PARTICIPATION IN COLLECTIVE RESPONSES TO CRIME

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There has been little previous research on participation in collective responses to crime. In this paper we employ survey data to test and refine generalizations about the dynamics of participation generated from an analysis of field observations in ten neighborhoods in three major American cities.

There is considerable literature regarding the correlates of participation in various types of voluntary associations and a more limited body of data on participation in specific types of activities (Smith, 1975). A few studies have examined the correlates of participation in specific types of collective responses to crime, such as anti-burglary programs (Schneider and Schneider, 1977) and citizen patrols (Marx and Archer, 1976), but these studies have not examined the full range of collective responses to crime at the neighborhood level (DuBow, Kaplan and McCabe, 1978).

A collective response to crime, as defined here, is an activity in which unrelated individuals act jointly to "do something about crime." The collective quality of the response may involve a large or small number of people, may be highly organized or spontaneous and informal. Some "collective" responses can only be accomplished in cooperation with others such as neighborhood surveillance program, while others involve activities that individuals could also undertake on their own such as engraving their property.

Our data rely on the respondent's definitions of whether or not a particular activity is or is not a response to crime. Thus, "doing something about crime" is a characteristic attributed to the activities by the participants rather than by the researchers. The ascription of an activity as a "response to crime" is thus a matter of one's perspective. An activity such as a youth recreation program which may be perceived as an anti-crime

program by one person or group may be considered nothing more than a recreation program by another.

Although we rely on respondent perceptions to define responses to crime, some collective activities such as civilian patrols, neighborhood surveillance or home security education programs are generally regarded as responses to crime while other activities such as youth employment or recreation programs and community organizing are less consistently conceived of as crime programs.

In this paper we shall distinguish participation in collective responses to crime from more general organizational involvement in neighborhood groups. Organizational involvement will be used when referring to persons who report that they are involved with a neighborhood group. This concept includes various types of intensities of involvement. Participation will be used when referring to respondents who report that they took part in a response to crime of a neighborhood organization in which they were involved.[1]

Field Observation and the Formulation of Hypotheses

Our hypotheses are derived from field data collected in each of ten neighborhoods in Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco during 1976 and 1977 over a 15-month period. In Table 1 we list the neighborhoods in each city where the research was centered. The data consist of field notes based on formal and informal interviews with community group leaders, organizers, and members, the police, local officials, merchants, and neighborhood organization meetings, the physical environment of the

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Table 1 about here

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Table 1

DATA TYPES AND SOURCES

City-Wide Telephone Samples	Neighborhood Telephone Samples and Field Observations
San Francisco	Mission Sunset Visitacion Valley
Chicago	Back of the Yards Lincoln Park Wicker Park Woodlawn
Philadelphia	Logan South Philadelphia West Philadelphia

neighborhoods and other activities. In analyzing nearly 10,000 pages of field notes, we have found that most neighborhood groups that took action on the crime issue were concerned simultaneously or serially with a number of other issues. It was relatively uncommon to find local groups that were solely concerned with crime. Instead, most collective crime activity is carried on in multi-issue groups. Examining the histories of groups with responses to crime, we found that crime usually was not the first issue which the organization addressed. Indeed, organizers often were reluctant to organize around the crime issue because it was difficult to achieve quick victories and to sustain people's involvement. Because crime was generally not the central issue for these neighborhood groups, it is likely that many of the people who are involved with neighborhood organizations which engage in crime responses do not do so because of the organizations' crime concerns. Further, their participation in the organizations' responses to crime has more to do with their role as a member of the organization than with their perceptions and beliefs about crime.

By comparing the characteristics of participants and non-participants in neighborhood crime prevention activities and then comparing those who are involved but do not participate in collective crime responses with individuals who participate in the crime responses of their groups, we can test these ideas. We find that:

(1) Participants do not have distinctive perceptions of crime;

(2) Most of the differences among participants and non-participants are characteristics of all people who are involved in neighborhood organizations regardless of whether they participate in collective responses to crime. When participants are compared with non-participants who

are involved in community organizations, few differences remain.

(3) The correlates of involvement and participation are primarily either evidence of individual neighborhood integration, or are effects of participation.

The Survey Data

The survey data discussed below were gathered in a random digit dialed telephone survey conducted in the same three cities (Skogan, 1978). The survey included city-wide and neighborhood samples in each city. This analysis will only use the three city-wide samples merged into a pooled data set.[2] Subsequent analyses will deal with neighborhood and city variations.

The telephone survey included questions on perceptions of crime (risk, fear, changes in rates, concerns), victimization experiences and contacts with the police, knowledge of the victimizations of others, perceptions of the efficacy of various responses to crime, individual behavioral reactions to crimes, measures of neighborhood integration, and standard demographic information.

The dependent variables in the study are measured by the responses to a series of questions about involvement in neighborhood organizations and participation in collective responses to crime. Respondents were asked whether they were involved in any neighborhood group, whether the group or organization had ever done anything about crime, and whether they participated in the activity. Participants in collective responses to crime, in these data, are a subset of all those who were involved.

Before proceeding it will be useful to understand certain limitations in these data. First, we will only be discussing involvement and participation in neighborhood groups. Any involvement and/or participation in organizations that function on a supra-neighborhood basis such as city-wide or national organizations would not be included in these data. Hence, these data underestimate the total participation in collective responses to crime. Such groups have played a major role in court or police reform, anti- or pro-handgun control and other criminal justice law reform activities. Second, the survey focuses on participation in collective responses carried out by neighborhood groups rather than more informal collective activities but questions about cooperative street and home surveillance arrangements explore some aspects of less organized responses.

The Pattern of Organizational Involvement and Participation

The overall pattern of involvement and participation can be seen in Figure 1. Twenty percent of the sample report involvement (B in Figure 1) with a neighborhood group.[3] The rate of organizational involvement would be considerably higher if respondents had been asked about their ties to voluntary associations without the qualification that they be neighborhood groups (Smith, 1975). About half of those involved, or 10.3 percent of

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Figure 1 about here

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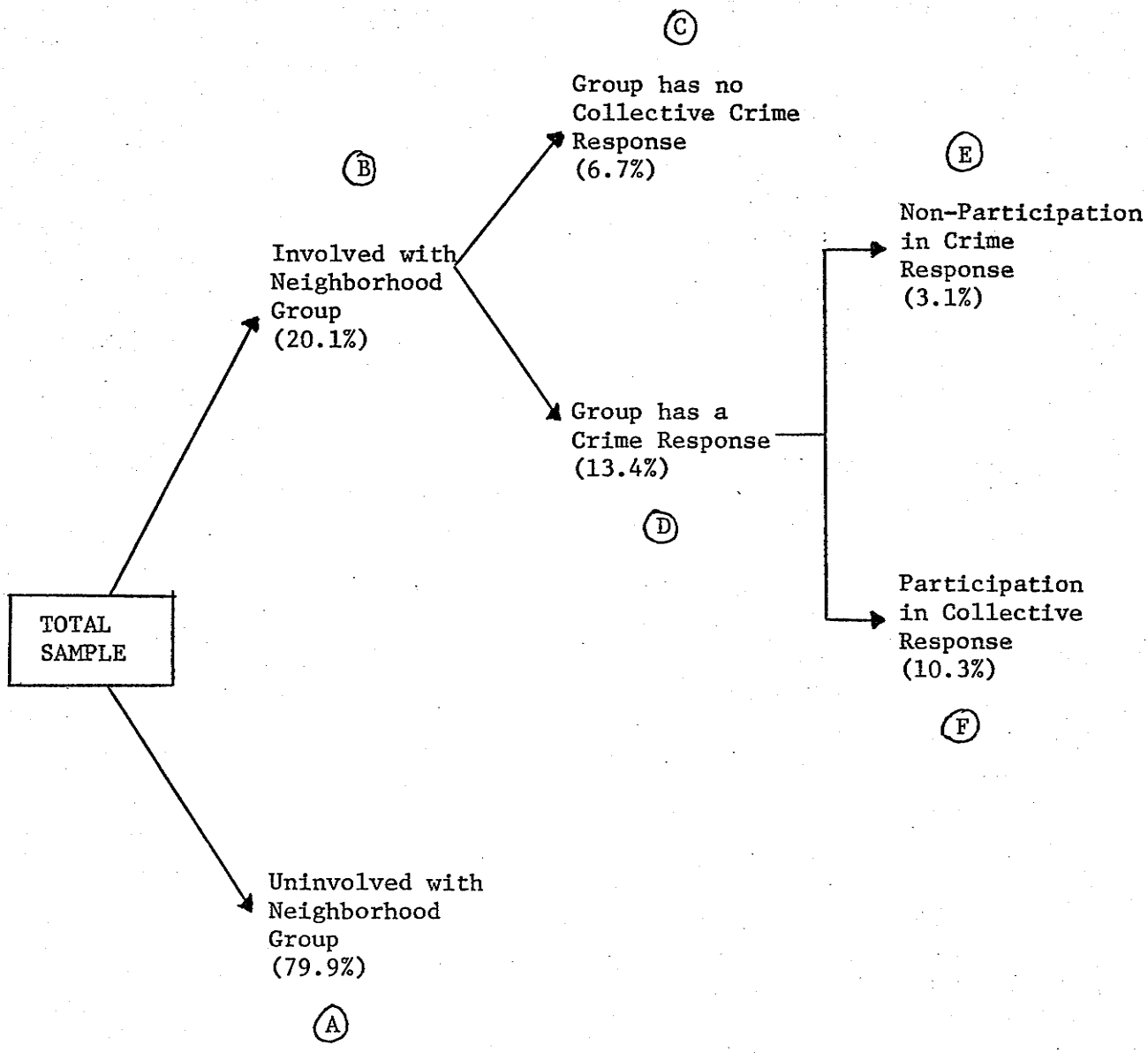
the entire sample, report taking part in collective responses to crime (F in Figure 1). Thus the rate of participation in collective responses to crime is low as a proportion of the entire population, but is high when only those involved in neighborhood groups are considered.

Figure 1

PATTERN OF INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS AND COLLECTIVE RESPONSES TO CRIME IN THE POOLED CITY-WIDE SAMPLES

(N = 1618 based on city-wide samples from San Francisco, Chicago and Philadelphia.)



One reason for this high proportion of participants among those involved in neighborhood groups is that sixty-six percent (D/B) of all involved people report that their organizations have made some sort of a response to crime. Since these data were drawn from city-wide samples with few duplications of organizations among the respondents, the sixty-six percent represents a reasonable estimate of the proportion of neighborhood organizations which were doing something about crime in the eyes of their members. Thus, collective responses to crime are a common aspect of the activities of neighborhood groups. For those persons involved in neighborhood groups, the chances are quite high that they will have the opportunity to participate in a collective crime response.[4] Among those people who had the opportunity, seventy-seven percent (F/D) did participate. Neighborhood organizations are quite successful in getting their members to take part in crime responses.[5]

In our field data we encountered wide variations in the intensity and forms of participation. The majority of participants do little more than come to an occasional meeting or, on a particular occasion, join in some activity. "Participation" does not mean a high level of activism; only a handful of persons are active on any regular basis and involve themselves in the planning and implementation of programs. The pattern of a few highly active participants and many peripherally involved people is characteristic of almost all voluntary organization participation. Thus, organizations may have a high proportion of their members participating but find room for improvement in the intensity of that participation.

Correlates of Participation: Preliminary Issues

To examine the characteristics of individuals who participate in collective responses to crime, we begin by considering the bivariate

relationship of participation with the forty-one variables which we believe might have been related to participation (Table 2, Column A). These variables have been organized around thirteen categories.

We identify three individual crime related perception categories (of crime, of neighborhood conditions, and of the efficacy of actions), three types of behaviors (individual crime responses, informal collective crime responses, and police contacts[6]), three aspects of neighborhood integration (attachment, social knowledge, and crime knowledge), one type of victimization experience (burglary), two types of social statuses (family and residential), and a number of demographic characteristics. Following a discussion of these results we replicate the analysis using only the subgroup of those individuals who are involved with neighborhood organizations. This step allows us to determine whether the apparent correlates of participation are, in reality, related to involvement rather than participation per se.

Twenty-three of the forty-one variables were significantly related to participation (Tau B was used as a measure of association.[7]) Sixteen relationships were significant at the .01 level and seven at the .05 level (Table 2, Column A). The significantly related variables were found primarily to be in the areas of integration, social statuses, demographic characteristics, experiences, and some behaviors. However, of the thirteen crime related perception variables only two were found to be significant, and even these had weak associations.

Crime Related Perceptions Are Not Associated with Participation

Before proceeding with further analysis of the correlates of participation, it is important to examine those factors that were not found to be associated or were weakly associated with participation, namely, perceptions of crime, of neighborhood conditions, and of the perceived efficacy of collective crime prevention activities. The survey included questions on fear (How safe do you feel...?), risk (How likely is X to happen...?), and judgments (How big a problem is ...?) (Fowler and Mangione, 1974). These three types of questions were used to measure people's perceptions of crime in the aggregate as well as more specific questions about personal (robbery, assault), property (burglary, vandalism) and "victimless" (drug dealing) crimes. Of the eight perception question, seven were not significantly correlated with participation and the eighth (perceived safety in the neighborhood at night) has a low level of association (Tau B = .064). Participants are somewhat more likely to feel safe in their neighborhood at night. Although this strength of association was too weak to be included in our model of participation, its implications will be discussed below.

There were three questions about perceptions of neighborhood conditions. Two of these are closely linked to or seen as symbols of crime, the presence of abandoned buildings and of youth hanging around on the streets. Neither was significantly related to participation. The third variable, the direction of neighborhood change, was weakly associated (Tau B = .067) with participation. The direction of the association is positive, i.e., participants are more likely to feel that the neighborhood is getting better than are non-participants. This finding fits well with the above mentioned association between participation and feeling safe as

well as the finding that participants are more likely to expect to live in the neighborhood in two years.

Finally, participation was not associated with either perceptions of the efficacy of the police or neighborhood groups in fighting crime. Participants were neither more or less likely to see the police or neighborhood groups as efficacious in fighting crime.

Participants are not distinguishable from non-participants in the way they view the seriousness of crime, their personal risks, the efficacy of possible solutions, or in their fears. Crime perceptions are also not related to involvement in neighborhood groups.[8] For whatever reasons people get involved and participate, thoughts on crime are not a major factor.

These findings are relevant to two approaches utilized by policy makers and activists in community crime prevention to increase participation by altering people's perceptions of crime. The first approach attempts to increase fears and perceived risks based on the assumption that fear of crime induces social action, i.e., when people see a problem as more serious and personally threatening, they are more likely to act. A second approach concentrates on increasing people's sense of the efficacy of citizen groups. A greater estimation of the efficacy of citizen action, it is assumed, will increase the likelihood of participation.

Our findings argue strongly against the first approach. Participants do not see crime as a bigger problem or more likely to happen to them than do non-participants. On only one of these questions do they differ (although weakly) from non-participants.[9] Contrary to what an advocate of the first approach would assume, participants felt safer than non-participants. The nature of this relationship is more likely to reflect an effect of

participation rather than a motivation to participants. Lower fear is more likely to be a result of participation than it is a reason for participating.

When we controlled for income and education separately, the relationship between fear and participation disappeared for all but the highest income and educational groups. These groups may be benefitting from participation through diminished fear. This specified relationship, while interesting, should not obscure the more fundamental pattern of results, i.e., that perceptions of crime are not a major correlate of participation. If fear does not increase participation, then approaches that seek to increase fear through communications that have a message that "crime is more serious and prevalent than you think" will be ineffective and damaging. If participation is not increased, then the net result is only an increase in fear. Moreover, since higher levels of fear are associated with less frequent going out at night, increasing fear further undermines a type of behavior which may decrease crime.

Since almost everyone (87 percent) in our sample believes that neighborhood groups could help reduce crime, there is unlikely to be much benefit to be gained from a communications strategy which relies heavily on targeting such perceptions. The public, as a whole, already believes this tenet of community crime prevention, but it is a belief that is shared equally by participants and non-participants alike. It could be that differences on other perceptual dimensions exist, but the pattern of these findings strongly argue for the relative unimportance of crime as an issue in determining individual participation in collective responses to crime. In line with what we discuss below, attempts to increase involvement in neighborhood groups, for whatever reason, are likely to be more effective, indirectly, in increasing participation.

Involvement and Participation

From the field data, we derived a conception of participation in collective responses to crime as being primarily an aspect of general involvement in neighborhood groups. Involved individuals engage in a wide range of activities which sometimes include crime responses. Getting involved in neighborhood organizational life is a major step, while participation in collective responses to crime is a relatively smaller step for those already involved. Involvement overcomes inertia, participation in crime responses is one path that is taken. If involvement was the more significant and overarching process, then many of the participation correlates may actually be correlates of involvement. If the correlates of participation were due to involvement, these associations will disappear or be substantially reduced when we replicate our analysis of the correlates of participation among involved persons. (In terms of Figure 1, this means comparing F with C plus E.)

The internal replication we performed is analogous to introducing a test factor into a two-variable relationship. Normally, the introduction of a test factor (often referred to as "controlling for", or "holding constant") results in a minimum of two conditionals. In controlling for involvement, one of the conditionals would normally represent the involved and the other the uninvolved people. However, since our categories are nested and only involved people could, by definition, participate, there can be no uninvolved participants. Our analysis therefore deals only with the remaining conditional resulting from correlates of participation controlling for involvement. This conceptualization of the procedure allows us to employ the logic of causal analysis in examining the importance of the role of involvement for understanding participation.

In Table 2, Column B, we present the correlates of participation "controlling for" involvement. Only five variables were significantly related to participation. Thus, eighteen of the original twenty-three correlates of participation were, on further analysis, found to be more strongly related to involvement. The characteristics of those who get involved, in large measure, shape the profiles of participants. To understand who participants are one must begin by understanding that larger pool of persons involved with neighborhood organizations. In most respects they resemble participants, but differ in many respects from uninvolved persons.

A Model of the Correlates of Participation in Collective Responses to Crime

We now present a model which emphasizes the central importance of involvement for understanding participation. Following this we will take a closer look at those variables which have moderate to strong associations (Tau B values greater than or equal to .10) with participation. Because of the sample size, weak associations (e.g., Tau B = .067) are significant at the .01 level. In order to avoid discussions of statistically significant but weak relations, we focus our further analysis and discussion on those variables that have moderate associates. These values are underlined in Table 2. When involvement is held constant, five of the ten original correlates of participation (Column A) with Tau B greater than or equal to .10 are reduced below the .10 level and are not significant at .05; one is reduced but remains at .10, and the strengths of the four remaining relationships are increased. In all, five relationships are significant at the .05 level and have Tau B values greater than or equal to .10.

Table 2

CORRELATES OF PARTICIPATION

	(A) Total Sample N=1369		(B) Involved Only N=275	
	T_B	P	T_B	P
PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME				
Was crime ever much less a national problem than now		N.S.		N.S.
Safety in the neighborhood at night	.064	.006		N.S.
Safety in the neighborhood during the day		N.S.		N.S.
How big a problem is crime in the neighborhood		N.S.		N.S.
Risk of personal crime		N.S.		N.S.
How big a problem is the use of illegal drugs		N.S.		N.S.
How big a problem is vandalism		N.S.		N.S.
PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONDITIONS				
Direction of neighborhood change	.067	.007		N.S.
How big a problem are kids hanging out on streets		N.S.		N.S.
How big a problem is abandoned or burned out buildings		N.S.		N.S.
PERCEIVED EFFICACY OF ACTIONS				
Can neighborhood groups reduce crime		N.S.		N.S.
Police cannot do much about crime		N.S.		N.S.
INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIORAL RESPONSES TO CRIME				
Engrave property for identification	.053	.026		N.S.
Leave light on at night when out		N.S.		N.S.
Notify police when away		N.S.		N.S.
Stop deliveries when away	.081	.001		N.S.
Proportion of times escorted at night because of crime		N.S.		N.S.
Proportion of times taking car at night because of crime		N.S.		N.S.
Proportion of times taking something for protection at night	.062	.013		N.S.
Proportion of times avoiding particular areas at night		N.S.		N.S.
Carry theft insurance	.100	.000		N.S.
INFORMAL COLLECTIVE CRIME RESPONSES				
Keep eye on the street	.130	.000	.154	.00
Ask neighbors to watch home	.111	.000	.140	.011

Table 2 (cont.)

	(A) Total Sample		(B) Involved Only	
	T_B	P	T_B	P
POLICE CONTACT				
Contact with police in the last yr.	.108	.000	.119	.023
ATTACHMENT TO NEIGHBORHOOD				
Feel a part of the neighborhood	.155	.000		N.S.
Expect to live in neighborhood in two years	.072	.003		N.S.
NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE				
Ease in identifying strangers in the neighborhood	.084	.001		N.S.
Proportion of neighborhood kids known	.156	.000		N.S.
NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME KNOWLEDGE				
No. of types of local crime victims known	.141	.000	.100	.035
VICTIMIZATION				
Burglary-victimization within past 2 yrs.	.058	.016		N.S.
DEMOGRAPHICS				
Sex		N.S.		N.S.
Age	.052	.021		N.S.
Race	.046	.048		N.S.
Occupation		N.S.		N.S.
Income	.063	.011		N.S.
Education	.055	.013		N.S.
FAMILY STATUS				
Children in the home	.113	.000	.153	.00
RESIDENTIAL STATUS				
Home ownership	.106	.000		N.S.
Length of residence	.100	.000		N.S.
No. of families in building	.082	.000		N.S.

N.S. = not significant at the .05 level

Underlined relationships have Tau B of .10 or greater

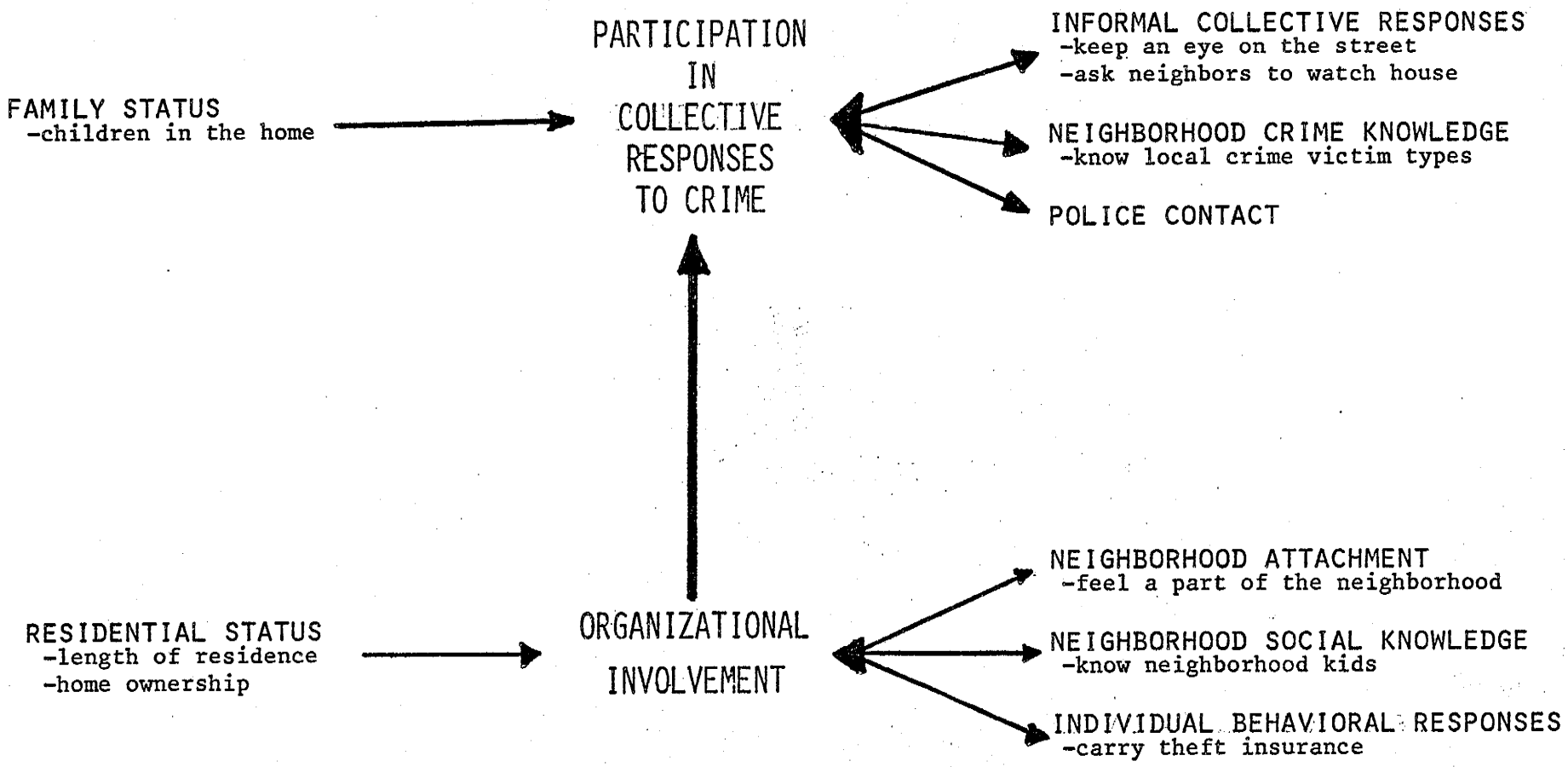
Figure 2 is a causal model derived from these findings. As is suggested by the arrows, variables on the left side of the model are considered antecedent to both involvement and participation while those on the right are as likely to be a result of participation or involvement as a cause. Those variables in the upper part of the figure are those for which the relationship remained when involvement was controlled and are therefore considered to be directly related to participation; those in the lower half are ones for which the relationship with participation disappeared or was substantially reduced when "controlling for" involvement. For two of the three antecedent variables, home ownership and length of residence, the disappearance of the relationship with participation leads to the interpretation that the association with participation is a result of the association with involvement as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3

Residential status ⟶ involvement ⟶ participation

The persistence of the relationship between family status and participation indicates that having children in the home affects participation over and above the effects of involvement.

For the three variables in the lower right of Figure 2 which were no longer significantly related to participation when involvement was held constant, our interpretation is that, depending upon the causal order, either involvement is an intervening variable (Figure 3) or that the original relationship with participation was spurious (Figure 4). However it should be emphasized that, for the purposes of this paper their causal

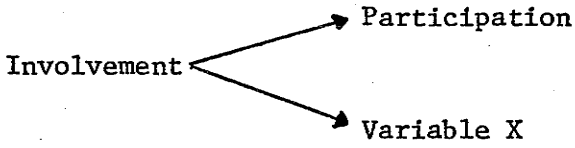


Causal model of Participation in Collective Responses to Crime for Variables Associated at Tau B $\geq .1$
$p \leq .05$

Figure 2

order is less significant than that they are directly associated with involvement rather than participation.

Figure 4
Example of a Spurious Relationship



The four variables on the upper right of Figure 2 remain significantly related to participation even when involvement is held constant. Although directly related to participation, the direction of the association remains indeterminant. Viewed as factors contributing to participation, all the variables but police contact can be interpreted as measures of integration in the neighborhood. On the other hand, each of the four describe behaviors that neighborhood responses to crime are likely to affect. In discussing these variables individually we first take the former view. Following this, we examine them as effects of participation. We now take a closer look at each of the variables included in our model.

Family Status

Being an adult in a household with children under 18 present is the only moderately strong antecedent variable which is directly related to participation. Individuals with children living in their home are more likely to participate than those who live in households without children. In a previous study (DuBow and Baumer, 1976) this relationship was also found to hold for sample of adults living in Chicago when marital status was held constant. For both married and unmarried persons, those with

children were more likely to participate in crime and police-related neighborhood activities. Although both being married and having children in the household increase the likelihood of participation, having children was the stronger factor.

The presence of children tends to involve the household with the neighborhood. Children often provide an opportunity to get to know people in the neighborhood (Suttles, 1972) and their welfare provides a set of reasons for caring about the neighborhood. Couples with children have previously been found to belong to more voluntary associations (Wright and Hyman, 1958, 294).

From victimization and self-reported crime surveys, we know that young people are the segment of the population most likely to be involved in crimes as both victims and offenders (Savitz, et al., 1977; Hood and Sparks, 1973). In most neighborhoods, young people are believed to be the perpetrators of much of the crime and it follows that the types of collective response most frequently mentioned by participants were those that provided services for youth, such as employment and recreational opportunities. Having children of one's own to deal with may thus increase the motivation to do something about crime and particularly youth crime.

Residential Status

Residential status is measured here by the length of residence in the neighborhood and by home ownership. Longer residence and home ownership are correlated with higher rates of participation. These relationships were reduced when controlling for involvement as an intervening variable. Thus, residential status is directly related to involvement. The importance of length of residence in explaining involvement in community

organizations has been found by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) and Hunter (1974). Home owners and longer-term residents have made an investment in the community and are likely to stay; involvement in neighborhood organizations may be a result of their having a stake in the area. This interpretation suggests a close connection with neighborhood social integration. However, the integration measures continue to be significantly related even after residential status is held constant.

Neighborhood Social Integration

Integration has been conceptualized in a number of ways in the sociological literature. A cognitive aspect of neighborhood integration involves awareness of the neighborhood as an entity and knowledge about it. A sentimental aspects of integration involves the degree of attachment, identification, and positive evaluation of the neighborhood (Hunter, 1974). Neighborhood integration can also be measured in terms of the degree of informal social interaction taking place (Keller, 1968). There are variables on the right side of our model which we interpret as measures of each of these three aspects of social integration. Taken together they emphasize the importance of neighborhood social integration for understanding the characteristics of individuals who are most likely to become involved in neighborhood organizations and participate in collective responses to crime. The higher the integration into the neighborhood, the more permanent the ties to the neighborhood through home ownership and length of residence, the more likely individuals are to be involved and participate.

a. Cognitive Integration: There are two measures of the cognitive dimension of neighborhood integration in our model. Knowledge of local crime victim types is one measure of how much an individual knows about

the neighborhood and its residents. Participants in collective responses to crime know local victims of more types of crime than non-participants. When participants are compared with other involved persons, the relationship with participation is reduced but still moderately strong. This means that higher knowledge of local crime victim types is found among involved persons, but is even more likely to be an attribute of participants.

When controlling for sex, the relationship is further specified. Among involved females, there is a very weak association (T_B = .06) between local crime victim knowledge and participation. In contrast, there is a moderate (T_B = .14) association for involved males.

Another measure of social knowledge of the neighborhood is the proportion of local youths known by the respondent. Participants knew a higher proportion of neighborhood youths than non-participants. However, this relationship disappeared when involvement was held constant, suggesting that this is an attribute of all involved persons and not just participants.

b. Social Interaction Measures of Integration: Participants are more likely to watch the street in front of their homes (street surveillance) and to ask their neighbors to watch their home when they are going away for more than a day (home surveillance). These activities imply a mutuality and neighborliness and, as such, are indicators of social interaction. A person watching the street is focusing on the affairs and the possible safety of others who are using the neighborhood's street. Such behavior does less for the individual's safety than for the safety of others. Similarly, asking a neighbor to watch one's house implies a mutuality. The person making the request presumably is willing to reciprocate when asked.

Both of these activities can be interpreted as aspects of informal neighboring along with borrowing items, doing favors, and verbal exchanges. Seen as an antecedent variable they are further indications that participants are more highly integrated in the neighborhood.

c. Sentimental Integration: Participants are more likely to report feeling a part of the neighborhood. However, this apparent relationship disappeared when involvement was held constant. If the relationship to participation is indirect with involvement intervening, then it is one more indication of the importance of integration in explaining involvement and indirectly participation.

It should also be recalled that length of residence in the neighborhood and home ownership, two statuses frequently associated with greater neighborhood integration, were already described as indirectly affecting participation through their influence on involvement.

Police Contact

Participants are more likely to have had contact with the police in the past year. By contact, we mean reporting a crime, making a request, or requesting assistance. Fifty percent of the entire sample, forty-three percent of those involved but not participating, and fifty-five percent of the participants report at least one such contact.

If the greater likelihood of police contact preceded their participation in the collective responses to crime, it could be that whatever led people to contact the police also contributed to making them become participants. The lack of association between burglary victimization experiences and participation suggests that participants are probably not calling the police because they are more frequently victims. Crime was a reason

for calling the police in only one-quarter of the contacts. In most cases, citizens wanted other types of assistance. It may be that participants see more problems as involving crime and a criminal justice response and hence contact the police more often and are more active in neighborhood efforts to deal with crime.

The Effects of Participation

Thus far we have discussed the four variables on the upper right side of our model as independent variables with respect to participation. As such, they are primarily interpreted as measures of social integration. But, as we noted above, it is equally plausible to interpret them as results of participation.

Individual Behavioral Responses to Crime

The only individual behavioral response that had a moderate (Tau B $\geq$ .10) association with participation was carrying theft insurance. Participants were more likely to report having insurance. However, this association disappears when involvement is held constant. The relevance of this behavior to our model is further weakened by the disappearance of its relationship to involvement when home ownership is held constant.

Participants, hence, do not differ from other people in terms of their taking greater precautions against burglaries or street crimes. This lack of association means that participants are not the type of people who are more active as individuals in providing for their personal security. Viewed as an effect participation in neighborhood crime programs does not lead to people taking more precautions than non-participants. Since a number of neighborhood programs seek to reduce burglaries by encouraging such individual behaviors, the absence of an association indicates little

or no impact. This finding contrast with that reported for a burglary prevention program in Portland which emphasized neighborhood meetings (Schneider and Schneider, 1977).

Surveillance: The greater frequency of surveillance activities among participants may indicate some success for neighborhood crime prevention programs, many of which suggest that neighbors engage in these activities. These findings are in contrast to those reported above for individual behavioral responses which lack the mutuality and neighborliness inherent in these two types of surveillance activities.

Police Contact: Contacting the police may be increased by participation in collective responses. We know from our field observations that police officials were frequently present at neighborhood meetings on crime. The police generally provided crime prevention information at such meetings, but also urged greater cooperation and involvement of citizens in fighting crime. These direct appeals to duty or the indirect effects of meeting with police on a personal basis, which may have made people more relaxed about contacting the police, may both have led to increased contacts. For most police departments, crime prevention is primarily a public relations activity; this association suggests that such efforts may have had some success.

Knowledge of Local Crime Victim Types: One consistant characteristic of collective responses to crime at the neighborhood level is the pervasiveness of meetings at which crime problems are discussed. Our field observations show that a regular part of such meetings is the recounting of crime stories. Those attending frequently relate incidents that have happened to them personally or ones they have learned about indirectly. In addition to the other information conveyed at such meetings, participants are likely to increase their store of information about local crimes.

This process appears to be more pronounced for male than female participants. Female participants may have other communication networks which males do not. For males, the participation in crime-related meetings may be a more unique source of victim news.

Summary

We have used survey data derived from three pooled city samples to examine some ideas derived from field observations in the neighborhoods of those same cities. The survey data confirm that there are relatively few differences between participants and non-participants other than those attributed to involvement in neighborhood groups.

Involvement in a neighborhood group is a relatively uncommon activity, but among those who are involved, there is a high likelihood that they will participate in a collective response to crime. This is true in large part because two-thirds of all neighborhood groups engaged in collective responses to crime of some type. Efforts to increase participants would do well to encourage involvement in neighborhood groups for whatever reasons people have. Our data indicate that increased rates of involvement are likely to lead to increases in participation.

When the specific correlates of participation are examined, several other conclusions can be drawn. First, we noted the absence of differences in perceptions of crime or of police and neighborhood groups' efficacy in fighting crime. People do not participate in collective responses to crime because of some special views about crime. We suggest, instead, that such participation is a common outgrowth of involvement in neighborhood groups. Since neighborhood groups are generally involved in many issues, the individual motivations for involvement will also vary greatly.

Second, we have found few characteristics of individuals which help explain why they participate. Of the six direct correlates of participation all but one, children in the household, are as likely to be consequences as explanations for participation. A common theme running through these correlates is the importance of individual stability and integration in the neighborhoods. Those with long-term commitments to the neighborhood and who are more tied in with their neighbors are more likely to participate.

Finally, the pattern of direct correlates suggests that the participation in collective responses to crime may be effective in increasing mutual surveillance activity and requests for police assistance and ineffective in influencing individual precautionary or avoidance behaviors.

NOTES

1. Open-ended survey questions asked respondents to describe the types of activities in which they were taking part. These responses include a wide variation in intensity and programmatic orientation. Some respondents participated in a single meeting which dealt with crime, while others were active on a more regular basis. At the low end of participation, we would expect there to be fewer differences between participants and non-participants.
2. The number of respondents in the three city-wide surveys were quite close: 539, 540, 539, for San Francisco, Philadelphia and Chicago respectively. Hence, merging the three samples gives equal weight to each city.
3. An additional fifteen percent report that they have gathered to talk or do something about neighborhood problems, though they judge themselves to be uninvolved.
4. To the extent that respondents were not fully aware of the activities of organizations in which they were involved, our data may underestimate the proportion of such groups with crime responses.
5. The high rate of participation may be an overestimate. If people who have participated in a collective response to crime are more likely to report on the presence of such an activity in their neighborhood organization than those who did not take part, then there would be more people who were involved with organizations that had crime responses who did not participate. Even if there was a crime response in most neighborhood organizations, the participation rate in collective responses to crime would still be over fifty percent.

6. As we discuss later, most contacts with the police do not involve a crime and hence police contacts are not conceptualized as an individual behavioral response to crime.
7. All of the variables whose relationship with participation we are examining can be conceptualized as ordinal measures with the exception of race. Because of the composition of the cities and neighborhoods in our sample, it is important to distinguish between whites, blacks, Asians, Spanish-speaking populations. As such it is a nominal variable for which Tau B is an inappropriate measure of association. We collapsed these categories to whites (including Asians) and non-whites (blacks and others) and report the Tau B in table 2 but we also examined the chi square for the uncollapsed variable and found no significant relationship at the .05 level.
8. In an analysis of involvement (A vs. B in Figure 1) we found these perceptions of crime to be similarly unassociated.
9. This question is close to the wording of the survey question most often interpreted as a measure of the fear of crime. The most typical wording for such a question asks "How <u>afraid</u> are you when walking alone in your neighborhood at night?" At best, such questions tap the respondent's fear of street crimes. They do not address fear associated with home invasions, burglaries, or other property crimes.

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