for security	8
	Theft insurance	9
	Personal security devices--gun, tear gas, etc.	0
	Other (specify) _____	

G. Prevention Activity. Sum score of the following items, divided into three levels.

On this card are some things people sometimes do to protect themselves against crime. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD). Would you read through them and tell me which things you never do?

Now, please read through the remaining things you do at least some of the time. Of those, which do you always do, which do you do most of the time, and which do you only do once in a while.

	Never	Once in while	Most of time	Always
Locking doors short time	1	2	3	4
Keeping doors locked	1	2	3	4
Locking window screens short time	1	2	3	4
Leaving on indoor lights	1	2	3	4
Leaving on outdoor lights	1	2	3	4
When away notifying police	1	2	3	4
When away stopping delivery	1	2	3	4
When away neighbor watch	1	2	3	4
When away using a timer	1	2	3	4
Going out with someone else	1	2	3	4
Car instead of walking	1	2	3	4

Taking some protection	1	2	3	4
Avoiding places in neighborhood	1	2	3	4
Getting together with neighbors	1	2	3	4
Joining with neighbors	1	2	3	4

H. Observing Activity

Do you usually try to keep an eye on what's going on in the street in front of your home, or do you usually not notice?

Usually keep eye	1
Usually don't notice	2
Not applicable/can't see front of house . . .	3
Don't know	0

I. Crime Reporting

In the past year, have you contacted the police to report a crime or some suspicious activity in your neighborhood?

Yes	1
No	2
Can't recall	0

J. Organization Joining

Have you ever been part of any Community Group or Organization in your neighborhood that tried to do anything about Crime in your neighborhood?	Yes	2
	No/don't recall	1

K. Anticipated Prevention Activity

In the foreseeable future, do you think there is a very good chance that you will take more of these steps we've been talking about, some chance, or not much chance at all?

Very good chance	1
Some chance	2
Not much chance	3
Don't know	0

7. PREVENTION COMMUNICATION INDICES

A. Attention to Prevention Public Service Advertising

Public service ads cover many different kinds of things overall. Here is a list of some of the things that public service ads are concerned with. For each item on the card, please tell me how much attention you pay to public service ads dealing with that topic--do you usually pay a lot of attention, some attention, or hardly any attention at all to them?

	A lot	Some	Hardly any	Don't know
Crime prevention	3	2	1	0

B. Prevention Discussion

When you discuss crime, how often do you exchange ideas about what citizens like yourself can do to prevent crime--very often, sometimes, or hardly at all?

Very often	3
Sometimes	2
Hardly ever at all ..	1
Don't know	0

C. Prevention Information Exposure

Looking now at all sources of information--mass media, other people and the rest--how often in the past 12 months have you come across information on how to protect yourself and your household against crime? Have you seen or heard such information often, occasionally, or never?

Often	3
Occasionally	2
Never	1
Don't know	0

D. Prevention Information Attention

Do you pay a lot of attention to this kind (prevention) information when you come across it, some attention to it, or not much attention at all?

A lot	3
Some	2
Not much	1
Don't know	0

E. Prevention Information Need

Overall, how much of a need do you have at this time for that kind of (prevention) information? Would you say that you have a great need, a small need, or hardly any need at all for such information?

Great need	3
Small need	2
Hardly any need	1
Don't know	0

F. Anticipated Prevention

In the foreseeable future, do you think there is a very good chance that you will take more of these steps we've been talking about, some chance, or not much chance at all?

Very good chance	1
Some chance	2
Not much chance	3
Don't know	0

G. Anticipated Information Need

In general, how much of a need do you have at this time for that kind of information? Would you say you have a great need, a small need, or hardly any need at all for such information?

Great need	1
Small need	2
Hardly any need	3
Don't know	0

H. Anticipated Information Attention

If you were to read or hear about information in the mass media on how to protect yourself and your household against crime, would you pay a lot of attention to it, some attention, or not much attention at all?

Lot of attention	1
Some attention	2
Not much at all	3
Don't know	0

8. ACTIVE RESPONSE TEST (CAMPAIGN EXPOSURE AND PERCEIVED EFFECT)

A. Can you tell me about any one particular recent public service ad that stands out in your memory? (RECORD VERBATIM REPLY AND CODE)

VERBATIM REPLY: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

CODE REPLY AS FOLLOWS:

Mentions "Detective Dog," crime dog, "Take a bite out of crime," etc.	1	(SKIP TO ___)
Mentions other crime prevention ad	2	
Mentions health, medical service ad	3	
Mentions energy/conservation ad	4	(ASK ___)
Mentions ad other than above (specify topic) _____	5	
Mentions no ad	0	

B. How about public service ads that look something like these? (SHOW DETECTIVE DOG ADVERTISEMENT) Have you ever seen any advertisements or commercials like these on television or in newspapers or magazines, or heard one with this "Bite out of crime" theme on the radio?

Yes, recognized ad	1	(SKIP TO ___)
No, can't recall	2	

C. Advertisements like that have been running in all the media for about two years now. Would you please roughly estimate the number of times you may have seen that ad anywhere. Would you say that it has been only once, about two to five times, about five to 20 times or more than 20 times?

Once	1
2-5	2
5-20	3
20+	4
Can't recall	0

D. Can you recall when it was that you first noticed the ad--was it within about the past two months, two months to a year ago, or before a year ago?

Past two months	1
2 months to a year	2
More than a year	3
Can't recall	4

E. (IF YES) Where have you seen these ads (that ad) most often--on television, on radio, in a newspaper, in a magazine, on a poster or billboard, or on a car card on a train or bus?

Television	1
Radio	2
Newspaper	3
Magazine	4
Poster or billboard	5
Car card	6
Can't recall	0

F. All in all, about how much attention have you paid to those ads (that ad) when you've seen them (it)--have you usually paid a great deal of attention, some attention, or hardly any attention at all to them (it)?

Great deal	3
Some	2
Hardly any	1
Can't recall	0

(If more than one ad:)

G. Now I'd like you to think of the one particular ad out of the ones you've seen that stands out most in your memory, and tell me what you think that ad was trying to get across.

(If one ad only:)

What do you think that particular ad was trying to get across?

_____

_____

_____

H. Did that ad show or tell you anything that you did not already know before?

Yes	1	
No, don't know	0	(SKIP TO ___)

I. (IF "YES") What was that? (PROBE) Did you find out anything else from that ad--whether you had known it before or not? (RECORD AND SKIP TO ___)

VERBATIM REPLY _____

_____

_____

_____

J. (IF CRIME PREVENTION NOT MENTIONED IN Q.___, PROBE): Did you find out anything about crime or crime prevention?

Yes	1	
No	2	(SKIP TO ___)

K. (IF "YES") What was that?

VERBATIM REPLY _____

_____

_____

_____

L. Did you feel that that particular ad was getting through to you, or not?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Don't know	0	(SKIP TO ___)

M. Why do you think so?

VERBATIM REPLY _____

_____

_____

_____

N. Did the ad make you feel more pleased than annoyed, or more annoyed than pleased?

More pleased	1	
More annoyed	2	
Neither	3	
Don't know	0	(SKIP TO ___)

O. Why is that?

VERBATIM REPLY _____

_____

_____

_____

P. What if anything about that ad would you consider worth passing along to your friends or relatives? (RECORD VERBATIM REPLY AND CODE)

VERBATIM REPLY _____

_____

_____

_____

CODE:

Any mention of calling/writing for crime information	1	(SKIP TO ___)
All other mentions	2	
Did nothing, can't recall	3	

S. (IF CALLING OR WRITING FOR INFORMATION ABOUT CRIME PREVENTION NOT MENTIONED) Did you happen to write or phone for more information about crime prevention?

Yes	2	
No	1	
Can't recall	0	(SKIP TO ___)

T. (IF GETTING MORE INFORMATION MENTIONED IN Q.___, OR IF YES TO Q.___) Have you received the information you requested?

Yes	2	
No	1	
Can't recall	0	(SKIP TO ___)

U. Did you find that information helpful or not helpful?

Helpful	1	(SKIP TO ___)
Not helpful	2	(ASK ___)
Don't know	0	(SKIP TO ___)

V. Why not?

VERBATIM REPLY _____

_____

_____

_____

W. (PROBE IF NECESSARY) Was there anything in the ad itself which turned you off, or were there other reasons?

VERBATIM REPLY _____

_____

_____

_____

X. Are you thinking about doing something in the future that was suggested by the ad that we've been talking about?

Yes	2	
No	1	(SKIP TO ___)
Don't know	0	

What specifically are you thinking about doing?

VERBATIM REPLY _____

_____

_____

_____

Y. All in all, did that ad make you any more concerned about crime than you were before any less concerned, or didn't it make any difference at all in that way?

More concerned	3
No difference	2
Less concerned	1
Don't know	0

Z. Did it make you personally feel any more confident about being able to protect yourself from crime, any less confident, or didn't it make any difference at all in that way?

More confident	3
No difference	2
Less confident	1
Don't know	0

9. DEMOGRAPHIC/SOCIOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

A. Organizational Membership

Altogether, how many organizations and clubs do you now belong to?

None	0
One	1
Two	2
Three-Four	3
Five or more	4

Do you belong to any organizations or clubs that are mostly concerned with public affairs?

Yes	1
No	2

Do you belong to any civic organizations or clubs, that are mostly concerned with improving things around here?

Yes	1
No	2

Overall, would you say you take a very active part in the clubs and organizations you belong to, a fairly active part, or a rather inactive part?

Very active	3
Fairly active	2
Inactive	1
Don't know	0

B. Standard Demographic Indices

What was the last grade of regular school that you completed--not counting specialized schools like secretarial, art or trade schools?

No school	1
Grade school (1-8)	2
Some high school (9-11)	3
High school graduate (12)	4
Some college (13-15)	5
College graduate (16)	6
Post graduate (17+)	7

C. Are you at present employed, either full-time or part-time?

Full-time	1
Part-time	2
Not employed	3

CONTINUED

3 OF 6

D. Are you (call off appropriate categories):

A housewife	1
Unemployed	2
A student	3
Retired	4
Or what? (all other)	5

E. What is your occupation?

Top management, top talent and major professional	1
Executive, administrative, lesser professional	2
Owner--small retail store or business	3
Farmers (owners and managers)	4
Technicians, minor administrative	5
White collar, clerical (non-supervisory)	6
Salesmen	7
Skilled and semi-skilled labor	8
Unskilled labor	9
Service and protective workers	0

F. Is anyone else living in this household employed full-time?

Yes	2
No	1
Don't know	0

G. Here is a list of age groups. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Would you call off the letter of the age group you happen to be in? (IF REFUSED, INTERVIEWER ESTIMATE GROUP)

a.	Under 18	1
b.	18 to 24	2
c.	25 to 34	3
d.	35 to 44	4
e.	45 to 54	5
f.	55 to 64	6
g.	65 and over	7

H. What is your religious preference, if any?

Protestant	1
Catholic	2
Jewish	3
Other _____	4
None	5
Not ascertained	0

I. Do you own this residence or are you renting it?

Own	1
Rent	2
Don't know	0

J. How many people live in this household altogether, including children and babies?

Household Total = _____

How many persons in this household are under age 19?

Total under 19 = _____

K. Are you married, single, widowed, separated or divorced?

Married	1
Single	2
Widowed	3
Separated or divorced	4

L. About how long have you lived in this particular neighborhood?

Less than one year	1
1-4 years	2
5-8 years	3
9-12 years	4
13 years or more	5
Can't recall	0

M. Have you or has anyone in this household recently received any financial help from a public welfare agency?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	0

N. There's quite a bit of talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the upper class, the upper middle class, the middle class, the working class, or the lower class.

If you had to make a choice, would you say you belong to the upper class, the upper middle class, the middle class, the working class, or the lower class?

Upper	1
Upper middle	2
Middle	3
Working	4
Lower	5
Don't know	0

O. Now here is a list of income categories. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Would you call off the letter of the category that best describes the combined annual income of all members of this household, including wages or salary, pensions, interest or dividends, and all other sources?

a.	Under $5,000	1
b.	$5,000 to $9,999	2
c.	$10,000 to $14,999	3
d.	$15,000 to $19,999	4
e.	$20,000 to $24,999	5
f.	$25,000 to $29,999	6
g.	$30,000 or more	7
	Don't know	0

P. INTERVIEWER: ESTIMATE INCOME CATEGORY.

a.	Under $10,000	1
b.	$10,000 to $14,999	2
c.	$15,000 to $24,999	3
d.	$25,000 and over	4

Q. Respondent's sex:

Female	1
Male	2

R. Respondent's race/ethnic background:

Race		Hispanic	
Caucasian	1	Yes	1
Black	2	No	2
Other _____	3		

S. Type of residence:

Single family: detached, row-house, townhouse	1
Double (duplex): detached, row-house, townhouse	2
Apartment: high-rise, low-rise, garden	3
Mobile home	4
Other (write in) _____	5

(RECORD AFTER LEAVING HOUSE)

T. Type of neighborhood:

Neat, clean, well-kept:

Upper class	1
Middle class	2
Working class	3
Poor	0

APPENDIX 3

Questionnaires

NATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION CAMPAIGN

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

WITH MARGINAL RESPONSES

(April - May 1980)

Columns

6 Geographic Region---- 1 through 9

1. NE 90(6)
2. MA 270(18)
3. ENC 285(19)
4. WNC 121(8)
5. SA 239(16)
6. ESC 90(6)
7. WSC 149(10)
8. MT 61(4)
9. PAC 197(13)

10 Size of Place---- 1 through 8

Metropolitan Areas

1. Central cities 1,000,000+ 136(9)
2. Suburbs of 1,000,000+ 134(9)
3. Central cities 250,000 - 1,000,000 208(14)
4. Suburbs of 250,000 - 1,000,000 169(11)
5. Central cities 50,000 - 250,000 203(14)
6. Suburbs of 50,000 - 250,000 202(13)

Non-Metropolitan Areas

7. Cities 10,000 - 50,000 106(7)
8. Towns under 10,000 344(23)

11,12 State 1 through 50

National Sample -- Numbers given U.S. States

01 Alabama 30(2)
02 Arizona 15(1)
03 Arkansas 45(3)
04 California 135(9)
05 Colorado 15(1)
06 Connecticut 15(1)
07 Delaware 15(1)
08 District of Columbia 15(1)
09 Florida 60(4)
10 Georgia 23(2)
11 Idaho
12 Illinois 75(5)
13 Indiana 46(3)
14 Iowa 55(4)
15 Kansas
16 Kentucky 15(1)
17 Louisiana 30(2)
18 Maine
19 Maryland 15(1)
20 Massachusetts 45(3)
21 Michigan 43(3)
22 Minnesota 15(1)
23 Mississippi 15(1)
24 Missouri 30(2)
25 Montana 15(1)
26 Nebraska 15(1)
27 Nevada
28 New Hampshire 15(1)
29 New Jersey 52(4)
30 New Mexico
31 New York 128(9)
32 North Carolina 37(3)
33 North Dakota
34 Ohio 77(5)
35 Oklahoma 15(1)
36 Oregon 46(3)
37 Pennsylvania 90(6)
38 Rhode Island 14(1)
39 South Carolina 31(2)
40 South Dakota 5(0)
41 Tennessee 30(2)
42 Texas 60(4)
43 Utah 15(1)
44 Vermont
45 Virginia 45(3)
46 Washington 15(1)
47 West Virginia
48 Wisconsin 45(3)
49 Wyoming

Note: Alaska and Hawaii are not assigned code numbers as they are not in our national sample.

TUDY #688 APRIL 1980 COUNTY_____ PLACE_____ Blk.#_____

Time started_____

Time finished_____

Total minutes_____ 14,15

'm _____ from The Roper Organization and we're conducting a survey about matters that concern people these days. Here's the first question.

a. Everybody has some things he or she worries or is concerned about more or less. What kinds of things do you worry about most? (DO NOT READ LIST)

	1a. Most	1b. What else
Crime in abstract	106(7)	62(4)
Crime in specific, self	98(7)	65(4)
Bringing up children	167(11)	108(7)
Money, finances	685(46)	239(16)
Health of self, family	261(17)	172(12)
Well-being of parents/close relatives	101(7)	86(6)
Peace, war, Iran, international crises	230(15)	186(12)
Other: specify_____	228(15)	210(14)
No responses	120(8)	401(27)

b. What else? (RECORD ABOVE)

c. (ASK IF CRIME NOT MENTIONED IN Qs. 1a OR b) Do you ever worry about being robbed or mugged or becoming a victim of a burglary or some other crime? 18/

Yes.. 507(34) No.. 677(45) Don't know... 19(1)

d. (ASK IF CRIME IS MENTIONED IN Qs. 1a,1b OR YES IN 1c) When you worry about being robbed, burglarized or mugged, what concerns you the most--the possibility of losing things that are very valuable to you or the possibility of being harmed or injured? 19/

Loss of valuables	102(7)
Injury or harm	447(30)
Don't know, hard to tell	51(3)

e. (ASK IF "HEALTH" MENTIONED IN Qs. 1a OR 1b) In your concern about health, are you worried more about preventing illness or getting over some illness or condition? 20/

Preventing illness	213(14)
Getting over illness	80(5)
Both	95(6)
Don't know	0

(ASK EVERYONE)

2. How much do you know about the best ways to keep healthy? Do you know a great deal about it, a little bit, or hardly anything at all? 21/

Great deal	775(52)
Little bit	588(39)
Hardly anything	119(8)
Don't know	0

3. In comparing yourself to other people, are you more likely, or less likely, to be asked for your ideas and opinions about the best ways to keep healthy? 22/

More likely	342(23)
Less likely	542(36)
Same, no difference (vol.)	485(32)
Don't know	0

4. From which three sources on this card do you get most of your information and ideas about how to keep healthy? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) 23/

a. Personal doctor or dentist	999(67)
b. Newspapers	303(20)
c. Nurses, social workers and other health workers	192(13)
d. Books	431(29)
e. Friends and neighbors	302(20)
f. Local hospitals, clinics	227(15)
g. Television	464(31)
h. Teachers	45(3)
i. Magazines	361(24)
j. Parents	136(9)
k. Radio	71(5)
l. People at work	103(7)
m. Religious organizations	64(4)
n. Local health organizations and agencies	178(12)
o. Pamphlets and brochures	194(13)
p. Advertisements and public service announcements	121(8)
Other (vol.)_____	38(3)
Don't know	9(1)
None of these	13(1)

5. What are you personally doing to keep well and healthy these days? Please be specific. (DO NOT READ LIST) 26/

Running, jogging	167(11)
Other exercise, "working out"	511(34)
Playing sports or athletic games	137(9)
Spending time outdoors, camping, hiking	105(7)
Dieting, avoiding foods	623(42)
Cutting down/out smoking	121(8)
Cutting down/out drinking	57(4)
Cutting down on activities, relaxing more	96(6)
Meditating	35(2)
Getting medical/dental checkups	265(18)
Other (specify)_____	332(22)
Nothing	244(16)
Don't know	7(1)

6. During the twelve months just passed, did you go to a doctor, to a dentist, or a clinic for a checkup even though nothing was bothering you? 27/

Yes	1060(71)
No	439(29)

Now to a very different topic...

7. How often do you purchase goods or services as a result of advertisements you've seen or heard. Do you do that very often, fairly often, or hardly ever at all? 28/

Very often	112(8)	Hardly ever	982(65)
Fairly often	384(26)	Don't know	0

8. Most advertisements and commercials advertise different products and other things that people can buy. But there are also other kinds of commercials and advertisements that tell people about how they can stay healthy, what they can do to help themselves, where to go for help at social service agencies, and so forth. These are called public service announcements and advertisements, and they tell about things like traffic safety, cancer prevention, help with alcohol and drug problems, crime prevention and so on.

In general, how much attention do you give to public service ads: (HAND RESPONDENT CARD)

	A lot	Some	Hardly any	Don't know	
a. On television?	443(30)	662(44)	383(26)	0	29/
b. On radio?	183(12)	569(38)	716(48)	0	30/
c. In newspapers?	245(16)	596(40)	628(42)	0	31/
d. In magazines?	171(11)	523(35)	764(51)	0	32/

9. All in all, which one of the kinds of public service advertising--television, radio, newspapers or magazines--do you pay the most attention to? 34/

Television	908(61)
Radio	114(8)
Newspapers	233(16)
Magazines	118(8)
Don't know	118(8)

10. Public service ads cover many different kinds of things overall. Here is a list of some of the things that public service ads are concerned with. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) For each item on the card, please tell me how much attention you pay to public service ads dealing with that topic--do you usually pay a lot of attention, some attention, or hardly any attention at all to them?

	A lot	Some	Hardly any	Don't know	
1. Traffic safety	566(38)	552(37)	375(25)	0	35/
2. Drug abuse	583(39)	470(31)	434(29)	0	36/
3. Military recruitment	142(10)	286(19)	1049(70)	0	37/
4. Job opportunities	281(19)	467(31)	734(49)	0	38/
5. Consumer protection	612(41)	585(39)	285(19)	0	39/
6. Personal health and medical	723(48)	563(38)	208(14)	0	40/
7. Educational opportunities	373(25)	515(34)	592(39)	0	41/
8. Community welfare services	209(14)	565(38)	705(47)	0	42/
9. Recreational opportunities	255(17)	576(38)	640(43)	0	43/
10. Crime prevention	648(43)	596(40)	248(17)	0	44/
11. Alcohol abuse	312(21)	517(34)	652(43)	0	45/
12. Energy conservation	704(47)	539(36)	247(16)	0	46/
13. Help for the disabled	383(26)	655(44)	445(30)	0	47/
14. Youth organizations	244(16)	562(37)	673(45)	0	48/
15. Volunteer recruitment	79(5)	430(29)	963(63)	0	49/
16. Relief efforts for underprivileged	212(14)	652(43)	610(41)	0	50/
17. Requests for contributions to charity	153(10)	647(43)	676(45)	0	51/
18. Fire prevention	603(40)	621(41)	261(17)	0	52/
19. Help for the disadvantaged	290(13)	718(48)	465(31)	0	53/
20. Religious messages	343(23)	552(37)	582(39)	0	54/
21. Registration to vote	343(23)	550(37)	589(39)	0	55/
22. Keeping fit, staying healthy	698(47)	566(38)	220(15)	0	56/

11. (ASK RESPONDENT TO LOOK AT CARD FROM Q.10 AGAIN) Now, which of the kinds of public service ads on the card do you usually pay the most attention to? And which do you pay the next most attention to? Please give me their numbers.

Most attention #_____

Second most #_____ None of them..99

12. All in all, do you find public service ads to be very convincing, somewhat convincing, or hardly convincing at all?

Very convincing	264(18)	61/
Somewhat convincing	923(62)	
Hardly convincing	241(16)	
Don't know	0	

11.		Pay most attention to	Pay second most attention to
1.	Traffic safety	89(6)	56(14)
2.	Drug abuse	155(10)	75(5)
3.	Military recruitment	32(3)	63(4)
4.	Job opportunities	77(5)	54(4)
5.	Consumer protection	153(10)	125(8)
6.	Personal health	206(14)	144(10)
7.	Educational opportunities	38(3)	68(5)
8.	Community welfare services	19(1)	27(2)
9.	Recreational opportunities	20(1)	29(2)
10.	Crime prevention	108(7)	128(9)
11.	Alcohol abuse	20(1)	40(3)
12.	Energy conservation	146(10)	185(12)
13.	Help for the disabled	31(2)	34(2)
14.	Youth organizations	14(1)	27(2)
15.	Volunteer recruitment	4(0)	3(0)
16.	Relief efforts for underprivledged	9(1)	18(1)
17.	Contributions to charity	3(0)	12(1)
18.	Fire prevention	36(2)	68(5)
19.	Help for the disadvantaged	11(1)	24(2)
20.	Religious messages	93(6)	60(4)
21.	Registration to vote	9(1)	19(1)
22.	Keeping fit	152(10)	150(10)

13. How helpful would you say are public service advertisements in making people like yourself aware of problems that may affect their well-being? Are they very helpful, fairly helpful, or hardly helpful at all? 62/

Very helpful..... 451(30)
Fairly helpful..... 764((51)
Hardly helpful..... 223(15)
Don't know.....

14. In terms of helping people like yourself to solve problems they may have, would you say that public service advertisements are very helpful, fairly helpful, or hardly helpful at all? 63/

Very helpful..... 297(20)
Fairly helpful..... 727(48)
Hardly helpful..... 404(27)
Don't know..... 0

15. Have you yourself ever written or phoned in to get more information about something you heard or read about in a public service advertisement? 64/

Yes..... 309(21)
No.....1148(76)
Can't recall...0

16. How satisfied were you with the information you received--were you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, or hardly satisfied at all? 65/

Very..... 149(10)
Fairly..... 111(7)
Hardly at all.... 32(2)
Don't know..... 0

17. Can you tell me about any one particular recent public service ad that stands out in your memory? (RECORD VERBATIM REPLY AND CODE)

VERBATIM REPLY:_____

CODE REPLY AS FOLLOWS: 66/

Mentions "Detective Dog," crime dog, "Take a bite out of crime," etc..... 6(0)
Mentions other crime prevention ad.....57(4)
Mentions health, medical service ad.....209(14)
Mentions energy/conservation ad. 61(4)
Mentions ad other than above (specify topic)_____ 270(18)
Mentions no ad..... 0

18. How about public service ads that look something like these? (SHOW DETECTIVE DOG ADVERTISEMENT) Have you ever seen any advertisements or commercials like these on television or in newspapers or magazines, or heard ones with this "Bite out of crime" theme on the radio? 67/

Yes, recognized ad... 441(29)
No, can't recall.... 1051(70)

19. Can you tell me about any one particular crime prevention ad that stands out most in your memory? (RECORD VERBATIM REPLY AND CODE)

VERBATIM REPLY_____

CODE: Recalled an advertisement 241(16) 68/
Can't recall..... 758(51)

20. Where did you happen to see or hear that ad--on television, radio, in a newspaper, in a magazine, on a billboard, on a poster, or on a car card in a train or bus? 69/

Television..... 471(31)
Radio..... 49(3)
Newspaper..... 41(3)
Magazine..... 48(3)
Billboard..... 42(3)
Poster..... 35(2)
Car card..... 9(1)
Can't recall..... 45(3)

21. What do you think that ad was trying to get across? (RECORD VERBATIM REPLY AND CODE)

VERBATIM REPLY_____

CODE: Recalled something.....595(40) 70/
No recall..... 34(2)

22a. Did that ad show or tell you anything that you did not already know before? 71/

Yes..... 104(7)
No, don't know..... 574(38)

b. (IF "YES") What was that? (PROBE) Did you find out anything else from that ad--whether you had known it before or not? (RECORD AND SKIP TO Q.24a)

VERBATIM REPLY_____

23a. (IF CRIME PREVENTION NOT MENTIONED IN Q.22b, PROBE): Did you find out anything about crime or crime prevention? 72/

Yes.....176(12)
No.....438(29)

b. (IF "YES") What was that?

VERBATIM REPLY_____

24a. Did you feel that that particular ad was getting through to you, or not? 73/

Yes.....489(33)
No.....129(9)
Don't know... 56(4)

b. Why do you think so?

VERBATIM REPLY_____

25a. Did the ad make you feel more pleased than annoyed, or more annoyed than pleased? 7/

More pleased.....377(25)
More annoyed..... 59(4)
Neither.....165(11)
Don't know..... 74(5)

b. Why is that?

VERBATIM REPLY_____

26. What if anything about that ad would you consider worth passing along to your friends or relatives? (RECORD VERBATIM REPLY AND CODE)

VERBATIM REPLY_____

CODE:
Mentioned something.... 415(28) 8/
Nothing, can't recall.. 229(15)

27. As a result of that ad, did you do anything that you probably would not have done if you hadn't seen or heard it? 9/

Yes.....141(9)
No.....494(33)
Can't recall.. 41(3)

28a. What specifically did you do? (RECORD VERBATIM REPLY AND CODE)

VERBATIM REPLY_____

CODE:

Any mention of calling/ writing for crime information.....	3(0)	10/
All other mentions....	123(8)	
Did nothing, can't recall.....	5(0)	

b. (IF CALLING OR WRITING FOR INFORMATION ABOUT CRIME PREVENTION NOT MENTIONED) Did you happen to write or phone for more information about crime prevention?

Yes.....	3(0)	11/
No.....	112(8)	
Can't recall....	0	

c. (IF GETTING MORE INFORMATION MENTIONED IN Q.28a, OR IF YES TO Q.28b) Have you received the information you requested?

Yes.....	4(0)	12/
No.....		
Can't recall...	0	

d. Did you find that information helpful or not helpful? 13/

Helpful.....	3(0)
Not helpful....	
Don't know.....	1(0)

29a. Why not?

VERBATIM REPLY_____

29b. (PROBE IF NECESSARY) Was there anything in the ad itself which turned you off, or were there other reasons?

VERBATIM REPLY_____

30a. Are you thinking about doing something in the future that was suggested by the ad that we've been talking about?

Yes.....	133(9)	14/
No.....	486(32)	
Don't know.....	47(3)	

b. What specifically are you thinking about doing?

VERBATIM REPLY_____

31. All in all, did that ad make you any more concerned about crime than you were before, any less concerned, or didn't it make any difference at all in that way?

More concerned.....	271(18)	15/
No difference.....	388(26)	
Less concerned....	5(0)	
Don't know.....	0	

32. Did it make you personally feel any more confident about being able to protect yourself from crime, any less confident, or didn't it make any difference at all in that way?

More confident.....	228(15)	16/
No difference.....	410(27)	
Less confident.....	20(1)	
Don't know.....	0	

33. How often do you watch police, crime, or detective programs on television? Do you watch them very often, sometimes, or hardly ever at all?

Very often.....	339(23)	17/
Sometimes.....	570(38)	
Hardly ever.....	575(38)	
Don't know, varies.....	0	

34. Do you think that police, crime, and detective programs on television give a very accurate picture of crime in America, a somewhat accurate picture, or not a very accurate picture at all of crime in America?

Very accurate.....	149(10)	Not accurate at all.....	537(36)	18/
Somewhat accurate...	645(43)	Don't know, varies.....	167(11)	

35. How much attention do you ordinarily give to news about crime: (HAND RESPONDENT CARD)

	A lot of attention	Some attention	Hardly any or none	Don't know	
a. on TV?.....	686(46)	632(42)	180(12)	0	19/
b. on the radio?.....	364(24)	568(38)	550(37)	0	20/
c. in the newspapers?.....	553(37)	639(43)	298(20)	0	21/
d. in magazines?.....	203(14)	461(31)	815(54)	0	22/

36. In your opinion, do newspapers, radio, TV and magazines report too many stories about crimes that take place, too few, or just about enough?

Too many.....	447(30)	23/
Too few.....	207(14)	
Enough.....	760(51)	
Don't know.....	0	

37. Do the newspapers, radio, TV and magazines carry too much, too little, or just about enough information about what can be done to prevent crimes from happening?

Too much information.....	75(5)	24/
Too little information.....	734(49)	
Enough information.....	685(39)	
Don't know.....	0	

38. Please take this card (HAND RESPONDENT CARD). Look at the statements and tell me which one you agree with most.

Crime is MORE serious than the newspapers and TV say.....	777(52)	25/
Crime is ABOUT as serious as the newspapers and TV say.....	590(39)	
Crime is LESS serious than the newspapers and TV say.....	49(3)	
Don't know/no opinion.....	0	

39. Now, let's suppose you got different or conflicting reports of a particular crime news story of interest to you from radio, television, the magazines and the newspapers. Which one of the four versions would you be most inclined to believe--the one on radio, or TV, or in the newspaper, or magazine? 26/

Radio	80(5)
TV	724(48)
Newspaper	394(26)
Magazine	85(6)
None	78(5)
Don't know	0

40. On the average weekday, how much time do you usually spend watching television from the time you get up until you go to sleep? 27/

Less than two hours	372(25)
2 to less than 4 hours	646(43)
4 or more hours	437(32)
Don't know	

41. On an average weekday, how much time do you usually spend listening to the radio, both inside and outside your home? 28/

Less than 2 hours	813(54)
2 to less than 4 hours	317(21)
4 or more hours	344(23)
Don't know	0

42. How much time do you usually spend looking at a newspaper on an average weekday? 29/

None	196(13)
1-20 minutes	376(25)
21-40 minutes	403(27)
41-60 minutes	333(22)
61 minutes or more	172(12)
Don't know	17(1)

43. About how many different magazines do you usually get to look at or read over a month's time? 30/

None	333(22)
One	208(14)
2-3	467(31)
4 or more	453(30)
Don't know	28(2)

44. On this card are two approaches different people have to different activities. Both may apply to how you feel. But, please tell me the one statement, A or B, that applies to you more for each activity I will read to you. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD)

	"A"	"B"	Don't know	
a. Reading books?	645(43)	659(44)	0	31/
b. Looking at or reading magazines?	618(41)	682(45)	0	32/
c. Listening to the radio?	945(63)	410(27)	0	33/
d. Watching television?	1101(73)	323(22)	0	34/
e. Joining clubs or organizations?	322(21)	660(44)	0	35/
f. Going to the movies?	910(61)	176(12)	0	36/
g. Looking at or reading newspapers?	377(25)	998(66)	0	37/

45. Here is a card with news stories that appear in the media. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) For each, please tell me whether you usually pay a lot of attention to that kind of story, some attention, or hardly any attention at all?

	A lot	Some	Hardly any	Don't know	
a. Sports stories	417(28)	392(26)	684(46)	0	38/
b. International news	767(51)	603(40)	127(9)	0	39/
c. Local community news	785(52)	587(39)	127(9)	0	40/
d. National news	847(56)	558(37)	88(6)	0	41/
e. Stories about science and technology	348(23)	562(37)	576(38)	0	42/
f. Local political news	342(23)	682(45)	474(32)	0	43/
g. Human interest stories	488(33)	757(50)	246(16)	0	44/
h. General news about the President, Congress and the Supreme Court	507(34)	714(48)	277(18)	0	45/
i. News about crime	627(42)	714(48)	156(10)	0	46/
j. News about health and medicine in general	646(43)	701(47)	152(10)	0	47/
k. News about keeping fit and healthy specifically	601(40)	665(44)	227(15)	0	48/
l. News about energy and environmental conservation	642(43)	648(43)	207(14)	0	49/
m. News about the world of entertainment	242(16)	699(47)	554(37)	0	50/
n. News about what is happening in this year's Presidential campaign	515(34)	642(43)	338(23)	0	51/

46. (ASK FOR EACH ITEM ANSWERED "A LOT" OR "SOME" IN Q.45)
Now, for each type of story to which you pay "a lot" or "some" attention, please tell me whether you depend more on television or depend more on the newspaper for that kind of story. Do you rely more on television or more on the newspaper for: (ASK FOR EACH ITEM CIRCLED "3" OR "2" IN Q.45)

	TV	Newspapers	Neither	Don't know	
a. Sports stories?	496(33)	259(17)	21(1)	0	52/
b. International news?	1001(67)	300(20)	28(2)	0	53/
c. Local community news?	558(37)	750(50)	33(2)	0	54/
d. National news?	1048(70)	295(20)	23(2)	0	55/
e. Stories about science and technology?	471(31)	307(20)	92(6)	0	56/
f. Local political news?	455(30)	513(34)	21(1)	0	57/
g. Human interest stories?	624(42)	509(34)	56(4)	0	58/
h. General news about the President, Congress and the Supreme Court.	870(58)	283(19)	21(1)	0	59/
i. News about crime?	818(55)	454(30)	24(2)	0	60/
j. News about health and medicine in general?	648(43)	524(35)	129(9)	0	61/
k. News about keeping fit and healthy specifically?	598(40)	474(32)	153(10)	0	62/
l. News about energy and environmental conservation?	744(50)	431(29)	67(5)	0	63/
m. News about the world of entertainment?	544(36)	315(21)	46(3)	0	64/
n. News about what is happening in this year's Presidential campaign	854(57)	247(16)	18(11)	0	65/

47. Do you know most of the people in this immediate neighborhood, some of the people, or hardly any of the people in this neighborhood? 66/

Most of the people	538(36)
Some	590(39)
Hardly any	368(25)
Don't know	0

48. All in all, is this the kind of neighborhood where people seem to go their own way, or is it the kind of neighborhood where people seem to be really concerned about each other? 67/

Go own way	749(50)
Concerned about each other	649(43)
Don't know	0

49. Do you get along well with most of the people in this neighborhood, some of the people, or hardly any of the people? 68/

Most of the people	1134(76)
Some	254(17)
Hardly any	49(3)
Don't know	0

50. About how often during the past seven days have you had talks with people in this neighborhood, that is, with people who are not in your own family and household? 69/

0 times	278(19)
1 - 3 times	646(43)
4 - 6 times	246(18)
7 or more times	313(21)

51. When you talk with neighbors and people you consider close to you, including family and friends, do you discuss things about crime very often, sometimes, or hardly ever at all? 70/

Very often	123(8)
Sometimes	595(40)
Hardly ever at all	496(33)
Don't know	0

52. When you discuss crime, how often do you exchange ideas about what citizens like yourself can do to prevent crime--very often, sometimes, or hardly ever at all? 71/

Very often	111(7)
Sometimes	491(33)
Hardly ever at all	596(40)
Don't know	0

53. In comparison to other people like yourself, are you more likely or less likely to be asked for your ideas and opinions about what's going on in this neighborhood? 72/

More likely	321(21)
Less likely	696(46)
The same, as likely	358(24)
Don't know	0

54. And, are you more likely or less likely to be asked for your ideas and opinions about what to do to prevent crimes in this neighborhood? 73/

More likely	246(16)
Less likely	750(50)
The same, as likely	367(24)
Don't know	

55. Which happens most often--people come to you for your ideas and advice about things to do to prevent crimes or do you go to others for ideas and advice about things to do to prevent crimes? 74/

People come to me	288(19)
I go to other people	484(32)
Don't know	

56a. Looking now at all sources of information--mass media, other people, and the rest--how often in the past 12 months have you come across information on how to protect yourself and your household against crime? Have you seen or heard such information often, occasionally or never? 75/

Often	298(20)
Occasionally	903(60)
Never	215(14)
Don't know	0

b. Do you pay a lot of attention to this kind of information when you come across it, some attention to it, or not much attention at all? 76/

A lot	370(25)
Some	657(44)
Not much	152(10)
Don't know	0

80-2

57. Overall, how much of a need do you have at this time for that kind of information? Would you say that you have a great need, a small need, or hardly any need at all for such information? 7/

Great need	264(18)
Small need	555(37)
Hardly any need	341(23)
Don't know	0

58. Generally speaking, do you believe that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? 8/

Can be trusted	711(47)
Can't be too careful	716(48)
Don't know	0

59. Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves? 9/

Try to be helpful	850(57)
Just look out for selves	560(37)
Don't know	0

60. Do you feel that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair? 10/

Would try to be fair	900(60)
Would take advantage	458(31)
Don't know	0

61. I am going to read you some statements with which you may agree or disagree. From this card tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	
a. In spite of what some people say, the life of the average person is getting worse	233(15)	625(42)	93(6)	486(32)	73(5)	11/
b. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future	129(9)	448(30)	131(9)	641(43)	152(10)	12/
c. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself	150(10)	616(41)	60(4)	542(36)	129(9)	13/
d. These days a person doesn't really know who can be counted on	159(11)	629(42)	104(7)	543(36)	66(4)	14/
e. There's little use in writing to public officials, because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average person	273(18)	566(38)	181(12)	429(29)	51(3)	15/

62. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) How much of the time do you think you can trust the Federal Government in Washington to do what is best for the people? 16/

Just about always	20(1)
Most of the time	267(18)
Some of the time	711(47)
Hardly at all	448(30)
Don't know	0

63. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) How much of the time do you think you can trust the local government here to do what is best for the people? 17/

Just about always	40(3)
Most of the time	403(27)
Some of the time	704(47)
Hardly at all	283(19)
Don't know	0

64. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) And how much of the time do you think you can trust local police officers here to act honestly and fairly? 18/

Just about always	267(18)
Most of the time	677(45)
Some of the time	379(25)
Hardly at all	123(8)
Don't know	0

65. How interested are you generally in what goes on in politics and governmental affairs in this community--are you very interested, somewhat interested, or hardly interested at all? 19/

Very interested	349(23)
Somewhat interested	741(49)
Hardly interested	396(26)
Don't know	0

66. How interested are you generally in what goes on in politics and governmental affairs nationally--are you very interested, somewhat interested, or hardly interested at all? 20/

Very interested	495(33)
Somewhat interested	692(46)
Hardly interested	302(20)
Don't know	0

67. Now I'd like to get your opinions about crime in general.

Within the past year or two, do you think that crime in your neighborhood has increased, decreased, or remained about the same? 21/

Increased	436(29)
Same	828(55)
Decreased	82(6)
Not been here that long	70(5)
Don't know	0

68. Were the crimes you had in mind mostly the kind that involve the loss of property and things that people value; or, do they mostly involve physical injury to people, or; are they mostly the so-called "victimless" crimes that don't involve loss or injury, such as gambling and prostitution? 22/

Property crimes	357(24)
Injury crimes	85(6)
"Victimless" crimes	24(2)
Don't know	0

69. How safe do you feel or would you feel being out alone in your neighborhood AT NIGHT--very safe, reasonably safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe? 23/

Very safe	432(29)
Reasonably safe	668(45)
Somewhat unsafe	253(17)
Very unsafe	128(9)
Don't know	0

70. How dangerous do you think this neighborhood is compared to other neighborhoods in (name of "place" of your assignment, SEE P.1) in terms of crime? Do you believe it is much more dangerous, more dangerous, about average, less dangerous, or much less dangerous? 24/

Much more dangerous	20(1)
More dangerous	76(5)
About average	591(39)
Less dangerous	518(35)
Much less dangerous	243(16)
Don't know; can't tell	0

71. Is this neighborhood dangerous enough to make you think seriously about moving somewhere else if it were possible? 25/

Yes	101(7)
No	1368(91)
Don't know	0

72. Have you yourself been a victim of a crime during the past few years? 26/

Yes	354(24)
No	1148(76)

73. Did you lose anything of value in these incidents? 27/

Yes	304(20)
No	50(3)
Don't know	

74a. Were you personally physically injured during these incidents? 28/

Yes	28(2)
No	326(22)
Don't know	0

b. How seriously were you injured--very seriously, fairly seriously, or not too seriously? 29/

Very seriously	11(1)
Fairly	9(1)
Not too seriously	8(1)
Don't know	0

75. Did this take place in your home or on your property, elsewhere in this neighborhood, elsewhere in this community, or in some other community? 30/

On property	235(16)
In neighborhood	30(2)
In community	38(3)
In other community	51(3)
Don't recall	

76. Has any member of your immediate family (whether or not in same household) been a victim of a crime during the past few years? 31/

Yes	329(22)
No, don't know	1170(78)

77. Overall, would you say you are very interested, fairly interested, or hardly at all interested in crime prevention? 32/

Very interested	784(52)
Fairly interested	572(38)
Hardly interested	125(8)
Don't know	0

78a. Compared to this time a year ago, are you more interested or less interested in crime prevention? 33/

More interested	660(44)
Less interested	49(3)
Same (vol.)	767(51)
Don't know	

b. Please tell me if any of the items listed on this card (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) had an influence on that. 34/

a. Brochures, leaflets or booklets on crime or crime prevention that you've read	102(7)
b. Crime prevention public service ads that you've seen on TV, radio, or in newspapers and magazines	279(19)
c. News stories you have seen or heard about crimes or crime prevention	305(20)
d. Fictional things you've read or seen in the media about crime stories	47(3)
e. Crime or crime prevention talks you've had with other people	159(11)
f. Actual crimes that have been committed against you or against people you know	276(18)

Other influences (vol.) (specify)

_____

_____

_____ 26(2)

None 43(3)

79a. In your opinion, is the police protection in this neighborhood more than adequate, just adequate, or hardly adequate at all? 35/

More than adequate	208(14)
Just adequate	949(63)
Hardly adequate	271(18)
Don't know	0

b. How likely would you say it is that this neighborhood will get enough police protection in the next twelve months to satisfy you--is it very likely, somewhat likely, or hardly likely at all? 36/

Very likely	7(1)
Somewhat likely	41(3)
Hardly likely	205(14)
Don't know	0

How would you rate the street lighting in this neighborhood--is there more than enough to protect residents against crime, is there just enough lighting, or is there not enough lighting for protection?

More than enough..... 187(13) 37/
Just enough..... 841(56)
Not enough..... 462(31)
Don't know..... 0

Would you say that the chances of getting enough lighting into this neighborhood in the next 12 months are very good, good, fair, or poor?

Very good..... 5(0) 38/
Good..... 15(1)
Fair..... 49(3)
Poor..... 327(22)
Don't know..... 0

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD) How good a job of prevention or reducing crime would you say...

	Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	Don't know	
a. The local police are doing?	245(16)	629(42)	456 (30)	109 (7)	0	39/
b. The other people in this neighborhood are doing?	143(10)	544(36)	414 (28)	97 (7)	0	40/
c. The local courts are doing?	49(3)	293(20)	482 (32)	425 (28)	0	41/
d. The local newspapers and TV and radio stations are doing?	93(6)	586(39)	522 (35)	112 (8)		42/
e. Local volunteer organizations, clubs, and groups are doing?	92(6)	374(25)	357 (24)	128 (9)	0	43/
f. Local elected officials are doing?	46(3)	317(21)	562 (37)	301 (20)	0	44/

Do you usually try to keep an eye on what's going on in the street in front of your home, or do you usually not notice?

Usually keep eye..... 1122(75) 45/
Usually don't notice..... 321(21)
Not applicable/can't see front of house..... 45(3)
Don't know..... 0

In the past year, have you contacted the police to report a crime or some suspicious activity in your neighborhood?

Yes..... 348(23) 46/
No..... 1135(76)
Can't recall... 0

About how many times have you contacted the police?

Once..... 184(12) 47/
Two-three times 109(7)
Four or more... 49(3)
Don't know..... 6

83c. The last time you called the police was that mainly because of things that involved you or your immediate family; or mainly because of things that involved people you knew, or mainly because of things that involved people you didn't know?

Mainly self/family.... 156(10) 48/
Mainly people known... 77(5)
Mainly people unknown. 104(7)
Don't know..... 0

d. How satisfied were you with what the police did after you contacted them--were you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or hardly satisfied at all?

Very satisfied..... 157(11) 49/
Somewhat satisfied.... 84(6)
Hardly satisfied..... 91(6)
Don't know..... 0

84a. Compared to how you felt a year ago, are you more inclined or less inclined to call the police--even if you just suspect that a crime may take place?

More inclined....760 (51) 50/
Less inclined....126 (8)
Same..... 578 (39)
Don't know.....

b. Did any of the items on this card (HAND RESPONDENT Q.78b CARD) have anything to do with that?

Yes..... 451 (30) 51/
No..... 241 (16)
Don't know.....

85. Would you say that you personally are doing a good job, a fair job, or a poor job of helping to reduce crime in this neighborhood?

Good job..... 373 (25) 52/
Fair job..... 528 (35)
Poor job..... 106 (7)
Not doing anything 445 (30)
Don't know.....

86. Have you heard or read about any of the following kinds of activities taking place in your neighborhood in the past couple of years? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD)

a. A neighborhood crime prevention meeting?..... 53/
b. A citizen's patrol of your neighborhood?.....
c. A crime prevention media information campaign?.....
d. A block watch or neighborhood watch program?.....
e. A whistlestop program?.....
None.....

87. In which of those activities that you have heard of have you, personally, ever taken an active part? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD AGAIN)

Neighborhood crime prevention meeting..... 54/
Citizen's neighborhood patrol.....
Crime prevention media information campaign.....
Block/neighborhood watch.....
Whistlestop program.....
None.....

88. How likely do you think it is that your residence will be broken into or burglarized during the next year--do you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?

Very likely..... 110 (7) 55/
Somewhat likely..... 406 (27)
Not very likely..... 713 (48)
Don't know.....

89. How likely do you think it is that you personally will be attacked or robbed within the next year--do you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, or not at all likely?

Very likely..... 49 (3) 56/
Somewhat likely..... 350 (24)
Not at all likely..... 750 (50)
Don't know.....

INSTRUCTION: IF "VERY" OR "SOMEWHAT LIKELY" IN QUESTION 88 OR QUESTION 89, ASK QUESTION 90. OTHERWISE, SKIP TO 91.

90. How serious would (being burglarized/being attacked or robbed) be for you--would it be very serious, somewhat serious, or hardly serious at all?

Very serious..... 399 (27) 57/
Somewhat serious..... 114 (8)
Hardly serious..... 29 (2)
Don't know.....

91. In general, have YOU personally limited or changed your activities in the past few years because of crime?

Yes..... 428 (29) 58/
No..... 1047 (70)
Don't know.....

92. Compared to most other people, would you say you are more concerned about protecting yourself from crime, about as concerned as others, or less concerned than others are?

More concerned..... 362 (24) 59/
About as concerned..... 992 (66)
Less concerned..... 114 (5)
Don't know.....

93. When it comes to helping prevent crimes in a neighborhood like this, do you believe that individual citizens have more responsibility than the police, less responsibility, or equal responsibility with the police?

More responsibility	320(21)	60/
Less responsibility	164(11)	
Equal responsibility	947(63)	
Don't know	0	

94. How confident do you feel that you as an individual can do things to help protect yourself from crime--do you feel very confident, somewhat confident, or not very confident at all?

Very confident	457(30)	61/
Somewhat confident	752(50)	
Not very confident	219(15)	
Don't know	0	

95. How much do you think you know about how to make yourself and your home less likely to be victimized by criminals--do you think you know a great deal, know some things, or don't you think you know much at all?

Know a great deal	383(26)	62/
Know some things	914(61)	
Don't know much	155(10)	
Don't know	0	

96. Many people think that the crime rate can be reduced if ordinary citizens take more precautions to protect themselves, such as securing their homes against intruders. Others say that such precautions make little difference in reducing crime. What do you think? Do you think precautions taken by ordinary citizens can reduce the crime rate a great deal, somewhat, or hardly at all?

A great deal	641(43)	63/
Somewhat	681(45)	
Hardly at all	115(8)	
Don't know	0	

97. Here is a list of some things people sometimes do to protect their homes against burglary. Please tell me which of them, if any, you've done in this household. Just read me the appropriate numbers. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) (IF PROVIDED BY LANDLORD, DON'T COUNT)

1. Property engraved with I.D.	235(16)	64/
2. Local police do security check of home	120(8)	
3. Special locks on doors/windows	738(49)	
4. Peep-hole/window in door	353(24)	
5. Outdoor lights for security	734(49)	
6. Anti-theft stickers on doors	127(9)	
7. Operating burglar alarm system	63(4)	
8. Dog at least partly for security	480(32)	
9. Theft insurance	724(48)	
10. Personal security devices--gun, tear gas, etc.	368(25)	
Other (specify) _____	21(1)	
None of them	193(13)	

98a. On this card are some things people sometimes do to protect themselves against crime. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Would you read through them and tell me which things you never do? (RECORD BELOW IN COLUMN 98a)

b. Now, please read through the remaining things you do at least some of the time. Of those, which do you always do, which do you do most of the time, and which do you only do once in a while. (RECORD BELOW)

	98a. Never	98b. Once in while	98b. Most of time	98b. Always	
a. Locking doors short time	136((9)	153(10)	327(22)	867(58)	65/
b. Keeping doors locked	120(8)	170(11)	416(28)	782(52)	66/
c. Locking windows screens short time	188(13)	155(10)	359(24)	781(52)	67/
d. Leaving on indoor lights	192(13)	251(17)	357(4)	687(46)	68/
e. Leaving on outdoor lights	362(24)	295(20)	298(20)	516(34)	69/
f. When away notifying police	1064(71)	143(10)	83(6)	194(13)	70/
g. When away stopping delivery	515(34)	139(9)	188(13)	637(42)	71/
h. When away neighbor watch	314(21)	196(13)	259(17)	713(48)	72/
i. When away using a timer	1044(70)	98(7)	105(7)	232(15)	73/
j. Going out with someone else	616(41)	402(27)	233(16)	225(15)	74/
k. Car instead of walking	448(30)	277(18)	314(21)	435(29)	75/
l. Taking some protection	886(59)	226(15)	146(10)	215(14)	76/
m. Avoiding places in neighborhood	771(51)	297 (20)	143(10)	270(18)	77/
n. Getting together with neighbors	826(55)	494(33)	88(6)	67(5)	78/
o. Joining with neighbors	925(62)	411(27)	85(6)	61(4)	79/

80-3

99. In the foreseeable future, do you think there is a very good chance that you will take more of these steps we've been talking about, some chance, or not much chance at all?

Very good chance	349(23)	7/
Some chance	647(43)	
Not much chance	403(27)	
Don't know	0	

100a. Altogether, how many organizations and clubs do you now belong to?

None	851(57)	8/
One	269(18)	
2	205(14)	
3 - 4	132(9)	
5 or more	43(3)	

100b. Do you belong to any organizations or clubs that are mostly concerned with public affairs?

Yes	266(18)	9/
No	376(25)	

c. Do you belong to any civic organizations or clubs, that are mostly concerned with improving things around here?

Yes	188(13)	10/
No	454(30)	

d. Overall, would you say you take a very active part in the clubs and organizations you belong to, a fairly active part, or a rather inactive part?

Very active	170(11)	11/
Fairly active	298(20)	
Inactive	175(12)	
Don't know	0	

101a. Have you ever been part of a community group or organization in your neighborhood that tried to do anything about crime in your neighborhood?

Yes.....	123(8)	12/
Now in process of being formed	34(2)	
No, can't recall.....	1340(89)	

b. (IF "YES") What kind of activities did the group carry out?

VERBATIM REPLY _____

c. Did you join this group during 1980 or before that? When?

During 1980...	7(1)	13/
Before 1980— When?.....	108(7)	
Can't recall..		

Date: _____

d. Why did you join the group?

VERBATIM REPLY _____

e. Did anything you saw or heard in the mass media play a part in your deciding to join the group?

Yes.....	29(2)	14/
No.....	93(6)	
Don't know....	0	

f. Did you ask to join the group on your own, or did someone in the group specifically ask you to join?

Asked on own.....	34(2)	15/
Respondent took initiative to form group.....	9(1)	
Was asked.....	71(5)	
Don't know.....	0	

g. When you joined the group, did you already know most of the members, or were most of the members strangers to you?

Knew most.....	70(5)	16/
Most strangers.....	47(3)	
Don't know.....	0	

101h. How long had you lived in the community before you joined the group?

Less than a month.....	4(0)	17/
One to three months.....	10(1)	
3+ months to a year.....	17(1)	
1+ year to 5 years.....	29(2)	
5+ years.....	54(4)	
Can't recall.....	0	

i. Did you join the group mostly because you were concerned about protecting yourself and those close to you from crime, or mostly because you were concerned about crime prevention in general?

Mostly self-protection...	32(2)	18/
Mostly general concern...	75(5)	
Don't know.....		

j. Besides working on crime prevention, did the group take part in social activities as well-- such as parties, outings, and the like?

Yes.....	44(3)	19/
No.....	73(5)	
Can't recall.	0	

k. As a member of that group, have you been very satisfied, somewhat satisfied or hardly satisfied at all with the success of its crime prevention activities?

Very satisfied.....	61(4)	20/
Somewhat satisfied.....	45(3)	
Hardly satisfied.....	12(1)	
Don't know.....		

l. Are you a member of the group at this time?

Yes.....	74(5)	21/
No.....	43(3)	
Don't know...	0	

m. In your opinion, did this group accomplish a lot in helping to reduce crime; did it do a little to reduce crime; or, did it not do very much at all to reduce crime?

A lot.....	50(3)	22/
A little.....	45(3)	
Not much.....	17(1)	
Don't know....	0	

102. (IF "NO" IN QUESTION 101a) How difficult would it be to get people in this neighborhood together to fight crime and to prevent crime? Would it be very difficult, fairly difficult, or not at all difficult?

Very difficult.....	252(17)	23/
Fairly difficult.....	382(25)	
Not at all difficult...	397(26)	
Don't know.....	0	

Now I need some information that will help us analyze your answers.

103. What was the last grade of regular school that you completed--not counting specialized schools like secretarial, art or trade schools?

No school.....	5(0)	24/
Grade school (1-8).....	165(11)	
Some high school (9-11)...	279(19)	
High school graduate (12).	543(36)	
Some college (13-15).....	269(18)	
College graduate (16).....	166(11)	
Post graduate (17+).....	71(5)	

104a. Are you at present employed, either full time or part time?

		25/
Full time.....	735(49)	
Part time.....	160(11)	
Not employed...	595(40)	

b. Are you (call off appropriate categories):

A housewife,.....	285(19)	26/
Unemployed,.....	52(4)	
A student,.....	32(2)	
Retired,.....	186(12)	
Or what? (all other)	21(1)	

c. What is your occupation?

Top management, top talent and major professional.....	56(4)	27/
Executive, administrative, lesser professional.....	114(8)	
Owner--small retail store or business.....	40(3)	
Farmers (owners and managers)...	6(0)	
Technicians, minor administrative	91(6)	
White collar, clerical (non-supervisory).....	120(8)	
Salesmen.....	49(3)	
Skilled and semi-skilled labor...	242(16)	
Unskilled labor.....	69(5)	
Service and protective workers..	81(5)	

105. Is anyone else living in this household employed full time?

Yes.....	832(55)	28/
No.....	658(44)	
Don't know.....		

106. How often do you make a special effort to get information that's important to you--very often, sometimes or hardly ever?

Very often.....	571(38)	29/
Sometimes.....	617(41)	
Hardly ever....	275(18)	
Don't know.....	0	

107. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Please look at this list, and tell me which of these things, if any, you've done yourself over the past year.

a. Written your congressman or senator	217(14)	30/
b. Attended a political rally.....	104(7)	
c. Attended a public meeting on town or school affairs.....	297(20)	
d. Held or run for political office...	12(1)	
e. Served on a committee.....	178(12)	
f. Served as an officer of some organization.....	133(9)	
g. Written a letter to the paper.....	77(5)	
h. Signed a petition.....	537(36)	
i. Worked for a political party.....	51(3)	
j. Made a speech.....	92(6)	31/
k. Written an article.....	48(3)	
l. Been a member of some group for better government.....	53(4)	
None of them.....	756(50)	

108. Which one statement on this card describes you best? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD)

a. When I come across a new idea that I can possibly use, I usually am among the first to try it out.....	586(39)	32/
b. I usually wait for a short time, at least until some of the people I know and trust try out the new idea, and then I give it serious consideration.....	461(31)	
c. I usually wait for quite a long time until most of the people I know and trust have tried out the new idea, and it is only then that I give it serious consideration.....	213(14)	
d. I consider new ideas very slowly and mostly when I really need to. I am the last to try new ideas out.	177(12)	
Don't know.....	63(4)	

109. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement on this card. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	
a. Every person should give some of their time for the good of their neighborhood or town or city	1302(87)	118(8)		3
b. People who fail to finish a job they promised to do should feel very badly about it	1199(80)	217(14)		3
c. We would be better off if we could live our own lives the way we want and not have to be concerned about doing things	380(25)	987(66)		3
d. In school I usually volunteered for special projects.	693(46)	643(43)		3
e. Letting your neighbors down occasionally is not so bad, because you just can't be doing good for everybody all the time	533(36)	828(55)		3

110. Which of these two statements best describes how you feel? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) 38/

a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.....634(42)

b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays a very important role in my life

Don't know.....694(46)

111. Here is a list of age groups. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Would you call off the letter of the age group you happen to be in? (IF REFUSED, INTERVIEWER ESTIMATE GROUP)

a. Under 18.....	2(0)	39/
b. 18 to 24.....	243(16)	
c. 25 to 34.....	376(25)	
d. 35 to 44.....	221(15)	
e. 45 to 54.....	221(15)	
f. 55 to 64.....	228(15)	
g. 65 and over....	206(14)	

112a. What is your religious preference, if any?

Protestant.....	830(55)	40/
Catholic.....	397(26)	
Jewish.....	47(3)	
Other _____	89(6)	
None.....	105(7)	
Not ascertained.....	0	

b. (IF "NONE") What religion, if any, were you brought up in?

Protestant.....	46(3)	41/
Catholic.....	19(1)	
Jewish.....	1(0)	
Other _____	7(1)	
None.....	26(2)	
Not ascertained.....	0	

113. Do you own this residence or are you renting i

Own.....	1013(67)	42
Rent.....	468(31)	
Don't know...	0	

114. How many people live in this household altogeth including children and babies?

Household Total = _____ 43/4

115. How many persons in this household are under a 19?

Total under 19 = _____ 45/4

116. Are you married, single, widowed, separated or divorced?

Married.....	1026(68)	47/
Single.....	243(16)	
Widowed.....	114(8)	
Separated or divorced.....	119(8)	

117. About how long have you lived in this particula neighborhood?

Less than one year	200(13)	48/
1 - 4 years.....	451(30)	
5 - 8 years.....	183(12)	
9 - 12 years.....	155(10)	
13 years or more..	510(34)	
Can't recall.....	0	

118. Generally speaking, are you very satisfied, som what satisfied, or not at all satisfied with this neighborhood?

Very satisfied....	938(63)	49/
Somewhat satisfied	484(32)	
Not at all satisfied.....	73(5)	
Don't know.....	0	

114.

1.	163(11)
2.	516(34)
3.	305(20)
4.	262(17)
5.	144(10)
6.	62(4)
7.	25(2)
8.	9(1)
9.	4(0)
10.	3(0)
11.	1(0)
14.	1(0)

115.

0.	724(48)
1.	287(19)
2.	251(17)
3.	127(9)
4.	40(3)
5.	18(1)
6.	2(0)
7.	3(0)
8.	1(0)
9.	1(0)

119. Have you or has anyone in this household recently received any financial help from a public welfare agency?

Yes.....138(9) No.....1346(90) Don't know..... 0 50/

120. Did you happen to vote in the last presidential election in 1976 when Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter ran?

Yes..... 981(65) 51/

No..... 511(34)

Can't recall..... 3

121a. How about the coming presidential election next November--would you say that there's an excellent chance that you'll vote in that election, only some chance that you'll vote, or hardly any chance at all that you'll vote?

Excellent chance..1082(72) 52/

Some chance.....120(8)

Hardly any chance.223(15)

Don't know.....0

b. (IF "SOME" OR "HARDLY ANY" CHANCE) Why do you think you might not vote?

VERBATIM REPLY _____

122. Did you happen to vote in the last election for mayor and city council or for other city officials here in this community?

Yes.....708(47) 53/

No.....777(52)

Can't recall.....0

123. There's quite a bit of talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the upper class, the upper middle class, the middle class, the working class, or the lower class. If you had to make a choice, would you say you belong to the upper class, the upper middle class, the middle class, the working class, or the lower class?

Upper.....17(1) 54/

Upper middle.....151(10)

Middle.....670(45)

Working.....561(37)

Lower.....70(5)

Don't know.....0

124a. Now here is a list of income categories. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Would you call off the letter of the category that best describes the combined annual income of all members of this household, including wages or salary, pensions, interest or dividends, and all other sources?

a. Under $5,000 .....122(8)
b. $5,000 to $9,999.....206(14)
c. $10,000 to $14,999.....229(15)
d. $15,000 to $19,999.....233(16)
e. $20,000 to $24,999.....208(14) 55/
f. $25,000 to $29,999.....131(9)
g. $30,000 or more.....161(11)
Don't know.....0

b. INTERVIEWER: ESTIMATE INCOME CATEGORY.

a. Under $10,000..... 52(4)
b. $10,000 to $14,999..... 41(3)
c. $15,000 to $24,999.....81(5) 56/
d. $25,000 and over.....23(2)

125. Would you describe your personal state of health today to be excellent, good, fair or poor?

Excellent..... 527(35) 57/

Good..... 653(44)

Fair..... 249(17)

Poor..... 61(4)

Don't know..... 1(0)

126. Respondent's sex:

Female..... 787(52) 58/

Male..... 715(48)

127. Respondent's race/ethnic background:

Race

Caucasian.....1301(87) 59/

Black..... 170(11)

Other _____ 17(1)

Hispanic

Yes..... 52(4) 60/

No..... 1303(87)

128. Type of residence:

Single family: detached, row-house, townhouse.....1126(75) 61/

Double (duplex): detached, row-house, townhouse..... 132(9)

Apartment: high-rise, low rise, garden..... 192(13)

Mobile home..... 36(2)

Other (write in) _____ 59(1)

29. What is your telephone number? Area code: (_____) _____

Name: _____

Address:

Street: _____ City: _____

State: _____ Zip code: _____

(RECORD AFTER LEAVING HOUSE)

1. Type of neighborhood:

Neat, clean, well-kept:

Upper class	61(4)	62/
Middle class	519(35)	
Working class	354(24)	
Poor	20(1)	

Somewhat shabby; slightly neglected; some signs of neglect:

Upper class	3(0)
Middle class	84(6)
Working class	312(21)
Poor	39(3)

Rundown; neglected:

Upper class	9	
Middle class	9(1)	
Working class	45(3)	63/
Poor	30(2)	

Interviewer: _____

PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS AND THE PREVENTION OF CRIME: STRATEGIES FOR CONTROL

TABLES

University of Denver
Center for Mass Communications
Research and Policy

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Vol. II. TABLES

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GRANT No. 78 NI AX 0105

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TABLE I.1

DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF THE NATIONAL SAMPLE
(N=1502)

AGE	%
18-24	16.4
25-34	25.1
35-54	29.5
55-64	15.2
65+	13.8

SEX	
Female	52.4
Male	47.6

RACE	
White	87.4
Minority	12.8

EDUCATION	
0-11 years	30.0
H.S. Diploma	36.2
Some College	18.0
College Degree	15.8

INCOME	
Under $10,000	11.7
$10 -14,999	32.0
$15,-24,999	35.1
$25,000+	21.2

EMPLOYMENT	%
Full Time	49.3
Part Time	10.7
Unemployed	39.9

OCCUPATION	
Operative	17.3
Craftsman	38.4
Clerical	19.5
Prof & Prop	24.9
N/A	42.2

MARITAL STATUS	
Married	68.3
Single	31.7

CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD	
None	49.8
1	19.7
2	17.3
3+	13.2

RESIDENCE	
Own	68.4
Rent	31.6

Table I.1 (cont)

PERCEIVED SOCIAL CLASS

Upper Middle	11.5
Middle	45.6
Working	38.2
Lower	4.8

RESIDENCE TYPE

Single	75.3
Multiple	24.1
Other	0.6

NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE

Upper Middle	39.3
Middle - Working	25.3
Working - Lower	35.3

WELFARE RECIPIENT

Yes	9.3
No	90.7

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Less than 1 year	13.3
1-4 years	30.1
5-12 years	22.5
13+ years	34.0

NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION

High	62.7
Moderate	32.4
Low	4.9

GEORGRAPHIC REGION

NE	6.0
MA	18.0
ENC	19.0
WNC	8.1
SA	15.9
ESC	6.0
WSC	9.9
MT	4.1
PAC	13.1

COMMUNITY SIZE

1 M +	
Central City	9.1
Suburb	8.9
250,000-1M	
Central City	13.8
Suburb	11.3
50,-250,000	
Central City	13.5
Suburb	13.4
Cities 10,-50,000	7.1
Towns under 10,000	22.9

Table I.2

General Characteristics of the Panel Samples

	Wave One (N=1049)	Wave Two (N =517)
Sex		
Male	41%	36%
Female	58	64
Race		
Caucasian	85	87
Black	7	6
Hispanic	4	4
Other	1	0
Age		
18-24	11	8
25-34	25	27
35-44	16	17
45-64	30	30
65+	17	18
Education		
1-11 yrs.	21	19
12 yrs	35	35
Some College	24	26
College Degree +	19	19
Occupation		
Prof/tech	7	7
Business	3	3
White collar	14	13
Blue collar	18	14
Unemployed	58	63
Income		
Under $10,000	18	18
10,000-14,999	12	11
15,000-19,999	16	16
20,000-24,999	16	18
25,000+	23	25
Marital Status		
Married/living with	73	76
Single	27	24

Table I.2 (cont)

	Wave One (N=1049)	Wave Two (N =517)
Residence		
Own	71	77
Rent	28	22

Table I.3

Reasons for Attrition between Panel Waves One and Two

Results of re-contact attempt:	Denver	Milwaukee	Buffalo
Complete	210....60%	162....46%	155....44%
Refused	50....14%	69....20%	59....17%
Not at home after 5-6 tries.	40....11%	56....16%	59....17%
Moved	29.....6%	35....10%	25.... 7%
On vacation	7.....2%	9.....3%	4.....1%
Unable to locate address	6.....2%	5.....1%	9.....3%
Deceased	5.....2%	7.....2%	3.....1%
No such person at address.	2.....1%	3.....1%	11.....3%
In jail	0.....0%	2.....1%	0.....0%
Sick/In hospital	0.....0%	1.....#	6.....2%
Vacant house	0.....0%	1.....#	0.....0%
Language barrier	1.....#	0.....0%	0.....0%
Respondent claims no previous contact	0.....0%	0.....0%	4.....1%
Appointment cancelled/ no-shows 2-3 times	0.....0%	0.....0%	15.....4%
Totals	350...100%	350...100%	350...100%

# denotes less than one-half percent

TABLE III.1

Crime Prevention Actions Taken by Public

N=1502

1. Keep doors of residence locked when at home	90%
2. Lock door when leaving residence	90
3. Leave indoor lights on when leaving residence	87
4. Lock windows when leaving residence	87
5. Notify neighbors to keep watch on residence when leaving for some time	79
6. Leave outdoor lights of residence on at night	75
7. Drive to places at night, rather than walk	70
8. Stop home deliveries when away for some time	65
9. Install outdoor lighting	49
10. Install special locks	49
11. Purchase theft insurance	48
12. Avoid dangerous spots in neighborhood	48
13. Get together with neighbors	44
14. Venture forth at night with others (not alone)	42
15. Take personal protection means along when leaving home	40
16. Join in neighborhood crime prevent activities	38
17. Have a watch dog	32
18. Use timer switch to light residence when away	30
19. Notify police when leaving residence for some time	28
20. Own personal security devices and/or weapons	24
21. Have entrance-door "peephole"	23
22. Have personal property engraved with I.D.	16
23. Have police conduct security check of residence	8
24. Have anti-theft stickers on entrance door	8
25. Have residential burglar alarm system	4

TABLE III.2

Victimization Experience and City Size

		Central Cities			Suburbs of Cities			Small cities and towns	
		1,000,000 plus	250,000 to less than 1 mil.	50,000 to less than 250,000	1,000,000 plus	250,000 to less than 1 mil.	50,000 to less than 250,000	10,000 less than 50,000	Less than 10,000
	Total								
	1502	136	134	208	169	203	202	106	344
Victimization Experience									
Low	63%	72%	61%	61%	69%	59%	50%	70%	69%
Moderate	28	21	27	28	25	28	44	24	24
High	9	7	11	11	7	14	6	7	8

TABLE III.3

Perceived Vulnerability and City Size

		Central Cities			Suburbs of Cities			Small cities and towns	
		1,000,000 plus	250,000 to less than 1 mil.	50,000 to less than 250,000	1,000,000 plus	250,000 to less than 1 mil.	50,000 to less than 250,000	10,000 to less than 50,000	Less than 10,000
Total	1502	136	134	208	169	203	202	106	344
Perceived Vulnerability									
Low	62%	71%	58%	58%	78%	54%	59%	59%	61%
Moderate	32%	18	33	36	19	37	36	36	34
High	6%	7	9	5	3	8	5	5	5

TABLE III.4

Interest in Crime Prevention and City Size

		Central Cities			Suburbs of Cities			Small cities and towns	
		1,000,000 plus	250,000 to less than 1 mil.	50,000 to less than 250,000	1,000,000 plus	250,000 to less than 1 mil.	50,000 to less than 250,000	10,000 to less than 50,000	Less than 10,000
Total	1502	136	134	208	169	203	202	106	344
Interest in Crime Prevention									
Low	14%	13%	10%	14%	20%	18%	18%	11%	11%
Moderate	67	69	66	69	66	63	67	68	70
High	19	18	24	17	6	19	15	21	19

TABLE III.5

Taking Protective Actions and City Size

		Central Cities			Suburbs of Cities			Small cities and towns	
		1,000,000 plus	250,000 to less than 1 mil.	50,000 to less than 250,000	1,000,000 plus	250,000 to less than 1 mil.	50,000 to less than 250,000	10,000 to less than 50,000	Less than 10,000
	Total 1502	136	134	208	169	203	202	106	344
Take Crime Prevention Actions Designed to Protect:									
Persons:									
Very frequently	33%	28%	43%	36%	41%	42%	36%	24%	23%
Fairly frequently	35	28	37	34	41	37	35	41	32
Occasionally	32	45	20	30	18	21	34	35	45
Property:									
Very frequently	35%	26	35	39	38	49	36	34	29
Fairly frequently	45	56	46	44	48	38	46	50	42
Occasionally	19	18	19	17	14	13	18	15	28

TABLE III.6

Selected Habitual Crime Prevention Actions Taken by Public

	Percent of Sample (N=1502) who:	
	Report Ever Taking the Action	Report Taking the Action Always
1. Lock doors when leaving residence	90	58
2. Lock windows when leaving residence	87	53
3. Keep doors of residence locked when at home	91	53
4. Notify neighbors to keep watch on residence when leaving for some time	79	48
5. Leave indoor lights on when leaving residence	87	46
6. Stop home deliveries when away for some time	65	43
7. Leave outdoor lights of residence on at night	75	35
8. Drive to places at night rather than walk	70	29
9. Avoid dangerous spots in neighborhood	48	18
10. Use a timer switch to light residence when away	30	16
11. Take personal protection means along when leaving home	40	15
12. Venture forth at night with others (not alone)	42	15
13. Notify police when leaving residence for some time	28	13
14. Get together with neighbors	44	5
15. Join in neighborhood crime prevention activities	38	5

TABLE III.7

Demographic Correlates
of Crime Prevention Behaviors that Require Repetition

Age	Sex (Female=1)	Education	Income
When at home keep doors locked .115[a]	Don't go out alone at night ..... -.331[a]	Lock doors when out of home for short time .086[a]	Lock door when out of home for short time .071[F]
Keep windows locked when away .081[a]	Drive rather than walk at night .-.221[a]	Leave indoor lights on when away .150[a]	Keep doors locked when at home .-074[ε]
Get together with neighbors .090[a]	Avoid certain areas in n'hood .-.212	Leave outdoor lights on .119[a]	Leave indoor lights on when away .176[a]
Joining in with neighbors .064[b]		Have neighbor watch home when away .150[a]	Leave outdoor lights on .127[a]
			Stop deliveries when away .198[a]
		Use lights timer switch when away .169[a]	Have neighbor watch when away .125[a]
			Use lights timer switch when away .197[a]

[a] o=.001
[b] R=.064 [c]=.002

TABLE III.8

Influence of Young-Old Age
on Selected Crime Prevention Behaviors

	Percent in Sample	Age 18-24	Age 65+
Keep door locked always	53%	43%	65%
Always go out with someone at night	15	16	25
Drive rather than walk at night always	29	26	37

TABLE III.9

Influence of Sex on
Selected Crime Prevention Behaviors

	Percent in Sample	Male	Female
Always go out with someone at night	15%	6%	24%
Drive rather than walk at night always	29	22	37
Avoid certain areas in the neighborhood always	18	10	25

TABLE III.10

Influence of Low/High Educational Achievement
on Selected Crime Prevention Behaviors

	Percent in Sample	Less than high school grad	College grad or more
Always lock doors when away for short time	58%	55%	65%
Always leave indoor lights on when away	46	40	54
Stop deliveries when on vacation - always	43	30	57
Always request neighbor to watch residence when away	48	40	60
Always use a lights timer switch when away	16	11	26

TABLE III.11

Influence of Low/High Income on
Selected Crime Prevention Behaviors

	Percent in Sample	Percent Earning Less than $15,000 Annually	Percent Earning $25,000 or More Annually
Always leave indoor lights on when away	46%	43%	53%
Always stop deliveries when away	43	34	54
Always request neighbors to watch residence when away	48	44	58
Always use a timer switch when away	16	12	24

TABLE III.12

Neighborhood Correlates of Crime Prevention Behaviors
That Require Repetition

Interviewers' Ratings of Neighborhood as Upper Class (Upper = 1)		Respondent's Perceptions of Neighborhood as a Dangerous Place	
Notify police when leaving on vacation	-.135[a]	Lock doors when out of home for short time	.050[b]
When away stop home deliveries	-.203[a]	When at home keep doors locked	.178[a]
Have neighbor watch when away	-.125[a]	Don't go out alone at night	.232[a]
Use lights timer switch when away	-.188[a]	Drive rather than walk at night	.158[a]
		Take along something to protect oneself with when venturing forth	.197[a]
		Avoid certain areas in n'hood	.328[a]

[a] p=.001

[b] p=.025

TABLE III.13

Influence of Perception of Neighborhood as Dangerous
on Selected Crime Prevention Behaviors

	Percent in Sample	Percent Considering Their Neighborhood to be Dangerous
Always lock doors when at home	53%	66%
Never go out alone at night	15	29
Always drive rather than walk at night	30	42
Always take some protection along when venturing forth	15	26
Always avoid possibly dangerous areas in neighborhood	18	42

TABLE III.14

Influence of Perceived Vulnerability on
Selected Crime Prevention Behaviors

	Percent in Sample	Perceived Vulnerability		
		High	Moderate	Low
Always lock doors when away for short time	58%	65%	66%	54%
When at home keep doors locked always	53	61	55	50
Always lock windows when away from residence	53	60	60	48
Always leave indoor lights on when away	46	65	52	41
Always leave outdoor lights on	35	51	41	30
Always stop deliveries when on vacation	43	53	47	40
Never go out alone at night	15	31	17	13
Always drive rather than walk at night	29	55	34	25
Always take some protection along when venturing forth	15	34	16	12
Always avoid possibly dangerous areas in n'hood	27	39	24	13

TABLE III.15

Perceived Vulnerability and Crime Prevention Behaviors
that Require Repetition Correlate
(p=.001)

Lock doors when out of home for short time	.093
Keep windows locked when away	.094
Leave indoor lights on when away	.130
Leave outdoor lights on	.101
Don't go out alone at night	.123
Drive rather than walk at night	.186
Take along something for protection when venturing forth	.121
Avoid certain areas in neighborhood	.173

TABLE III.16

Influence of Membership in Voluntary Clubs/Organizations
on Crime Prevention Actions

	Membership in Clubs, Organizations Belongs to					
	Total	None	1	2	3-4	5 or more
	1496	851	268	202	132	43
Action to Protect Self						
High	33%	28%	35%	44%	31%	51%
Moderate	35	37	32	32	36	26
Low	32	34	32	35	33	23
Action to Protect Property	(1305)	(701)	(253)	(193)	(116)	(42)
High	35	28	38	46	47	57
Moderate	45	50	43	37	36	38
Low	19	21	19	18	16	5

TABLE III.17

Influence of Active Participation
in Voluntary Clubs/Organizations on Crime Prevention Actions

	"Active" in the Organizations belonged to			
	Total	Very Active	Fairly Active	Inactive
Action to Protect Self	639	170	295	174
High	33%	41%	40%	30%
Moderate	35	35	31	33
Low	32	23	29	36
Action to Protect Property	(598)	(154)	(278)	(166)
High	35	47	42	42
Moderate	45	40	38	41
Low	19	12	20	17

TABLE III.18

Sex, Age, Education, Income Characteristics of
Persons Who Join Formal Community Crime Protection Organizations
(N=157)

Sex	
Male	46%
Female	54
Age	
18-24	12
25-34	26
35-54	35
55-64	19
65 plus	8
Education	
0-11 years	18
High school grad	33
Some college	25
College grad or more	24
Income	
Less than $10,000	9
$10,000 less than $15,000	23
$15,000 less than $25,000	41
$25,000 and over	28

TABLE III.19

Crime Prevention Action and Self Confidence

	Confidence in One's Ability to Prevent Crimes			
	Total	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Confident
	1424	455	751	218
Actions to Protect Self				
High	33%	35%	34%	30%
Moderate	35	32	34	34
Low	32	30	38	32
Action to Protect Property	(1246)	(442)	(571)	(233)
High	36%	44%	27%	28%
Moderate	45	46	58	55
Low	19	10	16	17

TABLE III.20

Sex, Age, Education, Income and Self-Confidence

	Confidence re: Respondent's Ability to Prevent Crime:			
	Total	High	Moderate	Low
	1424	455	751	218
Sex				
Male	48%	58%	47%	32%
Female	52	42	53	66
Age				
18-24	16	19	14	16
25-34	26	27	29	13
35-54	29	30	30	26
55-64	15	14	13	22
65 plus	13	9	14	22
Education				
0-11 years	29	25	29	41
High school grad	36	36	37	34
Some college	18	19	8	13
College grad or more	16	19	16	11
Income				
Less than $10,000	12	12	12	14
$10,000 less than $15,000	32	28	31	40
$15,000 less than $25,000	35	35	37	26
$25,000 and over	21	24	20	20

TABLE III.21

Self Confidence and Perceived Neighborhood Safety

	Perceived Safety of Neighborhood			
	Total	Very Safe	Fairly Safe	Unsafe
	1426	416	714	296
Confidence re Respondent's Ability to Prevent Crime				
High	32%	43%	30%	23%
Moderate	53	47	56	51
Low	15	10	14	26

TABLE III.22

Crime Prevention Action-Taking and Belief in the Efficacy of Individual Actions

	Believe Individual Precautions Reduce Crime Incidence			
	Total	Firm Belief	Fairly Firm Belief	Weak Belief
Actions to Protect Self:	1433	638	680	115
High	33%	41%	33%	26%
Moderate	35	27	37	36
Low	32	26	32	42
Actions to Protect Property:	(1256)	(450)	(568)	(238)
High	36%	57%	41%	38%
Moderate	45	38	50	54
Low	19	4	9	8

TABLE III.23

Self-Confidence and Belief in the Efficacy of Individual Crime Prevention Actions

	Believe that Individual Precautions Can Reduce Crime Rate:			
	Total	A Great Deal	Somewhat	Hardly
	1392	629	659	104
Confidence re: respondent's ability to prevent crime				
High	32%	50%	18%	16%
Moderate	53	42	65	37
Low	15	8	16	46

TABLE III.24

Self-Confidence and Belief About
Citizen Responsibility for Crime Prevention

	Vis-a-Vis the Police, the Citizen's Responsibility for Preventing Crime is:			
	Total	Greater	The Same	Less
	1428	312	959	157
Confidence re: respondent's ability to prevent crime:				
High	32%	53%	27%	23%
Moderate	53	40	57	52
Low	15	7	16	25

TABLE III.25

Self-Confidence and Claimed Know
About Crime Prevention

	Knowledgeable re: Crime Prevention			
	Total	High	Moderate	Low
	1409	379	891	139
Confidence re: Respondent's Ability to Prevent Crime:				
High	32%	64%	22%	7%
Moderate	53	32	64	37
Low	15	4	14	56

TABLE III.26

Crime Prevention Leadership:
Sex, Age, Education, Income

	Crime Prevention Leadership	
	People Seek Out Respondent	Respondent Seeks Others
Sex	288	484
Male	55%	40%
Female	45	60
Age		
18-24	9	25
25-34	23	29
35-54	39	24
55-64	16	12
65 plus	13	10
Education		
0-11 years	28	29
High school grad	33	41
Some college	21	17
College grad or more	18	13
Income		
Less than $10,000	10	12
$10,000-less than $15,000	28	34
$15,000-less than $25,000	34	34
$25 000 and over	27	20

TABLE III.27

Interest in Crime Prevention and
Crime Prevention Opinion Leadership

		Crime Prevention Opinion Leadership	
	Total	People Seek Out Respondent	Respondent Seeks Others
	768	288	480
Interest in Crime Prevention			
High	58%	66%	53%
Moderate	35	29	38
Low	7	5	9

TABLE III.28

Knowledge About Crime Prevention
and Crime Prevention Opinion Leadership

	Crime Prevention Leadership		
	Total	People Seek Out Respondent	Respondent Seeks out Others
Knowledgeable about Crime Prevention	755	287	468
High	28%	44%	19%
Moderate	63	53	69
Low	8	3	11

TABLE III.29

Belief in the Efficacy of Individual Action-Taking
and Crime Prevention Opinion Leadership

	Crime Prevention Opinion Leadership		
	Total	People Seek Out Respondent	Respondent Seeks out Others
	758	286	472
Believe Individual Crime Prevention Action Can Reduce Crime			
A great deal	47%	57%	41%
Somewhat	47	37	53
Hardly at all	6	6	7

TABLE III.30

Confidence in Personal Ability to Prevent Crime and Crime Prevention Opinion Leadership

		Crime Prevention Opinion Leadership	
	Total	People Seek Out Respondent	Respondent Seeks Others
	751	288	463
Confidence in One's Ability to Prevent Crime			
High	34%	47%	27%
Moderate	51	44	56
Low	14	9	17

TABLE III.31

Prevention Knowledge and Victimization Experience

		Victimization Experience		
	Total	High	Moderate	Low
	1452	132	407	913
Prevention Knowledge				
Knows a great deal	26%	40%	29%	23%
Knows something about it	63	56	62	64
Don't know too much	11	5	9	12

Table III.32

Perceived Vulnerability and Prevention Knowledge

	Prevention Knowledge			
	Total	Knows a Great Deal	Knows Something about It	Doesn't Know Too Much About It
	1,452	383	914	155
Perceived Vulnerability:				
High	39%	41%	40%	28%
Low	61	59	60	72

Table III.33

Action-taking and Prevention Knowledge

	Prevention Knowledge			
	Total	Knows a Great Deal	Knows Something About It	Doesn't Know Too Much About It
	1,448	383	910	155
Takes actions to protect				
The person				
Very frequently	33%	40%	31%	24%
Fairly frequently	35	32	36	34
Occasionally	33	28	33	42
Property	(1,270)	(352)	(802)	(116)
Very frequently	36%	52%	30%	22%
Fairly frequently	45	37	49	45
Occasionally	19	11	45	33

Table III.34

Crime Prevention Action and Interest in Crime Prevention

	Total	Interest in crime prevention: Very interested	Fairly interested	Hardly interested at all
	1,476	782	569	125
Actions to protect self				
High	33%	42%	26%	7%
Moderate	35	36	34	34
Low	32	23	39	58
Actions to protect property	(1,289)	(459)	(584)	(246)
High	36%	63%	54%	42%
Moderate	45	31	40	46
Low	19	5	6	12

Table III.35

Exposure to Crime Prevention Information and Victimization Experience

	Total	Victimization Experience: High	Moderate	Low
	1,502	133	417	952
Frequency of exposure to crime prevention information				
Often	20%	34%	22%	17%
Occasionally	60	56	60	61
Never	20	10	17	23

Table III.36

Perceived Vulnerability and Exposure to Crime Prevention Information

	Frequency of exposure to crime prevention information			
	Total	Often	Occasionally	Never
	1,502	298	903	301
Perceived vulnerability				
High	38%	48%	36%	32%
Low	62	52	64	67

Table III.37

Crime Prevention Action and Frequency of Exposure to Crime Prevention Information

	Frequency of exposure to crime prevention information			
	Total	Often	Occasionally	Never
	1,497	296	901	300
Takes actions to protect				
The Person				
Very frequently	32%	27%	32%	27%
Fairly frequently	35	32	36	34
Occasionally	33	40	32	39
Property	1,306	272	809	225
Very frequently	35%	50%	32%	28%
Fairly frequently	45	38	48	46
Occasionally	19	12	20	25

Table III.38

Highest-Lowest Attention Paid to Selected Issues Covered by Public Service Advertisements

		Attention		
		A lot	Some	Hardly any
Crime prevention	(1,492)	43%	40%	17%
Personal health/ medical	(1,494)	48	38	14
Keeping fit; staying healthy	(1,484)	47	38	15
Energy conservation	(1,490)	47	36	16
Contribute to various "relief" causes (e.g. Earthquake victims)	(1,474)	14	43	41
Military recruitment	(1,477)	10	19	70
Requests for contribution to chairities	(1,476)	10	43	46
Recruitment for volunteer social service (e.g. VISTA)	(1,482)	5	29	66

Table III.39

Crime Prevention Action and Attention to Crime Prevention Advertisements

		Attention Paid to Public Service Advertisements Re Crime Prevention			
		Total	High	Moderate	Low
		1,487	645	596	246
Actions to protect self					
	High	33%	42%	29%	17%
	Moderate	35	36	35	32
	Low	32	22	36	51
Actions to protect property		(1,297)	(598)	(519)	(180)
	High	36%	40%	32%	29%
	Moderate	45	45	48	42
	Low	19	15	20	29

Table III.40

Perceived Vulnerability and Victimization Experience

by Attention to News about Crime

	Attention paid to crime news:							
	On Television				In Newspapers			
	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any; none	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any; none
	1,498	686	632	180	1,490	553	639	298
Perceived Vulnerability								
High	6%	7%	5%	3%	6%	7%	5%	6%
Moderate	32	36	30	24	32	37	30	27
Low	62	57	65	72	62	56	65	67
Victimization Experience								
High	9	11	7	7	9	12	8	6
Moderate	28	28	28	25	28	29	27	27
Low	63	60	65	68	63	59	65	67

Table III.41

Perception of Neighborhood Crime Danger and Attention

to News about Crime

	Attention paid to crime news:							
	On Television				In Newspapers			
	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any; none	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any; none
	1,494	683	631	180	1,486	553	635	298
Perception of residence neighborhood as:								
Very safe	29%	27%	29%	38%	29%	28%	29%	31%
Fairly safe	50	49	53	44	50	50	51	48
Very unsafe	21	24	18	18	21	22	20	20

Table III.42

Belief in Citizen's Responsibility vis-a-vis Crime Prevention and Attention to News about Crime

	Attention paid to crime news: On Television				In Newspapers			
	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any; none	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any none
	1,498	686	632	180	1,490	553	639	298
Believe citizen's responsibility for crime prevention vis-a-vis the police:								
Is greater	21%	24%	19%	17%	21%	23%	20%	21%
Is equal, the same	68	65	71	68	68	67	68	68
Is less	11	11	10	15	11	10	12	11

Table III.43

Confidence in Ability to Protect Oneself and Attention to News about Crime

	Attention paid to crime news: On Television				In Newspapers			
	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any; none	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any; none
	1,426	653	606	167	1,418	528	615	275
Confidence in respondent's ability to protect self against crime								
High	32%	34%	30%	32%	32%	34%	30%	31%
Moderate	53	49	57	50	53	51	56	50
Low	15	17	13	17	15	15	14	18

Table III.44

Interest in Crime Prevention and Attention to News About Crime

	Attention paid to crime news							
	On Television				In Newspapers			
	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any; none	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any; none
	1,493	685	630	178	1,485	553	637	295
Interest in crime prevention								
High	19%	26%	14%	7%	19%	24%	15%	15%
Moderate	67	66	71	61	67	68	72	59
Low	14	8	15	31	14	8	13	26

Table III.45

Crime Prevention Action-taking by Attention to News about Crime

	Attention paid to crime news:							
	On Television				In Newspapers			
	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any; none	Total	A lot	Some	Hardly any; none
	1,493	684	630	179	1,485	552	636	297
Take action to protect								
The person								
Very frequently	33%	36%	31%	26%	33%	37%	32%	25%
Fairly frequently	35	37	34	35	35	36	33	38
Occasionally	32	28	36	39	32	27	35	37
Property	(1,302)	(614)	(549)	(139)	(1,298)	(502)	(564)	(232)
Very frequently	35	36	33	41	35	37	34	35
Fairly frequently	45	48	44	40	45	47	46	40
Occasionally	19	17	22	19	19	16	20	25

Table III.46

Exposure to Televised Crime Shows and Victimization Experience

		Victimization Experience		
	Total	High	Moderate	Low
	1,484	133	416	935
Watch TV Crime Shows				
Very often	23%	23%	24%	22%
Sometimes	38	36	36	39
Hardly ever	39	41	40	38

Table III.47

Perceived Vulnerability and Exposure to Televised Crime Shows

		Watch Television Crime Shows		
	Total	Very often	Sometimes	Hardly ever
	1,484	339	570	575
Perceived Vulnerability				
High	6%	8%	5%	6%
Moderate	32	38	31	30
Low	62	54	64	64

Table III.48

Crime Prevention Action-taking and Exposure to Televised Crime Shows

	Watch Television Crime Shows			
	Total	Very often	Sometimes	Hardly ever
	1,479	339	567	573
Take action to protect				
The person				
Very frequently	33%	31%	33%	33%
Fairly frequently	35	34	35	35
Occasionally	32	34	32	31
Property	(1,290)	(295)	(498)	(497)
Very frequently	36%	36%	34%	37%
Fairly frequently	45	44	47	44
Occasionally	19	20	19	18

Table III.49

Interest in Crime Prevention and Exposure to Televised Crime Shows

	Watch TV Crime Shows			
	Total	Very often	Sometimes	Hardly ever
	1,480	339	569	572
Interest in crime prevention				
High	19%	26%	18%	15%
Moderate	68	62	70	69
Low	13	12	12	16

CONTINUED

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Table III.50

Perceived Accuracy of TV Crime Dramas and Victimization Experience

		Victimization Experience		
	Total	High	Moderate	Low
Perceived Accuracy of TV Crime Shows	1,331	127	377	827
Very accurate	11%	8%	10%	12%
Somewhat accurate	48	43	45	51
Not at all accurate	40	49	45	37

Table III.51

Perceived Vulnerability and Perceived Accuracy of TV Crime Dramas

	Perceived Accuracy of TV Crime Shows			
	Total	Very accurate	Somewhat accurate	Not at all accurate
	1,331	149	645	537
Perceived vulnerability				
High	6%	10%	5%	6%
Moderate	34	35	35	31
Low	60	55	60	62

Table III.52

Interest in Crime Prevention and Perceived Accuracy of TV Crime Dramas

	Total	Perceived Accuracy of TV Crime Shows: Very accurate	Somewhat accurate	Not accurate
	1,329	149	645	535
Interest in crime prevention				
High	19%	27%	18%	18%
Moderate	68	64	70	68
Low	12	9	12	14

Table III.53

Crime Prevention Action-taking and Perceived Accuracy of Crime Dramas

	Total	Perceived Accuracy of TV Crime Shows: Very accurate	Somewhat accurate	Not accurate
	1,327	432	466	429
Takes action to protect				
The person				
Very frequently	33%	38%	34%	30%
Fairly frequently	35	34	34	37
Occasionally	32	28	32	34
Property	(1,165)	(420)	(521)	(224)
Very frequently	36	31	36	37
Fairly frequently	45	44	47	42
Occasionally	19	25	16	21

Table IV.1

Orientations to Public Service Advertising

	Total (N=1049)
A lot attention to PSAs	
TV	40%
Radio	22
Newspaper	14
Magazines	8
Most attended to PSA source	
TV	57
Radio	9
Newspaper	25
Magazines	5
PSA "very believable"	40
PSA "very helpful" for awareness	38
PSA "very helpful" for solutions	29
Can recall specific PSAs	
Learned from PSA	25
Discussed PSA	23
Acted on PSA	14
Sought more info	20
Satisfied with info	12

Table IV.2

Correlations Among PSA Orientations

	TV PSA ATT	Radio PSA ATT	Newsp PSA ATT	Mag PSA ATT	PSA Cred	PSA Utility Aware	PSA Utility Action
TV PSA ATT							
Radio PSA ATT	.42[c]						
Newsp PSA ATT	.34[c]	.43[c]					
Mag PSA ATT	.31[c]	.42[c]	.50[c]				
PSA Cred	.25[c]	.18[c]	.13[c]	.11[c]			
PSA Utility Aware	.28[c]	.17[c]	.20[c]	.13[c]	.34[c]		
PSA Utility Action	.20[c]	.14[c]	.19[c]	.16[c]	.27[c]	.55[c]	

a $P < .05$
b $P < .01$
c $P < .001$

Table IV-3
Zero-Order Correlations
Between PSA Attention and Other Characteristics, by Medium
(N=1049)

	PSA Attention			
	Television	Radio	Newspapers	Magazines
Media Orientations				
Time spent	.14**	.07*	.13**	.09**
Info (hi.)/entertain	.03	.11**	.02	.08**
Product Adv. Att.	.22**	.19**	.31**	.28**
Other Characteristics				
Education	.00	.04	-.01	.05
Age	.05	.09**	.21**	.07*
Marital (M.=hi.)	.05	-.01	.01	.09**
Residence length	.03	.07*	.11**	.07*
Income	-.02	-.01	-.01	.00
Sex (F.=hi.	.17**	-.02	.10**	.05
Anomie	.01	.06*	.03	.03
Trust in people	-.04	-.04	-.02	.04
Trust in government	.02	.06*	.06*	.00

*p < .05

**p < .01

Table IV.4 Regression Analyses for PSA Attention by Medium

Media Orientations[1]	PSA Attention			
	Television	Radio	Newspapers	Magazines
Time spent	.14*	.04	.11*	.04
Info. (hi.)/Entert.	.03	.09*	.04	.07
Product Ad Att.	.21**	.19**	.27**	.29**
(R^2)	(.06)	(.05)	(.09)	(.09)
Other Characteristics[2]				
Education	.08	.10*	.05	.05
Age	.07	.07	.16*	.05
Marital (M.=hi.)	.05	-.01	-.01	.12*
Residence length	.02	.05	.01	.06
Income	.00	.02	.00	.07
Sex (F.=hi.)	.13*	.03	.04	.03
Anomie	-.01	.11*	.07	-.01
Trust in people	-.03	-.04	-.03	.01
Trust in government	-.02	.07	.09*	-.04
(R^2)	(.09)	(.08)	(.12)	(.12)

*p < .05 **p < .01

[1] Beta values shown for media orientations reflect effects of each orientation on PSA attention controlling only for the other orientations.

[2] Beta values shown for other characteristics reflect the effect of each controlling for the others, and controlling for media orientations as a block.

Table IV.5. Regression Analyses for PSA Credibility and Helpfulness (N=1049)

PSA Attention[1]	PSA Credibility	PSA Helpful In Awareness	PSA Helpful In Solutions
Television	.18*	.23**	.12*
Radio	.13*	.02	.04
Newspapers	.08	.08	.06
Magazines	.07	.02	.08
(R^2)	(.07)	(.09)	(.05)
Other Characteristics[2]			
Education	.02	-.01	-.04
Age	-.07	.09	-.03
Marital (M.=hi.)	-.02	.02	.00
Residence length	.01	-.06	.08
Income	.05	.03	.00
Sex (F.=hi.)	.04	.11*	.14*
Anomie	-.08	-.03	.06
Trust in people	.03	.01	.02
Trust in government	-.02	.02	.03
(R^2)	(.10)	(.11)	(.08)

* $p < .05$ **$p < .01$

[1] Beta values shown for PSA attention reflect the effect of attention to PSAs for each medium controlling only for other media.

[2] Beta values shown for other characteristics reflect the effect of each controlling for the others, and controlling for PSA attention variables as a block.

Table IV.6

Regression Analyses for PSA Attention, by Crime Orientations (N=1049)

	PSA Attention			
	Television	Radio	Newspapers	Magazines
Media Orientations (R^2)	(.07)	(.06)	(.11)	(.09)
Demog./ Socio-Psych. Variables (R^2)	(.10)	(.08)	(.15)	(.12)
Crime Orientations[1]				
Crime prev. interest	.07	.05	.09*	.03
Prev. responsibility	.04	-.01	-.01	-.03
Prev. confidence	.03	.07	.10*	.06
Prev. knowledge	-.04	.04	-.04	.03
Prev. effectiveness	.08*	.00	.01	-.03
Prev. reduce risk	-.02	.09*	.07	-.04
Prev. likelihood	.05	..02	.04	.09
Prev. info. need	.00	.03	.06	.15*
(R^2)	(.12)	(.11)	(.18)	(.16)

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$

[1] Beta values shown for the crime orientations reflect the effect of each orientation controlling for the others, and controlling for the media orientations and demographic/socio-psychological variables as blocks.

Table IV.7
Regression Analyses for PSA Credibility and Helpfulness,
by Crime Orientations (N=1049)

	PSA Credibility	PSA Helpful in Awareness	PSA Helpful in Action
PSA Attention			
Variables (R^2)	(.09)	(.10)	(.05)
Demog./Socio-Psych.			
Variables (R^2)	(.12)	(.12)	(.09)
Crime Orientations[1]			
Crime prev. interest	-.10*	-.04	-.01
Prev. responsibility	-.08	.05	.07
Prev. confidence	.06	.02	.04
Prev. knowledge	.01	-.05	-.08
Prev. effectiveness	.07	.11*	.08
Prev. reduce risk	.01	.09	.04
Prev. likelihood	-.04	.03	.05
Prev. info. need.	-.03	-.06	-.06
(R^2)	(.15)	(.15)	(.11)

*p<.05
**p<.01

[1]Beta values shown for the crime orientations reflect the effect of each orientation controlling for the others, and controlling for PSA attention and demographic/socio-psychological variables as blocks.

TABLE V.1

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY MEDIA ORIENTATION INDICES[1]

	Campaign Exposure (N=1502)
Total Percent:	29.7%
MEDIA EXPOSURE	
Low	20.5[c]
Moderate	31.6
High	33.6
MEDIA FUNCTIONS	
More Relaxation	25.0[b]
Neither	31.4
More Information	33.7
PSA SENSITIVITY	
Low	21.2[c]
Moderate	29.4
High	38.2
MEDIA CRIME ATTENTION	
Low	22.4[c]
Moderate	28.2
High	37.1

[1]In all tables, the following nomenclature is used to indicate levels of statistical significance: a = p<.05; b = p<.01; c = p<.001. Levels of significance are generally used throughout the report to indicate strengths of association rather than tests of explicit hypotheses. As such, they are two-tailed. Significance levels are generally based upon tau c statistics where two ordinal measures are being compared. (We have regarded campaign exposure as ordinal rather than nominal in that those exposed have "more" exposure than those not exposed). In cases involving nominal categories, e.g. sex, the chi square statistic was used.

TABLE V.2

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY MASS MEDIA EXPOSURE

	Campaign Exposure (N=1502)
DAILY TV EXPOSURE	
Less than 2 hrs.	25.0%[b]
2 - 4 hrs.	28.6
4+ hrs.	35.5
DAILY RADIO EXPOSURE	
Less than 2 hrs	26.9[b]
2 - 4 hrs.	33.4
4+ hrs.	34.9
DAILY NEWSP. EXPOSURE	
0 - 20 min.	29.8
21 - 40 min.	30.0
41 - 60 min.	31.5
60+ min.	29.1
MONTHLY MAGAZINE EXPOSURE	
0 - 1 mag.	27.9
2 - 3 mag.	31.9
4+ mag.	33.1

TABLE V.3

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY MEDIA FUNCTIONS

	Campaign Exposure (N=1502)
TV FUNCTION	
Entert.	31.3%
Info.	27.6
RADIO FUNCTION	
Entert.	31.6
Info.	29.5
NEWSP. FUNCTION	
Entert.	27.9
Info.	32.1
MAGAZ. FUNCTION	
Entert.	31.7
Info.	31.2

TABLE V.4

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY PSA ORIENTATIONS

	Campaign Exposure (N=1502)
OVERALL ADV. INFLUENCE	
Low	27.5%[b]
Moderate	33.9
High	37.5
TV PSA ATTENTION	
Low	19.1[c]
Moderate	30.1
High	38.8
RADIO PSA ATTENTION	
Low	26.1[b]
Moderate	32.3
High	37.7
NEWSP. PSA ATTENTION	
Low	28.8[b]
Moderate	27.9
High	39.2
MAGAZ. PSA ATTENTION	
Low	28.9[a]
Moderate	28.5
High	38.0
PSA CREDIBILITY	
Low	24.5[b]
Moderate	30.3
High	39.0
PSA AWARENESS UTILITY	
Low	18.4[c]
Moderate	28.5
High	39.7

TABLE V.4 (cont)

PSA ACTION UTILITY	
Low	23.0[c]
Moderate	31.6
High	39.1
PSA INFORMATION SEEKING	
No	27.9[c]
Yes	38.8

TABLE V.5

CAMPAIGN IMPACT AND MEDIA CRIME ORIENTATIONS

	Campaign Exposure (N=1502)
TV CRIME ENT. EXPOSURE	
Low	22.8%
Moderate	31.1
High	39.2
TV CRIME ENT. REALISM	
Low	28.7
Moderate	33.2
High	34.9
TV CRIME NEWS ATTEN.	
Low	16.7[c]
Moderate	29.0
High	34.0
RADIO CRIME NEWS ATTEN.	
Low	22.7[c]
Moderate	32.2
High	37.1
NEWSP. CRIME NEWS ATTEN.	
Low	26.2[b]
Moderate	27.7
High	34.5
MAGAZ. CRIME NEWS ATTEN.	
Low	27.2[a]
Moderate	31.2
High	36.9

TABLE V.5 (cont)

	Campaign Exposure (N=1502)
CRIME NEWS ADEQUACY	
Low	32.4
Moderate	32.2
High	27.5
CRIME PREV. NEWS ADEQUACY	
Low	31.6
Moderate	29.9
High	37.3
MEDIA CRIME ACCURACY	
Less Serious	30.6
As Serious	29.7
More Serious	31.8
MOST CREDIBLE CRIME SOURCE	
TV	34.4[a]
Radio	35.0
Newsp.	26.9
Magaz.	24.7

TABLE V.6

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN EXPOSURE
BY MEDIA ORIENTATIONS (N=1502)

	Campaign Exposure Beta
Media Exposure	.04
Media Functions	.03
PSA Sensitivity	.11[a]
Media Crime Attention	.08[a]
	(R^2=.03)

TABLE V.7

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Campaign Exposure (N=1502)
Total Sample Percent:	29.7%
Demographics:	
AGE	
18-24	46.1[c]
25-34	30.6
35-54	28.5
55-64	21.1
65+	19.9
SEX	
Female	26.9[a]
Male	32.7
RACE	
White	29.1
Minority	31.6
EDUCATION	
0-11 yrs.	30.1
H.S. Diploma	30.8
Some College	31.6
College Degree	24.1
INCOME	
Under $10,000	25.3
$10-$14,999	31.7
$15-$24,999	30.1
$25,000+	27.6
PERCEIVED SOCIAL CLASS	
Upper Middle	25.2
Middle	29.9
Working	31.4
Lower	25.7
EMPLOYMENT	
Full Time	32.9[a]
Part Time	29.4
Unemployed	26.1

TABLE V.7 (cont)

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Campaign Exposure (N=1502)
Total Sample Percent:	29.7%
Demographics:	
OCCUPATION (R emp	
Operative	34.7
Craftsman	32.1
Clerical	29.6
Prof. & Prop.	31.9
MARITAL STATUS	
Married	28.9
Single	31.3
CHILDREN IN HH	
None	25.6[b]
1	34.5
2	30.7
3+	38.0
RESIDENCE	
Own	28.8
Rent	30.1
RESIDENCE TYPE	
Single	29.9
Multiple	29.2
Other	-
NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE	
Upper-Middle	26.7[a]
Middle-Working	29.6
Lower-Working	33.6
WELFARE RECIPIENT	
Yes	31.2
No	29.6
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE	
Less than 1 yr.	31.5
1-4 yrs.	32.2
5-12 yrs.	29.3
13 + yrs	27.1

TABLE V.7 (cont)

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Campaign Exposure (N=1502)
Total Sample Percent:	29.7%
Demograpics:	
NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION	
High	27.4[a]
Moderate	32.6
Low	37.9
GEOGRAPHIC REGION	
NE	28.9[b]
MA	28.5
ENC	20.7
WNC	39.7
SA	42.3
ESC	26.7
WSC	28.9
MT	52.5
PAC	18.3
COMMUNITY SIZE	
1 Million +	
Central City	26.5[c]
Suburb	10.4
250,000-1M	
Central City	33.2
Suburb	21.9
50,000-250,000	
Central City	30.0
Suburb	24.3
Cities 10-50,000	44.3
Towns under 10,000	38.7

TABLE V.8

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN EXPOSURE
BY MEDIA ORIENTATIONS AND DEMOGRAPHICS (N=1502)

	Campaign Exposure Beta
Media Orientations	
Media Exposure	.09[a]
Media Functions	.05
PSA Sensitivity	.11[a]
Media Crime Attention	.05
Demographics	
Age	-.15[b]
Sex (1 = Female)	.07[a]
Education	-.07[a]
Income	-.04
Number of Children	.03
Neighborhood Type (1 = Upper)	.05
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.04
	(R^2=.07)

TABLE V.9

CAMPAIGN EXPOSURE BY AGE AND SEX (N=1502)

Percent exposed (total = 29.7%) for:

Age	Men	Women
18-24	46.0%	46.2%
25-34	32.7	28.4
35-54	32.1	25.4
55-64	23.3	19.0
65+	24.4	16.1

TABLE V.10

CAMPAIGN EXPOSURE BY AGE AND CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD (N=1502)

Percent exposed (total = 29.7%) for:

Age	Households with children	Households without children
18-24	52.3%	36.2%
25-34	30.0	33.0
35-54	30.3	25.7
55-64	18.8	20.8
65+	19.9	20.2

TABLE V.11

CAMPAIGN EXPOSURE BY AGE AND EDUCATION, INCOME, NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE (N=1502)

Percent exposed (total = 29.7%) for:

Education

Age	0-11 years	12 years	Some College	College Degree
18-24	49.3%	46.0%	41.3%	45.5%
25-34	42.6	31.8	28.7	25.4
35-54	33.0	25.8	36.0	17.2
55-64	18.0	25.9	24.0	9.5
65+	18.8	20.4	15.0	29.1

Income

Age	Under $10,000	$10,000-14,999	$15,000-24,999	$25,000+
18-24	42.8%	47.7%	39.7%	51.4%
25-34	33.3	33.9	29.5	27.5
35-54	34.2	26.3	31.3	25.7
55-64	17.6	22.5	22.5	17.1
65+	15.2	22.4	18.8	20.0

TABLE V.11 (cont)

Neighborhood Type

	Upper-Middle	Middle-Working	Lower-Working
Age			
18-24	48.5%,	41.8%	47.6%
25-34	30.3	29.4	32.0
35-54	23.4	25.7	37.3
55-64	18.3	18.6	27.1
65+	17.7	22.2	20.5

TABLE V.12

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY PSYCHOLOGICAL INDICES

	Campaign Exposure (N=1502)
Total Percent:	29.7%
ALTRUISM	
Low	22.0[c]
Moderate	32.9
High	35.0
ALIENATION	
Low	29.9
Moderate	30.1
High	28.9
TRUST IN PEOPLE	
Low	31.4[b]
Moderate	32.4
High	25.4
INSTITUTIONAL TRUST	
Low	36.1[b]
Moderate	27.8
High	28.3

TABLE V.13

CAMPAIGN EXPOSURE BY AGE AND ALTRUISM, TRUST IN PEOPLE (N=1502)

Percent exposed (Total = 29.7%) for:

	High Altruism Low Trust	High Altruism High Trust
Age		
18-24	69.2%	40.0%
25-34	30.7	28.9
35-54	33.3	20.1
55-64	50.0	23.0
65+	12.5	36.0
TOTAL:	40.0%	26.6%

TABLE V.14

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN EXPOSURE BY MEDIA ORIENTATIONS, DEMOGRAPHICS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTRIBUTES (N=1502)

	Campaign Exposure Beta
Media Orientations	
Media Exposure	.08[a]
Media Functions	.04
PSA Sensitivity	.11[a]
Media Crime Attention	.05
Demographics	
Age	-.14[a]
Sex (1 = Female)	.07[a]
Education	-.07[a]
Income	-.04
Number of Children	.03
Neighborhood Type (1 = Upper)	.05
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.03
Psychological Attributes	
Altruism	.09[a]
Alienation	.01
Trust in People	-.03
Institutional Trust	-.06[a]
	(R^2 = .08)

TABLE V.15

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY INTERPERSONAL ACTIVITY INDICES

	Campaign Exposure (n=1502)
Total Percent:	29.7%
NEIGHBORHOOD INTEGRATION	
Low	31.8
Moderate	27.6
High	31.4
ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP	
None	27.6
One	33.5
Two	31.7
Three-four	34.1
Five +	25.6

TABLE V.16

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY CRIME ORIENTATION INDICES

	Campaign Exposure (n=1502)
Total Percent:	29.7%
PERCEIVED VULNERABILITY	
Low	28.6
Moderate	28.3
High	30.8
VICTIMIZATION EXPERIENCE	
Low	27.5[b]
Moderate	30.7
High	42.1
NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME RISK	
Low	28.6
Moderate	31.5
High	26.9

TABLE V.17

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY PREVENTION ORIENTATION INDICES

	Campaign Exposure (n=1502)
Total Percent:	29.7%
PREVENTION INTEREST	
Low	24.5[c]
Moderate	34.4
High	33.1
PREVENTION RESPONSIBILITY	
Low	26.9
Moderate	30.3
High	31.9
PREVENTION COMPETENCE	
Low	19.1[c]
Moderate	24.3
High	38.2
PROPERTY PROTECTION DEVICES	
Low	29.0
Moderate	29.1
High	32.5
CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY	
Low	33.2[a]
Moderate	29.1
High	26.6

Table V.18

Campaign Exposure By Demographic Characterisitics

	Campaign Exposure (N=517)
Total Sample Percent:	18.0%
Age	
18-34	19
35-54	20
55+	14
Sex	
Female	18
Male	19
Education	
0-12 yrs.	23[b]
Some College	15
College Degree	9
Income	
Under $15,000	21[b]
$15,000 - $24,999	19
$25,000+	7

Table V.18 (cont)

Children in HH	
No	15[a]
Yes	21
Neighborhood Type	
Lower-Working	24[b]
Middle-Working	16
Upper-Middle	9

[a] $p < .05$

[b] $p < .01$

[c] $p < .001$

Table V.19

Campaign Exposure By Media Orientations (Time 1)

	Campaign Exposure (N=517)
Total Sample Percent:	18.0%
Media Exposure	
Low	18
Moderate	16
High	20
PSA Sensitivity	
Low	12
Moderate	22
High	17
Media Crime Attention	
Low	13[a]
Moderate	18
High	24

Table V.20

Campaign Exposure By Prevention Orientation Indices (Time 1)

	Campaign Exposure (N=517)
Total Sample Percent:	18.0%
Prevention Concern	
Low	18
Moderate	18
High	19
Prevention Responsibility	
Low	27
Moderate	17
High	17
Prevention Competence	
Low	17
Moderate	18
High	19
Property Protection Devices	
Low	15
Moderate	20
High	18

Table V.21

Campaign Exposure By Crime Orientation Indices (Time 1)

	Campaign Exposure (N=517)
Total Sample Percent:	18.0%
Perceived Vulnerability	
Low	18
Moderate	19
High	15
Victimization Experience	
Low	14[b]
Moderate	23
High	25
Neighborhood Crime Risk	
Low	13[a]
Moderate	19
High	22
Crime Prevention Activity	
Low	16
Moderate	20
High	18

Table V.22

Campaign Exposure By Information Orientation (Time 1)

	Campaign Exposure (N=517)
Total Sample Percent:	18.0%
Prevention Information Need	
Low	15[a]
Moderate	19
High	25
Anticipated Attention to Prevention Information	
Low	9.1[a]
Moderate	16.4
High	22.0
Anticipated Utility of Prevention Information	
Low	17
Moderate	16
High	23

Table V.22 (cont)

Anticipated Influence of Prevention Information	
Low	17
Moderate	17
High	23

Table V.23

Campaign Exposure by Predictor Variables:
Regression Analysis

	Beta
Media Orientation	
Media Exposure	.01
PSA Sensitivity	.06
Media Crime Attention	.10[a]
Demographics	
Age	.05
Sex (1 = Female)	.04
Education	-.09
Income	-.10
Number of Children	.10
Neighborhood Type	-.08
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.08
Crime Orientations	
Perceived Vulnerability	-.05[a]
Victimization Experience	.14[a]
Neighborhood Crime Prevention	.11[a]
Prevention Orientations	
Prevention Concern	-.09
Prevention Responsibility	-.07
Prevention Confidence	.05
Property Protection	-.01
Prevention Activity	.04
Information Orientations	
Information Need	-.04
Anticipated Attention	.09
Anticipated Info. Gain	.05
Anticipated Info. Utility	.03
Anticipated Influence	-.06

R^2 = .05

TABLE V.24

MESSAGE INTEGRATION (n=447)

Percent of those exposed who:	
Verbalized ad's intent	70.2%
Perceived ad as effective	64.4
Evaluated ad affectively as:	
More pleasing	51.2
More annoying	8.9
Neither	24.2
Saw message worth passing on	53.2
Indicated future behavior change	16.5

TABLE V.25

MESSAGE EFFECTS (n=447)

Percent of those exposed who:	
Gained information	28.3%
Changed attitude (more crime concerned: 34.8%) (more prevention confident: 28.0%)	42.8
Changed behavior	14.7

TABLE V.26a

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	For the Exposed Group (n=447):		
	Information Gain	Attitude Change	Behavior Change
Total Sample Percent:	28.3%	42.8%	14.7%
Demographics:			
AGE			
18-24	31.9	46.3	19.4
25-34	28.7	40.4	14.4
35-54	26.2	40.7	14.4
55-64	22.9	41.7	13.6
65+	31.7	44.7	5.6
SEX			
Female	27.8	41.5	19.5[a]
Male	28.6	43.6	10.3
RACE			
White	27.4	42.1	14.0
Minority	33.9	41.4	17.6
EDUCATION			
0-11 yrs.	33.3	41.1	18.8
H.S. Diploma	28.7	48.1	13.5
Some College	18.8	40.0	13.6
College Degree	29.8	35.7	11.3
INCOME			
Under $10,000	29.5	41.5	20.0
$10-$14,999	31.8	44.2	18.3
$15-$24,999	24.8	40.3	10.5
$25,000+	28.7	41.9	13.6
PERCEIVED SOCIAL CLASS			
Upper Middle	31.6	41.7	18.8
Middle	26.5	42.6	14.2
Working	27.8	40.8	13.6
Lower	44.4	44.4	22.0
EMPLOYMENT			
Full Time	28.1	39.7	10.7[a]
Part Time	34.0	46.8	22.2
Unemployed	26.5	45.9	18.4

TABLE V.26a (cont)

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	For the Exposed Group (n=447):		
	Information Gain	Attitude Change	Behavior Change
Total Sample Percent	28.3%	42.8%	14.7%
Demographics:			
OCCUPATION (R emp			
Operative	30.8	33.3	18.4
Craftsman	37.4	46.7	12.0
Clerical	22.0	40.0	20.8
Prof. & Prop.	23.2	38.8	4.8
MARITAL STATUS			
Married	28.3	43.4	14.3
Single	28.2	41.0	15.6
CHILDREN IN HH			
None	28.1	40.6	11.4
1	28.3	49.5	14.9
2	31.2	43.2	18.6
3+	24.7	35.2	21.2
RESIDENCE			
Own	27.1	41.7	12.6
Rent	32.6	42.8	16.7
RESIDENCE TYPE			
Single	27.3	42.9	14.0
Multiple	32.4	41.3	16.5
Other	-	-	-
NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE			
Upper-Middle	20.6[b]	32.9[b]	11.1
Middle-Working	31.3	47.0	16.5
Lower-Working	29.7	47.0	15.8
WELFARE RECIPIENT			
Yes	27.9	40.0	28.9[b]
No	28.1	43.1	13.1
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE			
Less than 1 yr.	27.0	41.9	16.7
1-4 yrs.	33.1	42.3	19.1
5-12 yrs.	25.3	43.8	11.1
13 + yrs	26.1	42.9	11.6

TABLE 26.a (cont)

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	For the Exposed Group (n=447):		
	Information Gain	Attitude Change	Behavior Change
Total Sample Percent:	28.3%	42.8%	14.7%
Demograpics:			
NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION			
High	23.7[a]	46.2	12.8
Moderate	35.4	49.0	16.9
Low	27.6	28.6	20.0
GEOGRAPHIC REGION			
NE	34.6	40.0	8.0
MA	26.0	28.9	11.8
ENC	28.8	51.8	17.6
WNC	25.0	31.3	14.0
SA	26.7	45.9	14.6
ESC	33.3	47.6	20.0
WSC	27.9	45.2	10.5
MT	31.3	53.1	21.9
PAC	30.6	50.0	17.1
COMMUNITY SIZE			
1 Million +			
Central City	27.8	19.4[a]	12.5
Suburb	35.7	28.6	9.1
250,000-1M			
Central City	24.6	40.3	15.9
Suburb	21.6	30.6	8.6
50,000-250,000			
Central City	24.6	46.6	16.1
Suburb	34.7	49.0	10.4
Cities 10-50,000	31.9	47.8	18.2
Towns under 10,000	29.3	49.2	16.8

TABLE V.26b

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY PSYCHOLOGICAL INDICES

	For the Exposed Group (n=447):		
	Information Gain	Attitude Change	Behavior Change
Total Percent:	28.3%	42.8%	14.7%
ALTRUISM			
Low	31.2	39.8	15.1
Moderate	30.5	43.2	14.0
High	22.9	45.3	16.1
ALIENATION			
Low	28.7	40.0	13.9
Moderate	29.2	44.3	14.4
High	27.8	41.8	15.3
TRUST IN PEOPLE			
Low	34.4[a]	43.2	17.9[a]
Moderate	27.3	42.9	15.7
High	23.7	41.7	10.4
INSTITUTIONAL TRUST			
Low	25.0	45.4	15.6
Moderate	30.3	40.0	14.9
High	28.6	47.8	12.5

TABLE V.26c

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY INTERPERSONAL ACTIVITY INDICES

	For the Exposed Group (n=447):		
	Information Gain	Attitude Change	Behavior Change
Total Percent:	28.3%	42.8%	14.7%
NEIGHBORHOOD INTEGRATION			
Low	24.4	39.2	11.8
Moderate	32.3	41.5	14.6
High	25.6	45.5	16.2
ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP			
None	28.5	41.7	16.2
One	27.8	48.3	17.6
Two	23.1	39.1	10.2
Three-four	40.0	40.9	11.4
Five +	9.1	45.5	0.0

TABLE V.26d

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY MEDIA ORIENTATION INDICES[1]

	For the Exposed Group (n=447):		
	Information Gain	Attitude Change	Behavior Change
Total Percent:	28.3%	42.8%	14.7%
MEDIA EXPOSURE			
Low	27.7	34.4	14.0
Moderate	28.9	44.5	13.6
High	27.5	43.2	16.8
MEDIA FUNCTIONS			
More Relaxation	30.0	45.4	14.8
Neither	25.8	38.8	12.4
More Information	31.9	50.0	20.0
PSA SENSITIVITY			
Low	24.5	38.2	10.5[b]
Moderate	28.6	44.2	9.4
High	30.0	43.8	20.4
MEDIA CRIME ATTENTION			
Low			
Moderate			
High			

TABLE V.27

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY PSA ORIENTATIONS

	For the Exposed Group (n=447):		
	Information Gain	Attitude Change	Behavior Change
OVERALL	28.3%	42.8%	14.7%
ADV. INFLUENCE			
Low	25.6[a]	38.4[b]	10.6
Moderate	28.5	50.0	21.0
High	42.9	48.8	20.0
TV PSA ATTENTION			
Low	28.8	38.0	14.5
Moderate	27.6	41.7	12.2
High	28.5	45.6	17.6
RADIO PSA ATTENTION			
Low	26.2	37.2	10.8
Moderate	29.9	47.2	18.6
High	30.4	46.3	16.9
NEWSP. PSA ATTENTION			
Low	24.9	44.6	16.0
Moderate	30.7	38.5	13.2
High	31.3	46.3	15.6
MAGAZ. PSA ATTENTION			
Low	29.0	45.8	12.5
Moderate	28.2	40.3	17.5
High	26.2	38.5	14.8
PSA CREDIBILITY			
Low	13.6[b]	33.9[a]	3.7[a]
Moderate	28.6	42.9	15.7
High	35.9	47.5	18.6

TABLE 22 V.27 (cont)

For the Exposed Group (n=447):

	Information Gain	Attitude Change	Behavior Change
PSA AWARENESS UTILITY			
Low	17.1	23.1[b]	7.9[a]
Moderate	28.9	41.0	11.7
High	29.1	48.9	20.0
PSA ACTION UTILITY			
Low	20.4	35.2	9.4
Moderate	31.7	44.9	16.0
High	27.6	44.6	17.1
PSA INFORMATION SEEKING			
No	25.6	39.7[a]	13.5
Yes	26.7	49.6	18.3

TABLE V.28a

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY CRIME ORIENTATION INDICES

For the Exposed Group (n=447):

	Information Gain	Attitude Change	Behavior Change
Total Percent:	28.3%	42.8%	14.7%
PERCEIVED VULNERABILITY			
Low	27.9	39.5	12.9[a]
Moderate	27.8	42.9	15.2
High	33.9	43.2	16.9
VICTIMIZATION EXPERIENCE			
Low	27.9	41.8	15.6
Moderate	26.6	45.6	11.6
High	33.9	39.6	18.0
NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME RISK			
Low	31.2	37.5	15.5
Moderate	25.5	44.6	11.4
High	32.1	43.2	21.5

TABLE V.28b

CAMPAIGN IMPACT BY PREVENTION ORIENTATION INDICES

	For the Exposed Group (n=447):		
	Information Gain	Attitude Change	Behavior Change
Total Percent:	28.3%	42.8%	14.7%
PREVENTION INTEREST			
Low	22.4	34.9[b]	9.1[c]
Moderate	34.6	46.2	16.5
High	26.1	50.0	21.4
PREVENTION RESPONSIBILITY			
Low	27.8	39.3	12.9
Moderate	29.1	44.8	10.5
High	27.9	43.2	17.5
PREVENTION COMPETENCE			
Low	19.7	29.3[a]	11.3
Moderate	27.6	41.7	14.7
High	30.0	46.1	15.5
PROPERTY PROTECTION DEVICES			
Low	24.7	41.4	10.8
Moderate	29.7	46.7	17.7
High	28.7	43.2	15.1
CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY			
Low	23.1	34.6[a]	9.5[c]
Moderate	34.0	46.1	13.9
High	26.9	48.4	21.9

TABLE V.29

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF EFFECT VARIABLES BY MEDIA ORIENTATIONS, DEMOGRAPHIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTRIBUTES (N=1502)

	Information Gain Beta	Attitude Change Beta	Behavior Change Beta
Demographics			
Age	.03	.01	-.04
Sex (1 = Female)	-.01	.10	-.13[a]
Education	-.00	-.02	-.12
Income	.04	-.01	-.05
Number of Children	-.03	-.05	.03
Neighborhood Type	.10	.08	.05
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.10	-.06	-.03
Psychological Attributes			
Altruism	-.07	.05	-.02
Alienation	-.05	.05	-.07
Trust in People	-.11	.05	-.11
Institutional Trust	.09	.02	.05
Media Orientations			
Media Exposure	-.00	-.02	.05
Media Functions	-.04	.02	.05
PSA Sensitivity	.06	.02	.12[a]
Media Crime Att'n	-.01	.13[a]	-.04
	(R^2 = .06)	(R^2 = .08)	(R^2 = .10)

TABLE V.30

Crime Prevention Orientation
Change Scores by Campaign Exposure [1]

	Campaign Exposure	
	No (424)	Yes (93)
Prevention Concern	-.06	.12[a]
Prevention Responsibility	-.05	-.03
Prevention Confidence	.04	.10
Perc. Prevention Knowledge	.03	.09
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness	.02	.10
Property Protection	-.14	-.36
Prevention Activity	.78	2.71[a]
Observing Activity	-.09	.02[a]
Crime Reporting	-.14	-.23
Organization Joining	-.08	-.01
Anticipated Prevention	-.17	.04[a]
Anticipated Info Need	-.21	-.14
Anticipated Info Attention	-.04	.10[a]

[1] In this and in subsequent change score tables, the value depicted is the difference between the score at Time 2 and the score at Time 1. A positive value indicates a higher score at Time 2 than at Time 1; a negative value indicates a lower Time 2 score.

Table V.31

Specific Prevention Activity Change Scores by
Campaign Exposure

	Campaign Exposure	
	No (424)	Yes (93)
Locking doors when out	.10	.08
Locking doors when home	.09	.17
Locking windows	.35	.45
Indoor lights on	.08	.16
Outdoor lights on	.14	.29
Notifying police for watch	.08	.28
Stopping deliveries when gone	-.02	-.04
Asking neighbor to watch	-.03	.09
Using light timer	.12	.35
Not going out alone	-.01	.22
Going out by car	-.06	.23
Taking protection device	-.01	.17
Avoiding certian places	.03	.23

Table V.32

Prevention Concern by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Prevention Concern (T_1)	.28**
Age	.00
Sex (F=0)	-.07
Education	.01
Income	-.08
Children in Household	-.02
Neighborhood Type	.06
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.09
Victimization Experience	.07
Media Crime Attention	.11*
Other Prevention Exposure	.02
Campaign Exposure	.14**

R^2=.12

*p < .05

**p < .01

Table V.33

Prevention Responsibility by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Prevention Responsibility (T_1)	.18**
Age	-.09
Sex (F=0)	-.09
Education	.06
Income	-.05
Children in Household	.02
Neighborhood Type	.06
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.02
Victimization Experience	.08
Media Crime Attention	.00
Other Prevention Exposure	.08
Campaign Exposure	.00

R^2 = .06

Table V.34

Prevention Confidence by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Prevention Confidence (T_1)	.27**
Age	-.16**
Sex (F=0)	-.02
Education	.02
Income	-.01
Children in Household	-.11
Neighborhood Type	.00
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.01
Victimization Experience	-.01
Media Crime Attention	.06
Other Prevention Exposure	-.02
Campaign Exposure	.00

R^2 = .07

Table V.35

Perceived Prevention Knowledge by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Perceived Prevention Knowledge (T_1)	.26
Age	-.07
Sex (F=0)	-.02
Education	.05
Income	.11
Children in Household	-.06
Neighborhood Type	-.03
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.06
Victimization Experience	.06
Media Crime Attention	.03
Other Prevention Exposure	.03
Campaign Exposure	.01

R^2=.10

Table V.36

Perceived Prevention Effectiveness by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Perceived Prevention Effectiveness (T_1)	.13*
Age	-.02
Sex (F=0)	.01
Education	-.04
Income	.06
Children in Household	-.06
Neighborhood Type	.01
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.03
Victimization Experience	.07
Media Crime Attention	.09
Other Prevention Exposure	-.02
Campaign Exposure	.01
	R^2=.01

Table V.37

Property Protection by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Property Protection (T_1)	.36**
Age	.04
Sex (F=0)	.02
Education	-.02
Income	.10
Children in Household	-.05
Neighborhood Type	.11
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.08
Victimization Experience	.10*
Media Crime Attention	.00
Other Prevention Exposure	.05
Campaign Exposure	-.02
	R^2=.19

Table V.38

Prevention Activity Change by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Prevention Activity (T_1)	.24**
Age	.08
Sex (F=0)	-.28**
Education	.01
Income	-.04
Children in Household	-.05
Neighborhood Type	.09
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.03
Victimization Experience	.06
Media Crime Attention	.05
Other Prevention Exposure	.03
Campaign Exposure	.11
	R^2=.19

Table V.39

Observing Activity by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Observing Activity (T_1)	.22**
Age	-.05
Sex (F=0)	-.11*
Education	-.13*
Income	.07
Children in Household	.00
Neighborhood Type	.08
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.01
Victimization Experience	.05
Media Crime Attention	-.09
Other Prevention Exposure	.11*
Campaign Exposure	.14*
	R^2=.11

Table V.40

Crime Reporting by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Crime Reporting (T_1)	.09
Age	-.04
Sex (F=0)	-.05
Education	.06
Income	-.08
Children in Household	.14*
Neighborhood Type	-.01
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.02
Victimization Experience	.04
Media Crime Attention	.01
Other Prevention Exposure	.01
Campaign Exposure	-.05

R^2=.02

Table V.41

Prevention Organization Activity by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Prevention Organization Activity (T_1)	.19**
Age	-.04
Sex (F=0)	-.05
Education	.15*
Income	-.02
Children in Household	-.08
Neighborhood Type	.06
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.03
Victimization Experience	-.01
Media Crime Attention	.03
Other Prevention Exposure	.23**
Campaign Exposure	.05

R^2 = .13

Table V.42

Anticipated Prevention Activity by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Anticipated Prevention Activity (T_1)	.23**
Age	-.09
Sex (F=0)	-.07
Education	-.01
Income	-.12*
Children in Household	.15*
Neighborhood Type	.14*
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.11*
Victimization Experience	.06
Media Crime Attention	.13*
Other Prevention Exposure	.01
Campaign Exposure	.12*

$R^2 = .13$

Table V.43

Prevention Information Need by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Prevention Information Need (T_1)	.20**
Age	-.03
Sex (F=0)	.03
Education	.02
Income	-.11
Children in Household	.01
Neighborhood Type	.08
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.01
Victimization Experience	.03
Media Crime Attention	.04
Other Prevention Exposure	.00
Campaign Exposure	.09

$R^2 = .10$

Table V.44

Anticipated Information Attention by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Anticipated Information Attention (T_1)	.25**
Age	-.05
Sex (F=0)	-.07
Education	-.14*
Income	.08
Children in Household	-.11
Neighborhood Type	-.03
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.02
Victimization Experience	.04
Media Crime Attention	.08
Other Prevention Exposure	.03
Campaign Exposure	.12*

R^2 = .12

TABLE V.45

Crime Prevention Orientation
Change Scores by Campaign Exposure and Sex

	SEX			
	Female		Male	
Campaign Exposure	No (272)	Yes (58)	No (152)	Yes (35)
Prevention Concern	-.09	.02	-.01	.29
Prevention Responsibility	-.03	-.03	-.09	-.03
Prevention Confidence	.13	.07	-.11	.14
Perc. Prevention Knowledge	.06	.12	-.01	.03
Perc. Prevention Effectivness	.03	.10	.00	.09
Property Protection	-.08	-.76	-.24	.29
Prevention Activity	1.05	2.38	.30	3.25
Observing Activity	-.03	.09	-.20	-.09[a]
Crime Reporting	-.10	-.31[a]	-.22	-.11
Organization Joining	-.07	-.02	-.09	.00
Anticipated Prevention	-.17	.00	-.16	.11
Anticipated Info Need	-.22	-.26	-.19	.06
Anticipated Info Attention	-.04	.05	-.05	.17

TABLE V.46

Crime Prevention Orientation
Change Scores by Campaign Exposure and Age

	AGE					
	Under 35		35-54		55+	
Campaign Exposure	No (146)	Yes (34)	No (136)	Yes (34)	No (141)	Yes (23)
Prevention Concern	-.12	.06	-.02	.06	-.03	.04
Prevention Responsibility	.03	.00	-.12	.03	.00	.02
Prevention Confidence	.07	.35	-.12	-.12	-.03	.04
Perc. Prevention Knowledge	.07	.09	.06	.18	-.03	-.04
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness	-.08	.24	.08	.03	.00	.00
Property Protection	-.06	.26	-.35	-.62	-.01	-.82
Prevention Activity	.60	4.82[b]	.56	2.67	1.16	.39
Observing Activity	-.06	.06	-.06	.00	-.16	.26[b]
Crime Reporting	-.14	-.29	-.15	-.20	-.13	-.13
Organization Joining	-.07	-.06	-.09	.06	-.06	-.04
Anticipated Prevention	-.14	-.06	-.14	.09	-.22	.13
Anticipated Info Need	-.34	-.21	-.05	-.23	-.21	.09
Anticipated Info Attention	-.08	.14	.03	.09	-.08	.04

TABLE V.47

Crime Prevention Orientation
Change Scores by Campaign Exposure and Education

	EDUCATION			
	No College		College	
Campaign Exposure	No (216)	Yes (64)	No (205)	Yes (29)
Prevention Concern	-.06	.13	-.05	.05
Prevention Responsibility	-.05	-.08	-.08	.20
Prevention Confidence	.07	.14	-.02	.05
Perc. Prevention Knowledge	.00	.09	.13	.05
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness	-.02	.14	.04	.10
Property Protection	-.15	-.39	-.24	-.25
Prevention Activity	1.20	2.53	-.53	1.05
Observing Activity	-.05	.06	-.18	.10
Crime Reporting	-.18	-.23	-.10	-.15
Organization Joining	-.09	-.03	-.06	.05
Anticipated Prevention	-.21	.01	-.21	.15
Anticipated Info Need	-.26	-.16	-.12	-.25
Anticipated Info Attention	-.01	.17	-.08	-.10

TABLE V.48

Crime Prevention Orientation Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure and Income

Campaign Exposure	INCOME: Under $15,000 No (113)	Under $15,000 Yes (30)	$15,000-24,999 No (143)	$15,000-24,999 Yes (33)	$25,000+ No (120)	$25,000+ Yes (19)
Prevention Concern	-.02	.17	-.12	.24[b]	-.02	-.11
Prevention Responsibility	-.12	.00	.01	-.12	-.06	.11
Prevention Confidence	.09	.23	-.05	-.15	.07	.11
Perc. Prevention Knowledge	-.03	-.07	.09	-.03	.07	.55[a]
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness	-.03	.27	-.04	-.09	.05	.22
Property Protection	-.26	-.73	-.03	.27	.05	-.77
Prevention Activity	1.94	.47	.24	6.06[b]	.12	-2.11
Observing Activity	-.21	.03[a]	-.06	.09	-.01	.00
Crime Reporting	-.11	-.13	-.19	-.39	-.11	-.33
Organization Joining	-.12	-.07	-.08	.09	-.05	.00
Anticipated Prevention	-.12	.07	-.13	.03	-.23	.11
Anticipated Info Need	-.22	.00	-.20	-.15	-.17	-.56
Anticipated Info Attention	-.07	.13	.01	.00	-.05	.00

TABLE V.49

Crime Prevention Orientation Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure and Children in Household

Campaign Exposure	CHILDREN: Absent No (194)	Absent Yes (33)	Present No (229)	Present Yes (60)
Prevention Concern	-.06	.21	-.06	.07
Prevention Responsibility	-.08	-.15	-.02	.03
Prevention Confidence	.10	.09	.00	.10
Perc. Prevention Knowledge	.00	.03	.06	.12
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness	-.03	.09	.02	.13
Property Protection	-.11	-.15	-.16	-.48
Prevention Activity	.94	1.33	.06	3.46[a]
Observing Activity	-.13	.12[a]	-.06	.07
Crime Reporting	-.16	-.15	-.13	-.28
Organization Joining	-.07	.09	.03	.02
Anticipated Prevention	-.20	-.06	-.14	.10
Anticipated Info Need	-.19	.06	-.22	-.25
Anticipated Info Attention	-.04	.00	-.05	.15[a]

TABLE V.50

Crime Prevention Orientation Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure and Neighborhood Type

	NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE					
	Working		Middle		Upper	
Campaign Exposure	No (143)	Yes (44)	No (221)	Yes (42)	No (51)	Yes (5)
Prevention Concern	-.17	.11[a]	-.03	.17	.08	-.20
Prevention Responsibility	-.06	-.02	-.02	.00	-.13	-.40
Prevention Confidence	.13	.18	-.04	.05	.19	.00
Perc. Prevention Knowledge	-.02	.14	.04	.05	.17	.00
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness	.07	.14	.01	.05	.10	.60
Property Protection	-.49	-.47	-.03	-.21	.39	-1.20
Prevention Activity	1.06	3.54	.60	2.14	1.29	-.40
Observing Activity	-.16	.05[a]	-.07	.10	-.02	.40
Crime Reporting	-.22	-.09	-.11	-.38	-.08	-.20
Organization Joining	-.16	-.02	-.04	.00	.00	.00
Anticipated Prevention	-.22	-.09	-.13	.29[b]	-.23	-.60
Anticipated Info Need	-.36	-.09	-.14	-.21	-.12	.20
Anticipated Info Attention	-.04	.18	-.04	.02	-.04	.00

TABLE V.51

Crime Prevention Orientation Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure and Neighborhood Satisfaction

	NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION			
	Low		High	
Campaign Exposure	No (107)	Yes (28)	No (312)	Yes (64)
Prevention Concern	-.02	.08	-.07	.16[a]
Prevention Responsibility	-.05	-.23	-.03	.03
Prevention Confidence	.24	.04	-.01	.10
Perc. Prevention Knowledge	.12	.00	.01	.13
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness	.11	-.15	-.04	.23[a]
Property Protection	.04	-.77	-.17	-.11
Prevention Activity	1.05	1.85	.73	3.11[a]
Observing Activity	-.17	.00	-.07	.13[a]
Crime Reporting	-.23	-.27	-.09	-.22
Organization Joining	-.09	-.19	-.08	.06[a]
Anticipated Prevention	-.24	-.34	-.13	.16[a]
Anticipated Info Need	-.40	-.53	-.14	.00
Anticipated Info Attention	-.09	-.07	-.02	.16

Table V.52

Crime Prevention Orientation

Change Scores by Campaign Exposure and Prevention Concern (T_1)

Prevention Concern (T_1)	Campaign Exposure: No			Yes		
	Low	Mod	High	Low	Mod	High
Prevention Concern D	.67	-.03	-.81	1.08	.10	-.58
Prevention Responsibility D	.05	-.04	-.17	-.15	.07	-.36
Prevention Confidence D	-.08	.06	.06	.08	.08	.05
Perc. Prevention Knowledge D	-.03	.02	.11	.08	.10	-.10
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness D	.00	.02	-.13	.38	.08	.11
Property Protection D	.03	-.13	-.31	.78	-.53	-.68
Prevention Activity D	1.75	.61	.31	6.38	2.15	1.95
Observing Activity D	-.11	-.08	-.12	.15	.10	.00
Crime Reporting D	-.13	-.11	-.27	.15	-.27	-.37
Organization Joining D	-.07	.09	-.09	-.15	.15	.00
Anticipated Prevention D	-.08	-.13	-.35	-.23	.20	-.26
Anticipated Info Need D	-.11	-.16	-.44	.15	-.20	-.16
Anticipated Info Attention D	.13	-.06	-.12	.62	.08	-.21

Table V. 53

Crime Prevention Orientation

Change Scores by Campaign Exposure and Perceived Vulnerability

Perceived vulnerability	Campaign Exposure: No		Yes	
	Low	High	Low	High
Prevention Concern D	-.03	-.16	.02	.31
Prevention Responsibility D	-.04	-.09	.05	-.27
Prevention Confidence D	-.01	.14	.11	.04
Perc. Prevention Knowledge D	.02	.07	.06	.27
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness D	-.00	-.02	.09	.19
Property Protection D	-.11	-.17	-.38	-.46
Prevention Activity D	.91	.11	3.20	1.69
Observing Activity D	-.12	-.01	-.01	.12
Crime Reporting D	-.15	-.13	-.13	-.35
Organization Joining D	-.09	.06	.05	-.12
Anticipated Prevention D	-.08	.03	-.11	.02
Anticipated Info Need D	-.20	-.24	-.14	-.12
Anticipated Info Attention D	-.02	-.05	-.03	.01

Table V. 54

Crime Prevention Orientation

Change Scores by Campaign Exposure and Neighborhood Crime Perception

	Campaign Exposure					
	No			Yes		
Neighborhood Crime Perception	Low	Mod	High	Low	Mod	High
Prevention Concern D	.02	-.12	-.08	.00	.24	.03
Prevention Responsibility D	-.05	-.01	-.10	.32	-.20	-.07
Prevention Confidence D	-.08	.03	.26	.36	.10	-.10
Perc. Prevention Knowledge D	.07	.04	-.03	.41	.05	-.10
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness D	.05	-.03	-.03	.18	.22	-.07
Property Protection D	.31	-.32	-.48	-.09	-.15	-.86
Prevention Activity D	1.04	1.11	-.09	1.41	4.95	.60
Observing Activity D	-.02	-.13	-.13	.14	.12	.00
Crime Reporting D	-.11	-.16	-.17	-.23	-.17	-.33
Organization Joining D	-.07	-.12	-.03	.05	.00	-.07
Anticipated Prevention D	-.21	.08	-.09	-.02	-.08	.02
Anticipated Info Need D	-.22	-.01	-.17	-.10	-.09	-.29
Anticipated Info Attention D	-.02	-.04	-.07	-.12	-.02	.06

Table V.55

Crime Prevention Orientation

Change Scores by Campaign Exposure and Local Political Interest

	Campaign Exposure					
	No			Yes		
Local Political Interest	Low	Mod	High	Low	Mod	High
Prevention Concern D	-.09	-.03	-.04	-.06	.15	.16
Prevention Responsibility D	-.04	-.03	-.02	-.06	-.13	.16
Prevention Confidence D	-.04	.06	.16	-.13	.12	.20
Perc. Prevention Knowledge D	-.08	.06	.12	-.07	.12	.12
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness D	-.20	.00	.17	.13	.04	.28
Property Protection D	-.48	-.13	.20	-.80	-.44	.12
Prevention Activity D	1.35	.16	1.90	1.07	4.30	.76
Observing Activity D	-.16	-.11	.02	.00	.12	.00
Crime Reporting D	-.16	-.13	-.14	-.20	-.29	-.20
Organization Joining D	-.15	-.08	-.01	.07	.06	.04

Table V.56
Crime Prevention Orientation

Change Scores by Campaign Exposure and Trust in People

	Campaign Exposure					
	No			Yes		
Trust in People	Low	Mod	High	Low	Mod	High
Prevention Concern D	-.06	-.09	-.02	.30	.07	.07
Prevention Responsibility D	.00	-.08	-.04	-.15	.12	-.16
Prevention Confidence D	.05	.06	.04	.20	.13	-.03
Perc. Prevention Knowledge D	.00	.07	.02	.05	.21	-.06
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness D	.01	.02	-.04	.30	.02	.13
Property Protection D	-.33	-.24	.07	-.10	-.42	-.47
Prevention Activity D	2.63	.65	-.05	-.90	4.90	1.97
Observing Activity D	-.19	-.05	-.08	.05	.05	.17
Crime Reporting D	-.26	-.13	-.10	-.20	-.23	-.26
Organization Joining D	-.04	-.12	-.06	.00	.00	-.03
Anticipated Prevention D	-.18	.15	-.17	-.28	-.17	-.43[b]
Anticipated Info Need D	-.35	-.35	-.16	-.12	-.18	-.03
Anticipated Info Attention D	-.03	-.05	-.08	-.19[a]	-.01	.07

Table V.57
Crime Prevention Orientation

Change Scores by Campaign Exposure and Alienation

	Campaign Exposure					
	No			Yes		
Alienation	Low	Mod	High	Low	Mod	High
Prevention Concern D	.05	-.04	-.24	-.07	.21	.00
Prevention Responsibility D	.01	.00	-.23	.20	-.04	-.18
Prevention Confidence D	.05	.11	-.10	.07	.05	.23
Perc. Prevention Knowledge D	.18	-.02	-.02	-.20	.09	.27
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness D	-.05	.04	-.03	.00	.20	.00
Property Protection D	.03	.73	-.22	-1.00	3.52	-.81
Prevention Activity D	.51	-.19	1.29	1.47	-.02	1.50
Observing Activity D	-.07	-.07	-.18	.07	.11	.04
Crime Reporting D	-.04	-.15	-.27	-.33	-.14	-.41
Organization Joining D	-.07	-.07	-.11	.07	.02	-.14
Anticipated Prevention D	-.20	-.15	-.17	.53	-.07	.00
Anticipated Info Need D	-.26	-.18	-.22	.00	-.11	-.32
Anticipated Info Attention D	-.04	.02	-.10	-.07	.23	-.14

TABLE V.58

Crime Orientation Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure

	Campaign Exposure	
	No (424)	Yes (93)
Neigh. Crime Perception	-.10	-.04
Neigh. Crime Risk	.14	.24
Neigh. Safety (day)	.00	-.18[b]
Neigh. Safety (night)	.08	-.01[a]
Personal Vulnerability	-.20	-.17
Property Vulnerability	-.14	-.05

Table V.59

Neighborhood Crime Perception by Exposure
and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Neighborhood Crime Perception (T_1)	.32**
Age	-.01
Sex (F=0)	-.03
Education	.00
Income	-.05
Children in Household	-.03
Neighborhood Type	-.13*
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.14*
Victimization Experience	.04
Media Crime Attention	-.01
Other Prevention Exposure	.04
Campaign Exposure	.08

R^2 = .22

Table V.60

Neighborhood Crime Risk by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Neighborhood Crime Risk (T_1)	.12*
Age	-.03
Sex (F=0)	-.05
Education	-.01
Income	-.07
Children in Household	-.02
Neighborhood Type	-.01
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.06
Victimization Experience	-.04
Media Crime Attention	.04
Other Prevention Exposure	-.04
Campaign Exposure	.07

R^2 = .02

Table V.61

Neighborhood Safety (Day) by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Neighborhood Safety (Day) (T_1)	.19**
Age	-.07
Sex (F=0)	.16**
Education	.09
Income	.02
Children in Household	.04
Neighborhood Type	.09
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.17**
Victimization Experience	.00
Media Crime Attention	.04
Other Prevention Exposure	.02
Campaign Exposure	-.18**

R^2 = .20

Table V.62

Neighborhood Safety (Night) by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Neighborhood Safety (Night) (T_1)	.46**
Age	-.05
Sex (F=0)	.18**
Education	.03
Income	-.01
Children in Household	.09
Neighborhood Type	.05
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.07
Victimization Experience	-.02
Media Crime Attention	.05
Other Prevention Exposure	-.03
Campaign Exposure	-.10*

R^2 = .35

Table V.63

Personal Vulnerability by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Property Vulnerability (T_1)	.24**
Age	-.03
Sex (F=0)	.03
Education	.07
Income	-.04
Children in Household	.04
Neighborhood Type	-.08
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.11*
Victimization Experience	.08
Media Crime Attention	.06
Other Prevention Exposure	.01
Campaign Exposure	.05

R^2 = .10

Table V.64

Property Vulnerability by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Personal Vulnerability (T_1)	.30**
Age	.09
Sex (F=0)	.06
Education	.14**
Income	-.04
Children in Household	.14**
Neighborhood Type	-.11
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.15**
Victimization Experience	.07
Media Crime Attention	.01
Other Prevention Exposure	-.05
Campaign Exposure	.18**

R^2 = .17

TABLE V.65

Crime Orientation Change Scores by Campaign Exposure and Sex

	SEX			
	No		Yes	
Campaign Exposure:	Female (272)	Male (152)	Female (58)	Male (35)
Neigh. Crime Perception	-.11	-.09	.00	-.11
Neigh. Crime Risk	.18	.08	.24	.26
Neigh. Safety (day)	.00[a]	.00	-.27[a]	-.02
Neigh. Safety (night)	.08	.07	-.12	.17
Personal Vulnerability	-.27	-.08	-.25	-.06
Property Vulnerability	-.22	-.01	-.05	-.06

TABLE V.66

Crime Orientation Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure and Age

	AGE					
	Under 35		35-54		55+	
Campaign Exposure	No (146)	Yes (34)	No (136)	Yes (34)	No (141)	Yes (23)
Neigh. Crime Perception	-.05	.09	-.09	-.06	-.04	.00
Neigh. Crime Risk	.19	.15	.15	.12	.18	.11
Neigh. Safety (day)	-.01	.03	-.02	-.41[a]	-.01	.02
Neigh. Safety (night)	.16	.18	.08	-.24	.17	-.03
Personal Vulnerability	-.18	-.26	-.17	.09	-.16	-.02
Property Vulnerability	.06	.00	-.22	.14[a]	-.09	.08

TABLE V.67

Crime Orientation Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure and Education

	EDUCATION			
	No College		College	
Campaign Exposure	No (216)	Yes (64)	No (205)	Yes (29)
Neigh. Crime Perception	-.10	-.09	-.18	-.10
Neigh. Crime Risk	.09	.20	.21	.35
Neigh. Safety (day)	.02	-.22[a]	.00	-.10
Neigh. Safety (night)	.09	-.06	.12	.15
Personal Vulnerability	-.27	-.13	-.17	-.25
Property Vulnerability	-.19	-.06	-.18	.00

TABLE V.68

Crime Orientation Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure and Income

	INCOME					
	Under $15,000		$15,000-24,999		$25,000+	
Campaign Exposure	No (113)	Yes (30)	No (143)	Yes (33)	No (120)	Yes (19)
Neigh. Crime Perception	-.07	-.07	-.07	.06	-.15	.00
Neigh. Crime Risk	.04	.53[a]	.18	.30	.20	-.11
Neigh. Safety (day)	.04	-.20	.04	-.27[a]	-.02	.00
Neigh. Safety (night)	.11	-.10	.10	-.12	.02	.00
Personal Vulnerability	-.26	.04	-.15	-.24	-.18	-.11
Property Vulnerability	-.17	.17	-.12	-.15	-.08	-.11

TABLE V.69

Crime Orientation Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure and Children in Household

	CHILDREN			
	Absent		Present	
Campaign Exposure	No (194)	Yes (33)	No (229)	Yes (60)
Neigh. Crime Perception	-.14	.03	-.07	-.05
Neigh. Crime Risk	.08	.36	.18	.18
Neigh. Safety (day)	.01	-.24	.00	-.15
Neigh. Safety (night)	.03	.00	.14	-.02
Personal Vulnerability	-.25	-.12	-.15	-.22
Property Vulnerability	-.16	.03	-.13	-.07

TABLE V.70

Crime Orientation Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure and Neighborhood Type

	NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE					
	Working		Middle		Upper	
Campaign Exposure	No (143)	Yes (44)	No (221)	Yes (42)	No (57)	Yes (5)
Neigh. Crime Perception	-.16	-.02	-.11	-.12	.12	.40
Neigh. Crime Risk	.10	.32	.15	.12	.24	1.00
Neigh. Safety (day)	.02	-.34[a]	-.02	-.05	.00	.00
Neigh. Safety (night)	.11	.02	.05	.02	.09	-.60
Personal Vulnerability	-.22	-.11	-.19	-.24	-.16	-.40
Property Vulnerability	-.23	.02	-.09	-.17	-.09	.20

TABLE V.71

Crime Orientation Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure and Neighborhood Satisfaction

	NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION			
	Low		High	
Campaign Exposure	No (107)	Yes (28)	No (312)	Yes (64)
Neigh. Crime Perception	-.26	-.15	-.05	.02
Neigh. Crime Risk	.04	.27	.18	.28
Neigh. Safety (day)	.03	-.12	-.02	-.20[a]
Neigh. Safety (night)	.08	.15	.08	-.09
Personal Vulnerability	-.26	-.12	-.19	-.22
Property Vulnerability	-.21	-.12	-.11	.02

CONTINUED

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TABLE V.72

Psychological Change Scores
by Campaign Exposure

	Campaign Exposure	
	No (424)	Yes (93)
Alienation	.93	1.16
Trust in People	.03	-.18
Federal Gov't Trust	-.08	.02
Municipal Gov't Trust	-.10	-.02
Trust in Police	.09	.13

Table V.73

Alienation by Exposure
and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Alienation (T_1)	.38**
Age	.06
Sex (F=0)	.07
Education	-.08
Income	-.11*
Children in Household	-.07
Neighborhood Type	-.03
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.09
Victimization Experience	.04
Media Crime Attention	.03
Other Prevention Exposure	-.02
Campaign Exposure	.10

$R^2 = .29$

Table V.74

Trust in People by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Trust in People (T_1)	.32**
Age	-.02
Sex (F=0)	-.06
Education	.14*
Income	.12
Children in Household	.00
Neighborhood Type	-.03
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.05
Victimization Experience	-.09
Media Crime Attention	.00
Other Prevention Exposure	-.05
Campaign Exposure	-.03

R^2 = .17

Table V.75

Federal Government Trust by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Federal Government Trust (T_1)	.29*
Age	-.01
Sex (F=0)	-.02
Education	.05
Income	-.01
Children in Household	.00
Neighborhood Type	.07
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.05
Victimization Experience	-.13*
Media Crime Attention	.04
Other Prevention Exposure	.03
Campaign Exposure	.10

R^2 = .10

Table V.76

Municipal Government Trust by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Municipal Government Trust (T_1)	.26**
Age	.04
Sex (F=0)	-.01
Education	.10
Income	.00
Children in Household	.04
Neighborhood Type	.01
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.06
Victimization Experience	-.14*
Media Crime Attention	-.04
Other Prevention Exposure	.00
Campaign Exposure	.06

R^2 = .09

Table V.77

Trust in Police by Exposure and Control Variables: Regression Analysis

	Beta
Trust in Police (T_1)	.39**
Age	.01
Sex (F=0)	-.07
Education	.08
Income	.04
Children in Household	-.05
Neighborhood Type	.06
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.02
Victimization Experience	-.07
Media Crime Attention	-.02
Other Prevention Exposure	.00
Campaign Exposure	.05

R^2 = .17

Table V.78

MART Responses by Comparable Change Score Measures

A. Reported Information Gain

	No (62)	Yes (31)
Prevention Responsibility	-.13	.16[a]
Perc. Prevention Knowledge	.13	.01

B. Reported Attitude Change

	Low (37)	Moderate (21)	High (31)
Prevention Concern	.03	.14	.19
Prevention Confidence	.13	.00	.14

C. Reported Behavior Change

	No (74)	Yes (19)
Property Protection	-.68	.84[b]
Personal Protection	1.64	6.89[a]
Observing Activity	.12	-.05
Crime Reporting	-.26	-.16

TABLE V.79

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF EXPOSURE TO CRIME PREVENTION INFORMATION (N=1502)

	r	Beta
Age	-.09[b]	-.03
Sex (F=1)	-.04	-.03
Education	.09[b]	.02
Income	.06	.01
Neighborhood Type (Upper=1)	-.03	.02
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.01	.01
Children in Household	.09[b]	.05
Altruism	.13[c]	.04
Alienation	-.12[b]	-.10[a]
Trust in People	.00	-.05
Institutional Trust	.05	.02
Media Exposure	.20[c]	.12[a]
Media Functions (Ent.=1)	.12[b]	.06[a]
PSA Sensitivity	.22[c]	.14[a]
Media Crime Att.	.20[c]	.11[a]
Perceived Vulnerability	.09[b]	.03
Victimization Experience	.12[c]	.06[a]
Neighborhood Crime Risk	-.02	-.02
		(R^2=.16)

TABLE V.80

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF ATTENTION TO CRIME PREVENTION INFORMATION (N=1502)

	r	Beta
Age	.06	.07[a]
Sex (F=1)	-.09[b]	-.08[a]
Education	-.02	-.04
Income	-.01	-.01
Neighborhood Type (Upper=1)	-.02	.02
Neighborhood Satisfaction	.04	.02
Children in Household	.04	.02
Altruism	.11[b]	.06
Alienation	.05	-.03
Trust in People	-.08[a]	-.06
Institutional Trust	.01	.09[a]
Media Exposure	.06	.01
Media Functions (Ent.=1)	.04	.01
PSA Sensitivity	.27[c]	.17[a]
Media Crime Att.	.26[c]	.09[a]
Perceived Vulnerability	.14[c]	.12[a]
Victimization Experience	.09[b]	.01
Neighborhood Crime Risk	.12[b]	.00

TABLE V.81

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF PERCEIVED NEED FOR CRIME PREVENTION INFORMATION (N=1502)

	r	Beta
Age	-.04	-.02
Sex (F=1)	-.18[c]	-.13[a]
Education	-.05	-.01
Income	-.05	-.03
Neighborhood Type (Upper=1)	-.01	-.04
Neighborhood Satisfaction	-.06	.01
Children in Household	.03	-.04
Altruism	.06	.04
Alienation	.07[a]	.02
Trust in People	-.08[a]	-.03
Institutional Trust	.00	.04
Media Exposure	.02	-.04
Media Functions (Ent.=1)	-.04	-.08[a]
PSA Sensitivity	.21[c]	.15[a]
Media Crime Att.	.13[c]	.07[a]
Perceived Vulnerability	.23[c]	.15[a]
Victimization Experience	.13[c]	.06
Neighborhood Crime Risk	.19[c]	.09[a]

(R^2=.17)

Table V.82

Correlations between Crime Prevention Orientation Change Scores and Perceived Information Need and Anticipatory Influence (for the Campaign Exposed Group) (N=93)

	Perceived Information Need	Anticipatory Influence
Prevention Concern	-.02	.07
Prevention Responsibility	-.04	-.03
Prevention Confidence	-.02	.10
Perc. Prevention Knowledge	.00	.03
Perc. Prevention Effectiveness	-.02	.09
Property Protection	.12	.11
Prevention Activity	.24[b]	.21[a]
Observing Activity	.14	.10
Crime Reporting	.02	.03
Organizational Joining	.13	.10

END