

# Preventing Residential Burglary

James R. Gillham

# Preventing Residential Burglary

Toward More Effective  
Community Programs

With 24 Illustrations



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# Contents

Acknowledgments .....	v
1. Burglary Prevention and Problems of Participation .....	1
2. Dixon's "Goodfields" Program .....	11
3. Program Participation and World View .....	29
4. Program Participation: Attendance at Block Club Meetings ...	45
5. Program Participation: Property Marking, Neighborhood Watch, and Security Survey .....	67
6. Program Participation: Contacts and Networks .....	89
7. Effects of the Program .....	109
8. Program Participation: World View's Decay with Communication .....	125
9. Conclusions .....	141
10. Burglary Prevention: Suggestions to Programs .....	149
Appendix A: Tables .....	163
Appendix B: Research Methodology .....	167
Appendix C: Layperson's Simplified Glossary .....	175
References .....	179
Index .....	191

# 1

## Burglary Prevention and Problems of Participation

Particularly in the last decade, people's efforts to protect themselves against crime have become much more visible (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, p. 1). Signs reading "This is a neighborhood watch community" have appeared in towns and cities across the nation. Other signs designate certain houses as the homes of "block parents."

Many police departments now have special personnel whose duties include not merely public relations but also working with residents and community organizations to deter crime—some to the point of certifying or decertifying block clubs (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, pp. 22–42). These organizations often have obtained grants and contracts to show residents how to prevent crime.

McGruff, the crime prevention dog, sometimes seems ubiquitous on radio and television, in newspaper and magazine ads, as well as special pamphlets with advice on how to "take a bite out of crime."

These efforts represent a fundamental change in the structure of criminal justice (Yin 1979). To be sure, some socially integrated areas, particularly certain ethnic neighborhoods, may have acted together to prevent crime in their vicinity. But for most of this century, at least, people in the United States have expected the criminal justice establishment—police, courts, and correctional institutions—to carry virtually the entire burden of preventing crime. Private citizens were not expected to go out of their way to look for crime, but merely to report crimes they happened to discover and to act as witnesses.

To discourage vigilantism, as well as to avoid criticism and scaring people, many police departments have tried to limit citizens' participation to these basic roles. Many departments also have avoided telling residents about the severity of the crime problem in their area. Police officials' appearances before community groups were—and, in some places, still are—heavily a matter of public relations, not geared to organizing citizens to do anything.

But at least the last two decades have brought changes. Critics have called a variety of elements of criminal justice overrated or ineffective. These include police patrol, police investigation, the courts' handling of victims and witnesses, and a

wide variety of prison programs (see, e.g., Martinson 1974; Petersilia 1987). People have come to realize that the criminal justice establishment cannot control crime as effectively as they had believed and hoped 20 years ago (Yin 1979). As a result, many police departments and other agencies have turned to trying to discourage crime before it occurs by encouraging citizens' crime prevention efforts. At least some citizens now want to help, as well.

## Burglary Prevention Programs

These changes in outlook have led to a flood of widely familiar programs commonly called "community crime prevention," "neighborhood watch," "block watch," or a similar name. By a very conservative estimate, such programs number more than 15,000 in the 48 contiguous states.<sup>1</sup>

Police departments and community organizations often use these programs to discourage a variety of crimes. This book, however, treats such efforts in terms of preventing burglary, which the National Crime Survey defines as unlawful or forcible entry of a residential structure (including houses and garages), usually, but not necessarily, attended by theft; burglary includes attempted forcible entry (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1985, p. 1).

Two reasons justify designating such programs as burglary prevention. First, participants are largely concerned with residential burglary (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, p. 52). Second, the practitioner community, to varying degrees, looks on such activities as means to prevent burglary and uses them to that end. This is the case in the Seattle program—widely imitated in several ways and designated "exemplary" by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice—and efforts elsewhere (Ciril, Evans, McGillis, and Whitcomb 1977, pp. 25, 28, 30; Duncan 1980, pp. 7, 8, 21; NuTone Housing Products 1977, pp. 10, 12, 22).

As with approaches to dealing with many other social problems, research, however, does not indicate conclusively whether these programs actually reduce burglary. This book contributes to knowledge of such effects.

Burglary, itself, is an important problem. The Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics estimates that ". . . seven of every 10 households will be burglarized at least once during any 20-year period" (United Press International 1987; cf. Koppel 1987, Table 3).

Compared with other crimes, burglary also is relatively prevalent. The 1987 National Crime Survey puts the number of household burglaries at 39.9 times that of rape, 5.5 times that of robberies, 3.6 times that of aggravated assaults, 30.4 times that of purse snatching, 17.4 times that of pocket picking, and 3.8 times that of motor vehicle theft (ratios based simply on total numbers of incidents, Bureau of Justice Statistics 1988b, Table 2).

Prospects, unfortunately, are not particularly good for the return of property taken in a burglary or for adequate compensation. The 1987 Uniform Crime Reports indicate that only 14% of burglaries reported to police are cleared (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1988, p. 25). In a study of burglaries without forced entry from

1973 through 1975, the National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service found that roughly four-fifths of the households never recovered their lost goods or received compensation (1979, p. 7).

Household burglaries cost this nation billions of dollars a year (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1988, p. 25; Shenk and Klaus 1984, Table 2). Losses are fairly small for some households, but can be substantial for others. In 1986, roughly 5% of household burglaries involved no monetary loss; 18% had losses of less than \$50; 8%, losses \$50 to \$99; 12%, \$100 to \$249; 9%, \$250 to \$499; and 25%, \$500 or more (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1988a, p. 72).<sup>2</sup> In 1987, losses in residential burglaries reported to police averaged \$1,004 (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1988, p. 25). Some of these dollar amounts may appear trivial for a particular household, but many victims consider them excessive, especially since they occur unexpectedly.

These figures, of course, do not begin to account for nonmonetary losses, such as the shock and distress that can result from the break-in. In Maguire's interviews, roughly two-thirds of victims reported still feeling the effects of the experience—such as a sense of insecurity—four to 10 weeks after a burglary (1980, p. 264).

Burglary also appears to reduce property values. Minneapolis data, presented by Frisbie, Fishbine, Hintz, Joelson, and Nutter, indicate that for every one percent of residential units burglarized during a one-year period, the average value of an owner-occupied unit declines about \$376 (1977, chapter 3).

All levels of the socioeconomic structure face the threat of burglary (Skogan and Maxfield 1981, pp. 38–40). The rich attract professional burglars because of the potential value of the loot; the poor are particularly vulnerable to neighborhood youths who steal when they see an opportunity. Middle-class households may face a combination of these threats.

Skogan and Maxfield also argue that being victimized by burglary and hearing reports of burglaries involving others are extensive enough to engender fear of crimes against the person, even in places where such crimes are less likely (1981, chapters 4,10). Conklin argues, correspondingly, that crime reduces neighbors' solidarity—the extent to which they trust and are attached to each other—and, thereby, the social control they exercise over their area (1975, p. 9).

While the burglary rate has declined in recent years, the problem has not gone away. Except for 1974, 1980, and 1981, according to the National Crime Survey, the frequency of household burglary per 1,000 households has declined steadily since 1973 (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1988b, Table 3). Even in 1987, however, 61.3 of every 1,000 households, on the average, were victims of burglary (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1988b, Table 3).

Finally, other developments point to a possible increase in overall crime rates—including, perhaps, in burglary—in the early 1990s (cf. Blumstein 1985, p. 52). During those years, according to demographic indicators that have improved past projections, the children of “baby-boomers” will be reaching the age brackets that account for an appreciable proportion of the crime reported to police (Blumstein 1985, p. 38).



## Program Activities

Routine activities theory indicates that predatory crimes tend to occur to the extent that (1) *motivated offenders* come in contact with (2) *suitable targets* (3) in the *absence of capable guardians* against such acts (Cohen and Felson 1979, p. 589). Predatory crimes are those “. . . involving direct physical contact between at least one offender and at least one person or object which that offender attempts to take or damage” (p. 589). Unlike some other approaches, this theory does not try to account for the existence of offenders, but simply assumes that they do exist and behave rationally to commit their acts while avoiding detection (Clarke 1983; Cohen, Kluegel, and Land 1981, p. 508). Targets are suitable to the extent that offenders find them desirable, or, under some circumstances, portable and valuable. Guardians consist of those persons or objects that, by their presence or some kind of action, prevent a violation from occurring. Examples could include police officers, neighbors, pedestrians, private security guards, locks, burglar alarms, and bars on windows (Cohen et al. 1981, p. 508).

This theory has been supported by research on a number of different crimes, and similar notions have provided the foundation for a wide variety of efforts to reduce crime by reducing the number of targets and increasing guardianship (Clarke 1983; Cohen 1981; Cohen et al. 1981; Miethe, Stafford, and Long 1987; cf. Garofalo 1987; Gould 1969; Maxfield 1987).

Applying this theory to burglary, Cohen indicates that in the United States from 1947 to 1972, burglary increased with logarithms of measures of, basically, (1) the proportion of the population in a youthful (more crime-prone) age bracket, (2) the portability of consumer goods, likely to be taken in a burglary, and (3) the proportion of households likely to have all adults absent more often (Cohen 1981, p. 138, Table 4; cf. Cohen and Cantor 1981).

Despite the clarity and apparent validity of this theory, using it to reduce burglary is not necessarily an easy matter. Manufacturers, for one, are not likely to make durable consumer products less attractive or useful merely to diminish their appeal to burglars.

As for the number of potential offenders, birth rates are relatively difficult—though certainly not impossible—to control. But no responsible observer is likely to suggest that criminal justice considerations should play a significant role in population policies anywhere in the world.

Burglars' motives also appear relatively difficult to control in any immediate sense. According to one argument, helping potential offenders remain legitimately employed would reduce their motivation to commit crimes. Research, however, suggests that at least some serious property offenders have jobs—though low-paying ones—and that property offenses constitute a form of moonlighting, secondary employment to supplement legitimate income (Holzman 1982; West 1978, pp. 175, 178; cf. Gibbs and Shelly 1982, p. 313). Wilson and Herrnstein use a different perspective to review crime's relation to unemployment, but arrive at a similarly ambivalent conclusion (1985, p. 336).

While locking burglars up eventually leads many to reject the crime, the remedy takes a long time to work, and the outcome, at best, is uncertain. Younger, more amateur burglars haven't yet learned the consequences of being caught and imprisoned and, consequently, pay less attention to potential reward in relation to risk (Repetto 1974, pp. 21, 23–24; Scarr 1973, p. 70; Shover 1985, pp. 107, 109–117; Shover 1991, pp. 90–91). As will be discussed in more detail later, most burglaries are committed by youthful, less skilled burglars (Shover 1983b, p. 1270).

But as burglars grow older, they also become more aware of the risks and demand greater potential payoffs to warrant taking such chances (Bennett and Wright 1984, pp. 66–67; Maguire 1982, p. 62; Repetto 1974, pp. 17, 20–21, 23–24; cf. Shover 1985, p. 111). Many less successful burglars eventually burn out—tiring of prison and its consequences—and come to prefer legitimate work as an alternative to burglary (Shover 1983a; West 1978, pp. 184–5; cf. Maguire 1982, p. 89).

The role of guardians can be equally complex. Most older burglars believe they usually can overcome the locks of a building (Bennett and Wright 1984, pp. 83–84; Maguire 1982, p. 86; Repetto 1974, pp. 18–19; but see Scarr 1973, p. 71). Younger, more amateur burglars may be less able to defeat improvements in physical security and, therefore, more likely to try to take advantage of momentary opportunities (Repetto 1974, p. 23; cf. Scarr 1973, p. 67; Shover 1985, p. 107).

The effects of dogs and burglar alarms also vary: either may stop younger, more amateur burglars more often than older, determined ones. A determined burglar apparently can circumvent either (Bennett and Wright 1984, pp. 80, 85; Maguire 1982, p. 86; but see Repetto 1974, pp. 23–24).

Most burglars—older or younger—try to avoid any witnesses, neighbors as well as the victims themselves (Bennett and Wright 1984, p. 94; Maguire 1982, p. 83; Walsh 1986, p. 149). Waller and Okihiro report, correspondingly, that in Toronto, houses that are more difficult to keep under surveillance are more likely to be burglarized (1978, Table 5.5). Winchester and Jackson report a similar finding (1982, pp. 13–16). But even knowing that burglars try to avoid buildings under surveillance does not necessarily encourage someone to keep an eye on any particular building.

Burglary prevention programs do their best to overcome these difficulties. They are not designed to reduce the number of motivated offenders directly. Such programs, instead, attempt to deter burglars—particularly the more amateur ones, who commit the most such offenses—by a combination of fewer suitable targets and more guardianship, especially in areas where residents may not be able to afford more expensive alternatives, such as particular alarm systems (cf. Titus 1984, p. 125).

While these programs can include various activities, this book focuses on property marking, neighborhood watch—defined, as will be discussed shortly, more narrowly than by some other sources—security survey, and for reasons that will become apparent later, block clubs. Such clubs, basically, are formed by residents of a particular block or street to deal with common problems like crime, absentee landlords, and conditions in their neighborhood. In some cases, a club includes residents of several streets.

Feins (1983, p. 16) reports property marking, neighborhood watch, and security survey the most common activities in such programs and terms them the “Big Three” of crime prevention. Garofalo and McLeod report a similar finding (1987, p. 58, Table 10).

Property marking—sometimes called “Operation Identification”—involves engraving an identification number—frequently the owner’s driver’s license number—on such valuables as television sets, stereo equipment, and bicycles. The number, with the owner’s name and address, then is kept on file—listed on a card or sometimes in a computer—to help return an item to its owner, should it be stolen and recovered. Some proponents also hope that engraving identification numbers on articles will diminish their value in the eyes of burglars.

In neighborhood watch, residents make a point of keeping an eye on neighbors’ property and taking appropriate action, such as calling police, if the need arises. Compared with some other usages of the term, this is a more restricted notion of neighborhood watch.<sup>3</sup>

Under security survey, persons with special training on ways to prevent burglary inspect homes and recommend appropriate preventive measures. These, for example, can include installing double-keyed, deadbolt locks and putting pins in windows to prevent them from being opened beyond a particular point.

### *Problem of Participation*

No knowledgeable practitioner, obviously, expects such activities to eradicate burglary, because older burglars are too resourceful. But these programs assume that burglary *declines*—to some extent, presumably—as increasing numbers of residents participate in particular prevention activities (cf. Garofalo and McLeod 1987, p. 15). While not all programs have difficulty rallying citizen participation, many do (cf. Garofalo and McLeod 1987, p.119). Numerous police departments have complained about this (White, Regan, Waller, and Wholey 1975, p. 8; New York State Office of Crime Prevention, p.15.8). Contacts with administrators of community-based programs indicate they share this outlook.

Organizers trying to establish a program can find the public’s apparent apathy particularly frustrating and dispiriting. Some have said their biggest surprise—and disappointment—came from being turned down when trying to interest a household in burglary prevention. After a while, such refusals may become even more disheartening as the organizers come to internalize them. In at least one program, some observers believed organizers began to lose their enthusiasm and make less of an effort—spending only 10 minutes rather than 20, for example, trying to persuade a reluctant resident to attend a block club meeting.

### *Questions*

While residents fail to participate for a variety of reasons, part of the problem lies in the programs’ failure to communicate as effectively as they could. Researchers and practitioners have incorporated communication in their respective work, but

not in as many ways as might be beneficial. A large part of this book, consequently, is concerned with how communication works with aspects that have received more attention in burglary prevention.

Five basic questions form the foundation of this book. The first three concern developing participation in a prevention program. The fourth involves the effects of such a program on burglary, while the fifth deals with loss of interest in such activity once it is under way. The data for examining these questions come from a burglary prevention program in Dixon, a pseudonym for a city of more than 300,000 in the northeastern United States. This program, to be called by the pseudonym Goodfields, is typical of many across the country.<sup>4</sup> Chapter 2 describes the program and reasons for considering it typical.

Chapter 3 takes up the first of the five questions—how residents' burglary prevention activities vary with their understanding of their own environment. Practitioners and academics have had some difficulty pinpointing the aspects of such understanding—such as attitudes and perceptions—that have the most important relations with such activities and are most useful in persuading residents to participate. But a new approach, involving the notion of *world view*, yields findings that contribute to academic knowledge and appear useful to practitioners.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the second question, which concerns the antecedents of participation in burglary prevention. Those who have studied such participation have documented some processes that prompt it. But studies in communication have found behavior related fairly strongly to processes not yet examined in burglary prevention or used systematically, so far as can be determined, by organizers. Insight into these processes, particularly the order in which they occur, would help organizers understand the kinds of communication among residents that, most directly, would encourage participation in burglary prevention.

Chapter 6 covers the third question—how contacts develop among neighbors in a block club. In an approach unusual for burglary prevention studies, it analyzes such contacts in terms of the *dyad*—two households that may or may not communicate with each other. Rogers and Kincaid (1981) argue that studies based on this unit of analysis are both legitimate and highly useful in looking at the antecedents of communication.

So far, no research, apparently, has looked at how such contacts develop. Organizers, moreover, would have difficulty determining this on their own, since they do not ordinarily obtain a representative picture of all the contacts—particularly the less frequent ones—among neighbors.

Yet understanding how these contacts develop is important because an organizing effort will die if it fails to involve enough neighbors. Such knowledge, first, would help organizers overcome the reluctance of some residents to encourage their neighbors to take part in burglary prevention. In many cases, for example, an organizing effort reaches the stage where organizers tell residents, "Go get your neighbors. Tell them you've had 10 burglaries on your street in the last 6 months and the block is getting together to do something about it. Ask them to come to the next meeting on June 12 at Mrs. Bynum's house at 8 p.m." Yet some residents find

this difficult, because they are hesitant about promoting burglary prevention or aware of the frustration that could result from contacting neighbors who refuse to participate. They also may not want neighbors to consider them “pushy.”

But organizers tuned in to the circumstances in which residents tend to contact particular neighbors could draw on the same influences and, thereby, become more effective. Residents would be sent to neighbors with whom, according to research, they are most likely to have contacts anyway, and, probably, about whom they feel more confident.

Second, understanding how these contacts develop also would help organizers reach the point where they or club leaders would need to speak with only a few people on a block to pass along particular information persuasively to the rest. Communication may be too fragmented when a club is first organized for such coordination. But developing an appropriate pattern—or network—of contacts would expedite matters.

Together, therefore, examinations of the three participation-related questions provide insights that can help in implementing burglary prevention programs. But to those more concerned with results, an equally, if not more, important question is the effectiveness of such programs in reducing burglary. Researchers disagree on this point, but some, to get a better handle on this question, have come to focus on the conditions under which such programs are effective (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, pp. 14–15; cf. Rosenbaum, Lewis, and Grant 1986).

In dealing with the fourth major question to be covered in this book, Chapter 7 narrows it further to a program’s effects on burglaries involving theft from within residences and garages. Although victims are upset by burglary even if nothing is taken, those including theft appear to be more upsetting and frequent. For households, roughly 80% of forcible entries and unlawful entries—burglaries other than attempts—involve theft (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1985, Table 5). While burglary, on occasion, can include violent crimes, like assault, this is relatively rare, since most burglars try to avoid any contact with their victims (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1985, Table 8; Bennett and Wright 1984, p. 87).

On the fifth question, Chapter 8 looks at what underlies residents’ loss of interest in burglary prevention. Burglary prevention organizers are well acquainted with this phenomenon, and it has received some attention in written material. But its nature remains pretty much a mystery, and not surprisingly, no widespread agreement has been reached on how to deal with it.

A better understanding of such loss of interest would help to answer some very practical questions: Was the initial organizing wasted effort? Under what circumstances, if any, can such interest be rejuvenated? Can such loss be prevented?

Chapter 9 draws the findings into an underlying theoretical framework, while Chapter 10 suggests ways to use these findings to strengthen burglary prevention programs and, hopefully, reduce burglary.

This book does not offer advice or direction for a complete program. It merely suggests elements that prevention programs should consider incorporating. Some of these elements may not be applicable in certain situations. *Planning and*

*implementing a burglary prevention program should include seeking the counsel of local police, social welfare experts, attorneys and others before making decisions.*

This book is written partly for scholars in criminology and criminal justice who find particular kinds of methodological details important for evaluating findings. Much of this material is in footnotes, but brief sections of such material are occasionally unavoidable in the text. These sections probably will not interest lay readers, who may want simply to skim over them. Appendix C contains a glossary of terms that may be unfamiliar to some readers.

In summary, community-based burglary prevention efforts are important because they reflect a fundamental change in criminal justice. Civilians are now being encouraged to take a more active role, and some are doing so. Presumably their effectiveness will increase as their participation goes up. Based on data from the Goodfields program, this book provides answers to five basic questions useful for improving efforts to prevent burglary.

## Notes

1. The most useful basis for estimating the number of such programs in this country appears to be the sampling by Garofalo and McLeod of “neighborhood watch” programs (1987, pp. 19–22). They began by compiling a list of randomly chosen counties in the 48 contiguous states to represent 15% of the population. Then they used an extensive process of nominations to locate as many programs as possible in those counties. After editing the nominations returned to them, Garofalo and McLeod had a list of 2,300 programs. Assuming that programs vary with population, those 2,300 programs would represent 15% of the population. Simple algebra would put the total number of programs at 15,333. This, however, is an underestimate because virtually all the 2,300 programs on the list were police crime prevention units and other “umbrella” programs that support numerous neighborhood and other programs. Garofalo and McLeod note that several of the 2,300, “. . . primarily those in densely populated areas, indicated that they sponsor hundreds, or even thousands, of programs” (1987, p. 21).

Discovering how much this estimate falls short of the true number of programs probably would be impossible. If the figure is in the tens of thousands, which it certainly seems to be, no one probably needs to know the exact number of such programs, since such an increment is unlikely to change either research or public policy in this area.

2. Percentages are rounded. Amounts of losses are not known or not available for 23% of burglaries.
3. This definition of neighborhood watch centers on the aspects most relevant to burglary prevention, the focus of this book.

Garofalo and McLeod contend that, in some areas, property marking and home security surveys have been implemented so frequently with neighborhood

watch that the term neighborhood watch has come to designate the overall program that includes surveillance and may include one or both of the other two (1987, p. 60). Feins, on the other hand, uses the terms *block and apartment watches* to designate the constituent activity of watching and *crime prevention* for the program (1983, p. 16).

This book follows Feins' usage, at least to some extent, by designating the watching activity as neighborhood watch and the program of which it is part as burglary prevention. Such terminology has several advantages. First, the program is designated by its goal rather than by one of its constituent activities, which explicitly allows a variety of activities as subordinate elements intended to achieve it. Second, it avoids attaching the term watch to activities that may not involve much watching. Planting trees, for example, might be part of a broader notion of neighborhood watch and might facilitate organizing neighbors to watch each others' houses. But it probably is not very effective or practical as a systematic device for watching itself. Third, designating such a program as neighborhood watch would seem to imply that the basic natures and outcomes of the other activities are not different enough to deserve separate attention. Chapters 4, 5, and 7 suggest, to the contrary, that these three activities, in fact, do have somewhat different origins and outcomes.

4. Virtually all proper names of persons and other entities from the Goodfields area are replaced by pseudonyms in this book. Particular streets may have more than one pseudonym. Certain other identifying information also has been changed.

## 2

# Dixon's "Goodfields" Program

The Goodfields burglary prevention program in Dixon began in May 1981. The program was one of the initiatives of the Goodfields Development Association and was housed in the Association's Community Center. A coordinator, who will be referred to by the pseudonym Jack Bennett, was hired to develop and coordinate the program. He also supervised several college interns, who served as volunteer organizers.

According to somewhat incomplete records, police received reports of at least 119 burglaries in the program area in the year before the program got under way. In the year before that, reports totaled at least 86. Several Dixon police officers—of various ranks and in different precincts—supported the program's choice of its particular area. This decision was confirmed a short time later by a member of the area police Burglary Task Force, who was familiar with burglary rates in the area. The program, he said, had chosen "a good area," that had been "getting hit" a great deal lately.

Goodfields based its effort on the widely influential Seattle burglary prevention program and emulated it almost completely (Ciril et al., 1977). Like, probably, many other programs, Goodfields dealt briefly with other crimes, such as a couple of arsons.

But consistent with the Seattle program, Bennett and the other organizers focused heavily on property marking, neighborhood watch and security survey—the Big Three of burglary prevention.

## Goodfields as Typical

Several studies provide the bases for comparing the Goodfields program with those elsewhere. The first, a nationwide survey of such programs, recently was completed for the National Institute of Justice by Garofalo and McLeod (1987). Garofalo and McLeod tracked down burglary prevention programs by contacting "umbrella" organizations, such as police departments, that had contacts



with a number of such programs. The questionnaires that were filled out apparently came predominantly from the programs, rather than the umbrella organizations (1987, pp. 20–22).

The second, Whitaker's compilation of participation in crime prevention nationwide (1986), is based on the Victimization Risk Survey, administered as part of the National Crime Survey in 1984. Other studies, to be cited later, provide data on characteristics of burglars, exposure to television, and other matters.

In comparisons based on these studies, the Goodfields program differs from other burglary prevention efforts in basically three inconsequential ways. First, it incorporates a far more extensive evaluation than those that usually accompany programs of similar size. This required a somewhat different scope. The programs covered by Garofalo and McLeod's survey served areas with an average population of 1,718 (1987, p. 64). Sixty-eight percent of programs describe themselves as serving a neighborhood, rather than an entire city or a particular block (1987, p. 69). Such neighborhood-based programs often organize antiburglary groups consisting of residents of a number of streets or different blocks.

Under a procedure described more fully in Chapter 7, the Goodfields program initially designated face blocks totaling roughly 2,600 persons to receive burglary prevention services. A face block consists of homes along both sides of a street between two adjacent cross streets. To work within available resources and facilitate the evaluation, the program, more specifically, set out to organize burglary prevention, including separate block clubs, on particular face blocks.

A second difference from other programs is the relatively large number of college students in the area—about 20% of the area's households during peak periods. Although the area did not contain any dormitories or other housing built specifically for students, students, generally in groups, did rent flats. While students differ in some ways from other residents, the differences do not appear relevant to burglary prevention. Organizers noted, for example, that students responded to burglary prevention no differently than would be expected for most other short-term renters—generally, those that planned to remain for less than 24 months. Such renters typically have no interest in the long-term maintenance of their own residence or the neighborhood.

On perhaps one or two blocks in our program area, a very few houses of students also made a lot of noise and created havoc with their neighbors in other ways. Although no one, as far as can be determined, has compiled a comprehensive, nationwide survey, many urban neighborhoods probably have one kind of problem or another (cf. Podolefsky 1983).

Also, so far as can be determined, no plausible theory suggests that by itself, being a student would prompt a person to react differently to a burglary prevention program. No previous research on burglary prevention apparently has reported such a finding, either. Early statistical analyses in the most pivotal areas of this evaluation also failed to indicate any differences between students and other residents in burglary prevention. Data confirmed obvious characteristics—students tend to be unmarried, to rent their current residence and to have lived there a relatively short time. But the analyses indicated, for example, that both students and other residents

are most likely to be persuaded by the same appeal when encouraged to participate in burglary prevention. Neither a household's participation nor any of the corresponding antecedents, for any of the four burglary prevention activities examined later, varies appreciably between students and other residents. With such findings, no plausible rationale apparently exists for thinking that students would differ on other elements of such participation, either.

In its third difference from similar programs, the Goodfields program covered a somewhat broader range of issues. Over half the programs in the Garofalo-McLeod survey participate only in activities directly related to crime (1987, Table 10). These programs might include property marking or victim-witness assistance, for example, but not trying to improve the area by getting trees planted or putting up a stop sign. The Goodfields program, like less than half the programs in the survey, encouraged residents to deal with other problems besides crime, as well. Although this approach is less common, it appears, as Chapters 8 and 10 will describe, to help maintain the program.

In one other possible difference, the Goodfields program had organizers go door to door, rather than wait for residents to request assistance. The Seattle program used a similar approach, but no information is available on the proportion of other programs that have done so (cf. Ciril et al. 1977, p. 15). Many burglary prevention programs appear to draw their clientele heavily from their parent community development organizations. But such participants in burglary prevention constitute a relatively small number of people, perhaps about 10% of households (cf. Podolefsky and DuBow 1981, p. 111). Beyond that, many programs claim that going door to door is frustrating and not worth the effort. Since waiting for residents to ask for help also can be disappointing, such programs often need to make their organizing practices more effective.

Overall, however, the Goodfields area and the program implemented there have far more similarities than differences with other programs and their respective areas nationwide.

- Goodfields is located in Dixon, part of a metropolitan area. Whitaker indicates that, "Households in metropolitan areas were more likely than those in nonmetropolitan areas to . . . participate in neighborhood watch programs" (1987, p. 2).
- In 1981, the median household income in the Goodfields area was between \$15,000 and \$20,000. About 64% of the Goodfields program area reported incomes exceeding \$10,000. This is in line with the Garofalo-McLeod survey in which almost 80% of programs reported the predominant household income at more than \$10,000 (1987, Table 16).
- Half the residents in the Goodfields area had lived in their current homes at least six years, and the average length of residence was 14 years. The Garofalo-McLeod survey, correspondingly, finds that in 69% of programs, length of residence averages five years or longer (1987, Table 16).

- About 53% of living units in the Goodfields area were single-family homes, and about 88% of the rest were located in two-family homes. Nationwide, about 80% of the programs reported serving areas consisting predominantly of single family dwellings (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, Table 15).
- Because of the way the Goodfields program area was defined, federal census data do not provide a clear picture of the racial composition of that area. But in a survey of households, roughly 91% of respondents reported themselves white. Seven percent were black; the rest, Asian or Hispanic. Experience indicates that interracial households are rare. Nationwide, about 75% of the areas served by burglary prevention programs are predominantly white (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, Table 16).
- In the Goodfields area, roughly 83% of the households reported watching television or listening to the radio one to five hours per day. This corresponds with Hirsch's conclusion that "about 90% of the adult population views (television) between one and five hours per day" (1981, p. 75).
- Except for a school, a church, and a few small businesses, the Goodfields area is virtually all residential. Commercial establishments probably occupy less than 1% of the area. Nationwide, nearly 3/4 of the programs serve areas with no commercial establishments. In other areas, such establishments, however, averaged only ". . . 13% of the serviced areas" (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, p. 71).
- Although Goodfields residents never were surveyed to compare crime in their vicinity with that in adjoining areas, most probably would have considered it greater in those other areas. Many were surprised when organizers told them of the number of burglaries in their own area. Organizers also told residents that police received many more calls to another part of the precinct in which the program was located. Nationwide, 72% of those responding to the Garofalo-McLeod survey on behalf of their programs perceived crime less frequent in their own areas than in adjoining neighborhoods (1987, p. 74).
- Along these same lines, it would be safe to say that Goodfields residents did not consider burglary a *serious* problem in the area. It was, however, perceived as a great enough potential problem to justify efforts to prevent it from becoming more serious. In the Garofalo-McLeod survey, nearly twice as many programs were started to prevent crime as to deal with an *existing* crime problem (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, p. 52).
- No data could be obtained directly from burglars working in the Goodfields program area. But according to police, burglaries in the area involved minimal planning. Burglars, most of whom probably were relatively youthful, located potential targets by walking the streets and looking for a vulnerable house, then looking for an unlocked door or open window. These burglars also tended to take small amounts of cash and items that could be sold easily—watches, bicycles, rings, tools. Rarely did they take jewelry

other than watches or rings. Victims typically valued their losses at \$100 to \$200.

Such burglars fit the national pattern as relatively youthful amateurs (cf. Repetto 1984, p. 157). Together, Repetto's data from Boston (1974, Chapter 2), Scarr's from the District of Columbia and particular counties in Virginia and Maryland (1973, Chapter 5), and Letkemann's from Canada (1973, Chapter 2) sketch something of a composite picture of such persons. Younger, more amateur burglars, according to these studies, tend to do less planning (Repetto 1974); to operate within a smaller geographical area (Repetto 1974, cf. Brantingham and Brantingham 1984, p. 79); to mention excitement, besides money, as a motive (Repetto 1974); to use "simple tools and techniques" (Repetto 1984, p. 157); and to take items of less value and more easily resold (Repetto 1974). The National Crime Survey indicates a median loss of \$160 for household burglary in 1981 (Shenk and Klaus 1984, Table 2).<sup>1</sup> Younger, more amateur burglars also seem to have much less social organization (Letkemann 1973; Scarr 1973; Shover 1991, p. 90; cf. Shover 1973). Mayhew notes that such burglars are stopped by security improvements that would not stop their older colleagues (1984, p. 36).

- The Goodfields burglary prevention program was started by a neighborhood development association that served as its base of operations. At least two studies conclude that anticrime programs are likely to develop not autonomously, but in multiple-issue groups previously concerned with other issues (Podolefsky and DuBow 1981, pp. 113–114; Lavrakas 1980, p. 80).
- While the Goodfields program itself, which acted as an umbrella agency for the block clubs, had a budget of \$22,700, none of the block clubs organized through the program had any formal budget. Of the programs surveyed by Garofalo and McLeod, 71% had no formal budget (1987, p. 48). Apparently, however, that survey's questionnaires were filled out predominantly by neighborhood and other lower-level organizations—more comparable to the block clubs in the Goodfields area—rather than by the umbrella organizations themselves.
- From its beginning through the end of the organizing, the Goodfields program received training, speakers and crime statistics from local police. Such assistance almost certainly would have continued, had the program called for it. Almost 98% of the programs nationwide received some kind of initial assistance—including elements such as these—from law enforcement agencies (Garofalo and McLeod, Table 5). Almost three-quarters of burglary prevention programs continue to receive assistance from local police (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, p. 43).
- In the Goodfields program, law enforcement personnel attended the second meeting of every club, and the program coordinator attended virtually every block club meeting. More than two-thirds of the programs in the Garofalo-McLeod survey reported that police or sheriff's department personnel regularly attend their meetings (1987, p. 54).

- The first several meetings of each block club in the Goodfields area emphasized burglary prevention techniques. Although property marking and security survey, in particular, prompted little discussion at most subsequent meetings, these sessions generally, at least, included reminders that the services were available. Various crime prevention tips were also mentioned from time to time. Seventy-nine percent of the programs in the Garofalo-McLeod survey reported that crime prevention techniques are discussed at all program meetings (1987, p. 54).
- The Goodfields program used both street signs and window stickers to announce that a program was active in the area. Nationwide, 94% of programs report using at least one of these devices (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, p. 52).
- The program also used newsletters to disseminate information and held scheduled meetings. In the Garofalo-McLeod survey, 54% of programs used newsletters, and 61% used scheduled meetings. Forty percent used both (1987, p. 52).
- The Goodfields newsletter appeared monthly. This newsletter was issued by the community development association and contained articles on crime prevention and other topics. Nationwide, the largest proportion of programs with regularly scheduled newsletters sent them out monthly (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, Figure 3).
- Although one block club in the Goodfields area—which started before the program began but cooperated with it—met bimonthly, all the clubs organized through the program met monthly. Of the programs, nationwide, with regularly scheduled meetings, the largest proportion—43%—met monthly (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, Figure 3).
- In the Goodfields program, Bennett, the coordinator, was the only paid staff member. Counting college interns who assisted him in organizing the block clubs, volunteers constituted 80% to 86% of the program's staff at various times. The block clubs, of course, operated solely with volunteers. About 80% of the people who staff these programs, nationwide, are volunteers (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, Figure 1).
- The Goodfields program had been in existence less than 20 months when the last set of data was collected for this study. Nearly half the programs responding to the Garofalo-McLeod survey had been in operation two years or less; more than 80% had existed four years or less (1987, pp. 48–50).
- The Goodfields program encouraged residents to participate in all the Big Three burglary prevention activities. As mentioned earlier, these three activities occur most frequently in such programs nationwide.
- In the Goodfields program area of Dixon, the largest city in its metropolitan area, 26.3% reported participating in property marking.<sup>2</sup> In the largest cities of metropolitan areas included in the 1984 National Crime Survey, 24% of residents marked their valuables (Whitaker 1986, p. 2).

- On blocks meeting this book's criteria for a viable program—"treatment blocks" as Chapter 7 calls them—a third of the households (32.6%) attended one or more block club meetings. Thirty-eight percent of households in areas with burglary prevention programs participate in the programs (Whitaker 1986, p. 1). This presumably means that, at least, one member of the household attended at least one meeting.
- Goodfields performed security surveys in 15.2% of the houses on treatment blocks.<sup>3</sup> Only four of 20 agencies in a nationwide survey for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration had conducted security surveys on more than 10% of their jurisdiction (International Training, Research and Evaluation Council 1977, p. xii).

## Organizing and Responses

Overall, the program was implemented through five basic steps:<sup>4</sup> First, residents on each such face block received a different form letter. This letter told them the number of burglaries that, according to Dixon Police records, had occurred on their street during the calendar years 1980 and 1981. The letter described the three burglary prevention services available through our program and told residents that it would contact them soon.

Second, after allowing several days for the letters to be delivered, organizers went door to door to promote interest and participation in the three services. More specifically, they discussed the burglary problem, the program's services, and how they could reduce residents' risk of burglary. If a household was willing, organizers marked its valuables and/or inspected the security of the home at that time. If residents preferred, organizers made an appointment to do so later. Organizers also told them that they could call the Community Center to make an appointment.

During these visits, also, organizers basically inquired about problems in the neighborhood and asked whether the household would be interested in participating in a block club. If the household expressed interest, organizers mentioned—if this was the case, and it usually was—that the program was looking for someone to be host for the first meeting.

If nobody was home when the organizers called, they left a slinger saying that they had tried to visit and asking the residents to call the program if any of the services interested them.

Third and fourth, as organizers finished the property marking and security surveys for which they had appointments, Bennett led the planning and scheduling of the block club meeting. Organizers then distributed slingers door to door to inform the block of the upcoming meeting. If organizers had time, they also knocked on doors to discuss the importance of the meeting with the residents.

In the fifth step, the block club met. While residents usually discussed several problems at a club's first meeting, burglary prevention was the most time-consuming topic. Jack Bennett usually brought a sample of a street sign reading, "This is

a neighborhood watch community" and explained the sign's potential as a deterrent. When those at the meeting expressed interest in securing such a sign for their block, he told them that 40% of the households must, first, attend a block club meeting, participate in property marking or security survey.

Bennett initially told residents that if they wanted their property marked or a security survey, they should sign up after that meeting. But so few residents did so that after the first couple of months, the program had to change its approach. Bennett then began telling block club meetings that unless the program was told otherwise, it would call each household represented at the meeting to schedule property marking and security survey.

### *Interaction on the Doorstep*

Organizers' lore, as is well known, depicts people as more likely to take action against problems that affect them personally. Burglary became our lead issue, because that issue appeared to interest a large number of people.

Organizers also paid careful attention to various kinds of physical deterioration on the block, because they found very quickly that this worried an appreciable proportion of residents. The most common complaints involved problems with street lighting and absentee landlords. For roughly 20% of the housing units in our program area, neither the owner nor a manager lived on the premises. College students occupied most of these units. While some students created real problems for neighbors, as discussed in the previous chapter, this research could find no reason to think that students, as a group, differ much from other short-term renters in such circumstances.

Discussing burglary and the program on doorsteps, an organizer, to some extent, could assess interest fairly quickly by the questions residents asked. If they asked no questions and if the organizer was unable to elicit any appreciable response, this indicated a lack of interest. Slamming the door in the organizer's face also provided a clear sign that the household was not interested.

An organizer—who should remain anonymous—describes her strategy when canvassing:

What I do with most people is to find a "weak spot"—a mother with children, an older person concerned about deterioration in the neighborhood; then I would build on it. Eventually, they would agree that something should be done and, yes, they could do it. Their opinion is important. It was like showing them the light.

The same organizer described a typical interaction with an elderly resident (O: organizer; EW: elderly woman):

EW: Yes, Teddy and I have lived in this house for over 50 years, now.

O: Well, how about that. That's wonderful.

EW: Yes, it always was such a nice place to live.

O: Yes, but with students coming and going, and absentee landlords, it's probably very difficult to keep it up.

EW: Oh, you wouldn't believe some of the things that go on around here these days.

O: You know, Mrs. Jones, why don't you attend one of our block club meetings?

EW: Oh, no thank you dear, I don't think so.

O: Oh, come on. You'll get to see old friends, meet new people and we talk about things other than crime prevention. One of our block clubs got some bushes trimmed and lawns mowed. Another club got a gas pipe that was sticking out of the sidewalk removed.

EW: When's the meeting?

A critical part of such interaction involves persuading residents—if they don't believe it already—that their situation can be remedied; otherwise, the results can be unpleasant. On the instructions of the Community Center's Board of Directors, for example, Bennett tried to organize the "dead-end" block of a dead-end street outside our program area. That block consisted of about 75 homes, which were smaller and closer together than on other blocks in the area. Absentee landlords owned five or six of the houses and rented them to students. All of these houses were in such bad condition that simply looking at them was depressing. This one block had as many problems as four- or five-block areas elsewhere. Very few young families lived on this block, and retired people owned and lived in virtually all the homes not occupied by students. Most of them felt the situation was hopeless and could not be persuaded otherwise; none of the residents was willing to pick up leadership or be host for block club meetings. Bennett, understandably, gave up on his efforts to organize this block.

### *Refusals*

The proportion of those not interested in the program varied from virtually all on a few blocks to virtually none on others. But when our organizers went to the door on most blocks, substantially more than half the people who answered the door said they would not participate. The reasons, according to organizers, varied extensively.<sup>5</sup>

- [At one house] we encountered an elderly woman [living] on the second floor. She rents and claimed her landlord couldn't care less about security and always leaves doors wide open. We talked with this woman's landlord, who curtly told us she wasn't interested. Her main reason was her dog.
- At another house, the woman claimed they didn't need our services because someone is always there. They have even used house sitters. . . Too busy for a block club.
- At a house on a corner lot, we talked with an elderly woman whose husband was blind and pretty much bed-ridden. She said the corner is terrible for noise and traffic late at night. She was angry over absentee landlords. She pointed out a house on the opposite corner where, she claimed, 15 students were living. She said there were beds from the basement to the attic. She had two dogs, which she considered protection.

She told us stories of how involved they used to be in the neighborhood



when their boys were growing up: Boy Scouts, parties. . . She wanted a security check, but her husband's illness precluded her becoming involved in a block club.

- One man answered the door in his bathrobe. When I asked if he had received our letter in the mail, he replied that he didn't care and slammed the door in our faces.
- We talked to a woman who was sweeping her sidewalk. She is 92 and lives next door to students but doesn't mind them at all. We couldn't interest her in any of our services.
- We talked to one homeowner who kept his house and yard meticulously. He was in his late 50s or early 60s and was leaning on his porch while we were at other houses. He told us that he would take care of his house with his .45.
- We encountered a woman in her 50s who told us that her brother was a captain in the Sheriff's Department. Our services did not interest her because he had helped her secure her home.

Other residents stated other reasons:

- Someone is always coming or going, so we don't usually even lock the doors.
- Someone is usually home, so we don't bother with locks.
- We don't have anything worth stealing.
- We're on the second floor, so we don't worry about it.
- No time.

A student told organizers:

They think we are a bunch of slobs and are too noisy. Why should we attend their meetings or get acquainted with them so they can jump on us?

A few elderly were held back by fear. An organizer comments:

At one house, an elderly woman came to the window but would not answer or open the door when we spoke to her. A neighbor told us that when she's home alone, she never answers the door.

One older woman said she couldn't attend block club meetings because she never went out after dark—never.

When elderly persons expressed such fear about being on the street at night, organizers usually responded by asking neighbors to escort them to and from block club meetings. But some still refused to attend because, they said, they didn't want to burden neighbors.

Despite considerable effort—described earlier—organizers had considerable difficulty persuading residents to mark their valuables or to have the security of their home surveyed. Many residents pointed out that obliterating identification numbers on valuables would be easy. Some elderly residents refused security surveys because they knew they could not afford new locks. Some even said that they did not want to know how dire their situation may be. Renters, mostly students

in this program area, considered the home security survey useless, because they did not intend to pay for locks on a house owned by someone else and they usually believed that the landlord would not pay for them, either.

The variety of reasons for not participating corresponds, to a substantial extent, with those cited by residents of Portland, Oregon, for not participating in a burglary prevention program there (Schneider 1975, p. 29, Table 11). Among those residents who knew about the program, two of the most common reasons were (1) lack of time and (2) lack of need for the program. This included a household's perceptions that its protection is sufficient or that the level of crime was too low to pose a threat. Similar reasons—no time or perceived need—also turned up when leaders of Chicago-area community organizations listed reasons why people do not join such groups (Lavrakas 1980, pp. 63,65).

### *Expressions of Interest*

Residents, obviously, would have participated in the Big Three mainly to discourage burglary. Schneider reports a similar finding on the reasons reported by Portland residents for participating in property marking (1975, p. 30). But a number of households in our program area reported other problems on their blocks that prompted genuine interest in block clubs. Organizers described three such instances:

- Jack and I had a long chat with Mr. and Mrs. A on Alba Street. These are their concerns:
  - Students on both sides of them are too loud. Both homes are overcrowded—six persons in each of two single-family homes. We suggested calling the city housing inspectors and have them check it out with city ordinances.
  - These students park their cars on neighbors' lawns and block their driveways. Somehow or other, such problems have even damaged neighbors' basements. The A family has called the police, but the police have done nothing.
  - The students have left garbage strewn all over the driveway and now the driveway has maggots. The A family discussed the problem with the students, but they have done nothing.<sup>6</sup>
  - People across the street have to take daytime naps because the students create too much noise and disruption at night to sleep. Older people on the block seem afraid to complain.
  - As on a street a couple of blocks over, the street lights go out on this block when it rains hard.

The A family was willing to organize the block to prevent things from getting out of hand. They were more than willing to host the first meeting of a club meeting for their block.

- An elderly man on the second floor invited us up to his flat, and we sat on his sunporch. He was very displeased with the absentee landlords and pointed out one house in particular. Ripped up indoor furniture was sitting on the second-floor porch of that house; the awning was badly torn, as well. He said he would like to move but couldn't afford it. He said he remembers when "the neighborhood was nice." He said he would be interested in a block club. His sister, who lives on the first floor, allowed us to do Op Id [property marking].
- Professor B and his wife have lived in this house for six years. On the first floor, he has a lot of books and a book manuscript that has taken him five years to assemble. He took us upstairs and began his requests:
  - On one side of him lives a house full of very loud students. He has spoken to them about the noise and they called him "an old bastard" to his face. He called the police the next time they were too loud. They began to harass him whenever they saw him outside his house. When he comes home from work at night and the students are sitting on the second-floor porch, they yell at him by his first name and imitate his Latin American accent. His wife has had some very unpleasant encounters with these same students.
  - On the other side of his house lives a widow with several children. A motorcycle gang hangs out at their house and causes disturbances well into the night. Mr. B has also reported the gang to the police but has gotten no response.
  - Mr. B said that he was burglarized four times before he moved here. He feels he needs an alarm system to protect against burglars destroying or disturbing his first-floor contents.

The B couple was interested in forming a block club and agreed to host the first meeting.

Other residents stated other reasons for participating:

- Since we were burglarized last year, we've been trying to get to know the neighbors.
- Since I'm home all day with just the baby, I would like to get to know some of the neighbors in case of an emergency or just to visit with.
- I love the neighborhood and was involved in a block club that died. I'd like to see another started here.
- I'm going to go to graduate school and will be here another four years. I like where I'm living, I've got a good landlord and a good house. I like the street, and I want to see it stay the same.
- I'd like to see something done about all these absentee landlords.

Similar reasons turned up among responses by leaders of Chicago-area community groups (Lavrakas 1980, p. 64). Asked why people become involved with such

organizations, these leaders listed “to solve their own problems” most frequently. “Commitment to the community” was second, and “desire for social affiliation” was third.

### *Block Club Meetings*

The character of block club meetings also constitutes a kind of response by residents to a burglary prevention program. As the following three reports illustrate, block club meetings varied in the Goodfields area.<sup>7</sup> Lewis, Grant, and Rosenbaum also report finding considerable variation in Chicago-area clubs (1988, pp. 101–114). The first report concerns the first meeting of a club that ultimately failed because the block eventually lost interest in it. The second describes the first meeting of a club that turned out to be one of the more successful. The third account covers the fifth meeting of another relatively successful club. In the less successful clubs, according to the experience of this program, fewer people attend meetings; the discussions involve fewer problems; fewer members volunteer for tasks; and less interaction follows the meeting.

- The block had its first club meeting at the home of Mr. and Mrs. B., where Bennett gave his usual, initial presentation of our purpose: (1) crime prevention and (2) problems on the street. The six people present appeared to have an unusually high level of education and Bennett talked at their level. No students were here tonight.

The residents complained: Students are filthy and leave garbage all over. Students have no consideration for other residents. The noise level is terrible, especially during parties. (One house full of students built a ramp from the ground to their back porch so that they would not have to carry cases of beer and empties up and down the steps!) When students are asked to be considerate, they become belligerent.

The C couple came over from the Baker Street club to tell these people about the remarkable success they have had with their block club. They definitely gave this meeting a boost in morale. The B couple are still very frustrated by the lack of police response to calls to 911. Bennett and the C couple told them to write letters to appropriate city officials to bring attention to this street’s problems.

Mrs. D, several houses down from the B couple, offered to host the next block club meeting.

Bennett reiterated that the block club offers a chance to gather strength as a group to get results. Especially now that elections will occur soon, politicians will work harder to accommodate their constituents.

Mrs. B brought out a flashlight that was also filled with Mace. Bennett cautioned against using it, because the spray can blow back in your face.

- It was this club’s first meeting. I was impressed with the turnout, 49 residents were present, all bringing their own chairs. It was held outside and people

were gathered all along the driveway and into the back yard. This group was comprised mainly of older residents, who tended to be longtime residents of Cannal Street.

Bennett told them that since 1979, 46 burglaries had occurred on their street and he was here to help them reduce that rate. Bennett asked people to raise their hands who thought they knew most of the people at the meeting. Only one man did so. Bennett emphasized that the most important part of neighborhood watch was to know your neighbor, be observant. He encouraged residents to look after neighbors' homes and property when they are gone. Keep an eye on the block as a whole; if you see someone suspicious, do not confront them, call 911 (the police).

One elderly woman said, "Sure, while we are all here, our homes are probably being burglarized right now." An elderly man said, "If I find someone in my garage when I come home, I'll just floor it and run him over."

Bennett made several other points:

- Put up flood lights in the back yards.
- When you receive the community newsletter, be sure to read the articles on crime prevention.
- Block club members should get bumper stickers so they can easily identify each other's cars on the street.
- Have a security survey done on your home.
- Participate in Op Id. If you are burglarized and there is a police auction of recovered property, yours will be marked and can be returned to you.
- Be alert. Write down license plate numbers, call others on your block if someone is acting suspiciously, turn on your yard lights, call 911 and report it.
- Write letters as a group about problems on the block. (Residents told organizers that every time it rains hard, their street lights go out.)

One of the older people complained that "all those outside lights cost too much money." Several neighbors said that they had outside lights but didn't use them. Bennett said that it was only pennies and well used as crime insurance.

No students attended the meeting, but there were several young couples—relatively new home owners in the area. They were very concerned and participated actively in the discussion.

A couple of elderly men heckled neighbors while they were speaking and, after awhile, the group simply ostracized the two.

After two full hours of discussion on crime prevention, refreshments were served. Arrangements were made for future block club meetings: who would host it, bring refreshments, etc.

One resident distributed copies of a map to his neighbors. The map showed the location of each house, along with the names of the people who lived there and their telephone number.

- Twenty-six residents were present at the meeting in the basement of the Community Church. People sat in rows and the club's officers sat at a table facing them in front.

The club's secretary read the minutes of the last meeting. The club had established a welcome committee, a flea market committee, a finance committee, and a party committee. The club has started to collect dues: \$1 per household per year. They will open a bank account when they have enough money.

Committee reports:

- The finance committee reported that it had collected dues from 33 households so far. They had paid \$26 for letterhead stationery. One member moved that the club impose a \$1 special assessment because they have only \$5 in the treasury at the moment. Motion was seconded and passed.
- The block-sale committee began its report by asking for volunteers to make signs from tag board. Several people volunteered and, together, they set a time to work on their project. The committee then raised the issues of how to advertise the sale and how to level fees on households for participation: flat rate versus commission on revenue. Quite a lot of discussion occurred. Finally, the club decided to put an ad in the newspaper and to put notices in supermarkets and on streets. The club voted to impose \$1 a day per household for each day of participation in the two-day sale. The committee chair said she would check to see which families would be involved. The committee reported that it had decided not to have an organized food table, because it would be too much work for the first time.

The block club president announced that free smoke detectors are available for residents over age 62. One of the members of the club read a list of services available at the Goodfields Community Center. The list was fairly lengthy. One resident asked how he could get free paint through the city's paint program. Bennett said they were running out, but if the resident met the requirements, he could receive a slip of paper that would enable him to buy paint at a discount at a local store.

The president of the block club introduced Dixon city Councilperson E.

- Councilperson E urged residents to apply for the smoke detectors. He asked the block club president to make a list of problems, give it to him, and tell the club the outcomes at its next meeting.
- He announced that the weatherization program is available for 300 homes in Dixon.
- The utility company will repair the damage it did on Dogwood Street.
- A resident asked about the city repairing curbs on the street. Councilperson E said that no federal money is available for that, but that the city is gradually repaving and redoing the curbs.

- If residents will ask him for trees, he will secure them in the next block grant.
- A couple of residents complained that particular trees needed to be trimmed and that the street needs to be swept.
- A resident asked, "What do you do about students in overcrowded houses, the bushes aren't trimmed, the grass isn't cut?" The councilperson replied that a housing inspector can sometimes cite outside violations, but that students refuse to allow inspectors in the house. If there's garbage in the backyard, though, residents can call the city Board of Health.
- A woman complained that garbage is picked up at a different time than it used to be. When she takes the garbage out, it just sits on the curb.
- A man said that they need a stop sign at the corner of Easley and Frankenmuth Streets.
- In response to a resident's question, E said that the city had recently hired 13 policemen.

## Research Design

As is implicit so far, this study rests on previous research on burglary prevention, principles from communication, and lessons learned on the street during organizing. The remainder of this section discusses basic methodological aspects needed to understand the findings, and Appendix B fills in details.

### *Conceptualization*

In formulating concepts for the relationships to be investigated, three considerations became particularly salient. First, a preference for conceptual clarity over "richness" (cf. Woelfel and Fink 1980) led to the attempt, as frequently as seemed workable, to replace "multidimensional" concepts with "unidimensional" ones. Multidimensional concepts—such as the sociological notions of integration and alienation—comprise multiple conceptual dimensions. Unidimensional concepts—such as the number of burglaries of which residents are aware in the neighborhood or the number of neighbors whom the resident knows have participated in security survey—tend to comprise only one appreciable conceptual dimension.

Second, principles of measurement frequently led to forming behaviorally specific concepts so that, overall, statistical results would have the clearest possible implications for theory. According to an old measurement principle, questionnaire items usually will be answered more reliably if they concern behaviors or other entities that respondents can observe directly. This led to making item wordings and, therefore, concepts as behaviorally specific as the other needs in the research would allow.

According to the third consideration, two notions pertaining to the same behavior tend to correlate more strongly when both incorporate the behavior in an equally specific manner. Fishbein and Ajzen report that behavior relates more strongly to

intention when it incorporates the behavior at the same level of specificity (1975, p. 369). In such a case, the two concepts have basically the same behavioral object; but they differ in that one defines an overt behavior, while the other is a mentalistic notion. Other research indicates that behaviors also have relatively strong relationships with measures of interpersonal influence that have correspondingly similar objects (Bersani, Gillham, and Gillham 1977; Gillham and Bersani 1976). Since one object of science is defining relationships in ways that will secure as strong evidence as possible, this volume employs notions—such as defining, modeling, linkage, fear—with comparable behavioral specificity wherever appropriate.

### *Sets of Data*

This study rests on five sets of questionnaires administered by interviewers. Two were administered in late November 1981, one in April 1982, a fourth, longitudinal set from February 1982 through mid-May 1982, and a fifth in November 1982. Appendix B describes the sampling procedures for the first four sets of data. Chapter 7 describes the procedure for the fifth. A sixth set of data, used in Chapter 6, was collected in June and July 1982 through self-administered questionnaires filled out during block club meetings.

### Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has described this program's procedures, how residents responded, and particular aspects of research method.

It's natural to assume that in day-to-day organizing, residents' responses reflect attitudes, perceptions, and other kinds of thoughts. Yet these are deceptively difficult to pin down in a way that is useful. Chapter 3 looks at this difficult area.

### Notes

1. Similarly, more recent data indicate that for household burglaries in which the loss is known, the median falls between \$100 and \$249 (cf. Bureau of Justice Statistics 1988a, p. 72).
2. This comparison and the next two—involving block club attendance and security survey—do not reflect use of a number of the approaches for organizing described in Chapter 10. Those approaches were developed too late to be useful in the Goodfields program.
3. According to self-reports in a survey of the Goodfields program area—differentiated from treatment blocks in Chapter 7—15.6% of households report participation in security survey.
4. This description relies heavily on Wild (1981).



5. In this section and the next two, unless otherwise noted, the quotations and other material come from journals and reports submitted to Gillham by organizers Laura Wild and Hilda Hereid as part of their duties. Such material has been edited here.
6. Not all students got along with residents badly, of course. Organizer Laura reported this:

On another block, I talked with a set of students who claim to be on excellent terms with their neighbors. The neighbor watches their house when they aren't around in the daytime and they let him plant tomatoes in their yard. The students were interested in property marking and possibly the block club—not too common.

7. Organizers provided the first two accounts, while the third comes from Gillham's minutes.

### 3

## Program Participation and World View<sup>1</sup>

As discussed earlier, participation in burglary prevention, nationwide, has been less than may be desirable. Surely some programs are exceptions to this generalization. But probably many more have given residents what they consider valid reasons for participating in burglary prevention, yet residents refuse to do so. Such a program may proceed to blame them for failing to realize the benefit they are declining and make little or no additional effort to encourage participation. Other programs may consider such refusals only the initial response and try to devise new, more effective messages, or arguments to persuade residents to take measures to protect their homes and property. This chapter is addressed to readers interested in the latter approach.

An organizer deals extensively with individuals, often on a one-to-one basis. Yet he or she views households primarily as an *aggregate*—a set of persons who share a particular characteristic, such as living in the program area, but who do not necessarily talk with each other. Of course, an organizer's contacts with individual residents vary extensively. But he or she usually comes to rely on an overall message basically intended for everybody in the area. Anything else is too time consuming.

To devise an effective burglary prevention message, an organizer must penetrate the aggregate's world view—a general outlook including such things as attitudes, feelings, perceptions, beliefs, and values—on burglary prevention.<sup>2</sup> Specifically, an organizer must determine what residents consider important (see e.g., Kahn 1982), what they know about burglary prevention, and more importantly, what they do not know. Next, the organizer tries to pinpoint something to communicate about burglary prevention that would make it more important to them. Once residents are convinced of the increased need to prevent burglaries, an organizer can suggest specific activities or help the community develop a course of action. The organizer, of course, must not falsify the situation or even stretch the truth, since this would undermine the credibility of the entire program.

But this intuitive method for planning what to say to residents to persuade them to reduce the threat of burglary has at least two flaws. First, it relies entirely on the

organizer's ability to perceive what area residents, as an aggregate, consider important. Some organizers clearly are less able than others to make such judgments, which demand considerable precision of thought.<sup>3</sup> This emerges in casual observation of organizers' conversations with each other about how they approach various areas. Organizers often disagree. Such disagreement reveals that it's easy for an organizer to get derailed by differences among residents; it's not always easy to know how residents draw decisions from conflicting attitudes, nor are implications necessarily clear when a number of attitudes point in the same direction; some organizers cannot figure out, optimally, the sheer nature of what's important or the relations among different important elements. The widely felt need for training burglary prevention organizers—shown in national information centers and training institutes, as well as a plethora of literature—may reflect these failures of precision to some extent, as well.

Second, practitioners sometimes rely particularly on residents' attitudes in trying to persuade them to participate in burglary prevention. Unfortunately, research has tended to find no relations—or only very weak ones—between single behaviors and many different measures of attitude (Wicker 1969; cf. McGuire 1985, p. 252).

Results in crime prevention research have not been any more encouraging on notions used by many organizers. Podolefsky and DuBow compared residents who report participating in crime prevention activity sponsored by a neighborhood organization with a corresponding group that did not. The groups did not differ on “the way they view the seriousness of crime, their personal risk, the efficacy of possible solutions, or in their fears” (1981, pp. 105–108).

Skogan and Maxfield (1981, pp. 205, 222) say that fear appears related only to citizens' behavioral precautions to avoid assault, not household precautions to avoid burglary. Controlling for household size and ownership, residents' race and income, and several measures of the resident's social ties in a neighborhood, Skogan and Maxfield (1981, pp. 221–222) also report that installing locks and bars varies with “combined ratings of burglary problems, knowledge of victims, and victimization experience,” while property marking and household surveillance do not.

Lavrakas (1980, pp. 131–133) reports that controlling for home ownership, knowledge of local burglary victims and other measures, Chicago-area residents' participation in six household-protection behaviors varies with the perceived efficacy of home protection. But these behaviors do not vary with measures of perceived risk or seriousness of crime. Lavrakis plays down the role of rational assessments of danger in decisions on what household protective measures to adopt; he also plays down the role of fear in decisions to participate in groups' anticrime efforts; he flatly recommends against personalizing the threat of crime in organizing citizens against it (1980, pp. 189, 204).

In summary, fewer households participate in burglary prevention than is probably desirable. Such participation might be improved if organizers conveyed more carefully chosen reasons to participate in burglary prevention.

Basically, this chapter uses particular data from residents in our program area to demonstrate an alternative method for planning antiburglary messages. This procedure uses computations from ratio-level multidimensional scaling (RMDS), which rests, in turn, on a notion of world view different from the amalgam of attitudes and related unidimensional entities familiar to researchers.

Thus, the rest of this chapter describes RMDS, our program area's world view on burglary prevention, and that world view's strong, consistent relation with behavior. Next, the chapter describes the planning method, its demonstrated success in a variety of circumstances, and the message best for encouraging burglary prevention in our area. No test is presented for that message against others, because that would have been well beyond the scope of this evaluation. The message appears widely useful, nevertheless; this chapter certainly encourages such a test.

## Ratio-Level Multidimensional Scaling

RMDS has two key elements that make it appropriate for a task like promoting burglary prevention.<sup>4</sup> First, while unidimensional scales have been used to measure world view at, primarily, the individual level, RMDS is intended for use with aggregates of persons.

Second, RMDS is precise, which helps organizers zero in on the messages most likely to be effective. This precision rests on two bases: (1) RMDS scales world view as relations among the concepts through which an aggregate perceives and labels its environment. The relations—or degrees of association—among these concepts appear in the language used to connect them. These relations can use forms of the verb *to be* (burglary prevention is good), adjectives modifying nouns (effective police), or constructions, like *leads to* or *results in*, indicating typical progressions of activity (contacts with neighbors lead to discouraging burglary). Some concepts, however—like *burglary* and *bad*—usually relate much more closely than others—such as *being a theft victim* and *good*.

Many of the familiar unidimensional scales, on the other hand, traditionally use statements or questions—essentially combinations of concepts. These, by their nature, impose certain relationships among the concepts while excluding other possible relationships.

(2) RMDS uses ratio-level, rather than nominal or ordinal level responses, from the aggregate. More specifically, this procedure uses all the positive real numbers; this permits a potentially infinite number of responses—rather than, say, the two or five or seven common in many unidimensional scales—by which to express the difference between two concepts.

As a measurement procedure, basically, RMDS uses respondents' judgments about dissimilarities among those concepts to scale the position of each. More specifically, the RMDS procedure begins by interviewing members of the aggregate—in this case, residents of the area where the program is being promoted. These interviews, combined with other considerations, are used to assemble a list of

concepts that appear important in the problem at hand. Next, a questionnaire is constructed which pairs each concept with every other. Respondents then use a judgmental standard, supplied by the researcher, to estimate the difference—expressed as the *distance*—between the concepts in each pair.<sup>5</sup> Zero would indicate that two concepts are the same and successively larger numbers, proportionately greater difference. While respondents can use as large a number as they deem appropriate, researchers usually follow established procedures in trimming the responses to keep unusually large ones from skewing subsequent results.<sup>6</sup>

For each pair of concepts, respondents' estimates are then averaged. A relatively small mean distance shows that the aggregate perceives the particular pair of concepts as associated, while a relatively large mean distance indicates they are perceived as substantially different.

These mean estimates of differences—or distances—then are arrayed in the lower or upper triangle of a square matrix. You'll see an example of such a means matrix in a moment. Next, RMDS uses all these distances, from the means matrix, in a series of computations, which yields among other things, a plot of the relations among those concepts. For reasons unimportant here, these plots usually have too much distortion to allow serious analysis (cf. Woelfel and Fink 1980, Chapter 4). Compared with the means matrix, such a plot usually shows some distances, as, proportionately, too short, and others as too long. But a plot can be very helpful, initially, in imagining a number of the spatial relations depicted in the means matrix.

RMDS has shown itself reliable at the aggregate level, and under some circumstances, at the individual level (Woelfel and Fink 1980, Chapter 5; Gillham 1983). In aggregate-level tests involving relations with behavior, RMDS also has been found valid, particularly in situations where people make choices and behavioral data can be secured on all alternatives used with appreciable frequency; where the choice is volitional, not forced; and when the concepts can be expected to remain fairly stable during, or until, the collection of the behavioral data (Gillham 1983). Under such circumstances, particular RMDS measures correlate  $-.85$  or stronger with behavior, which is very high (Gillham 1983). Unpublished data analyses reveal that individual-level correlations tend to run considerably weaker.

## The Data

In November 1981, this evaluation used RMDS procedure in one of the subsamples described earlier and collected estimates on the following 12 concepts. Seven of these can be classified as referents, because residents refer to them at least occasionally in discussing burglary prevention activities. These seven are: fear of burglary, your neighborhood, discouraging burglary, dissatisfaction with police, solving problems, neighbors seeing each other, and taxpayer. Four are specific burglary prevention activities: home security check, watching neighbors' houses, block clubs, and marking valuables with identification number. The 12th is the residents' self-concept, represented by the term "you."

While the questionnaire referred to “home security check,” “watching neighbors’ houses,” and “marking valuables with identification number,” this chapter uses the terms *home security survey*, *neighborhood watch*, and *property marking* to be consistent with the rest of the book. The questionnaire worded these concepts slightly differently because researchers believed that respondents would understand them more accurately.

The next section discusses the ways in which residents define themselves, the referents and burglary prevention activities. Following the logic of organizers for now, more specifically, this section discusses, in rough rank order, what’s important to residents and what they tend to associate—and not associate—with particular burglary prevention activities.<sup>7</sup>

The notion of “importance” is discussed not from the standpoint of what residents want, necessarily, but based on what they think they are or do.<sup>8</sup> Correspondingly, this chapter’s approach lays the foundation for a persuasion strategy which says, basically, “You’re X or you’re already doing Y. You didn’t know it, but this activity is part of X (or Y). You should do this activity, too.”

### *Residents’ World View*

Figure 3.1 shows the 12 concepts in a three-dimensional plot. While some distances are distorted, others appear fairly accurately. According to the plot, for example,

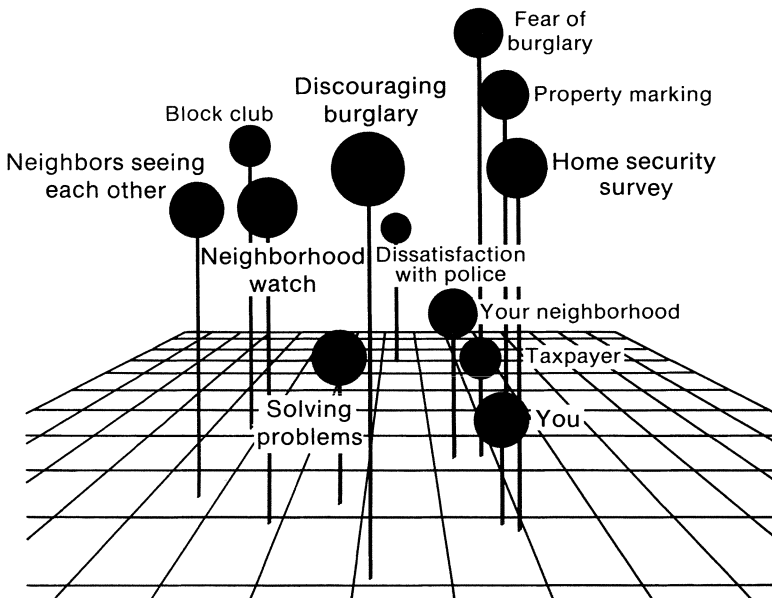


Figure 3.1. World View on Burglary Prevention.

TABLE 3.1. Distances among twelve concepts.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
<b>Referents</b>												
Fear of burglary	(1) 0.0											
Your neighborhood	(2) 46.57	0.0										
Discouraging burglary	(3) 45.51	46.67	0.0									
Dissatisfaction with police	(4) 49.08	50.42	52.63	0.0								
Solving problems	(5) 52.29	45.54	43.53	51.25	0.0							
Neighbors seeing each other	(6) 43.50	44.32	37.96	50.91	40.75	0.0						
Taxpayer	(7) 47.94	42.26	46.14	46.25	43.35	47.15	0.0					
<b>Self</b>												
You	(8) 44.43	42.56	33.13	48.86	33.96	41.38	30.19	0.0				
<b>Activities</b>												
Home security survey	(9) 37.91	43.97	33.91	49.46	36.43	44.53	42.74	37.83	0.0			
Neighborhood watch	(10) 39.28	41.22	34.26	48.60	38.13	31.97	46.80	35.85	37.25	0.0		
Block clubs	(11) 41.37	49.41	38.65	44.90	40.65	35.86	44.67	51.00	43.34	37.34	0.0	
Property marking	(12) 38.24	48.30	39.84	45.96	43.06	46.58	45.82	46.67	39.34	46.34	44.19	0.0

Note. The numbers in parentheses across the top correspond to the concepts listed at the left. These distances were computed in numbers of cases ranging from 156 to 199 and averaging 182.94. The matrix mean—the mean of all distances in the matrix—is 43.03.

residents place themselves fairly distant from dissatisfaction with police and fear of burglary, but closer, on the other hand, to taxpayer and solving problems. The mean distances in Table 3.1 indicate the same relationships.

On the plot, furthermore, a line drawn between the center of discouraging burglary and the center of taxpayer would have its midpoint fairly close to “you.” This chapter will refer to that later.

Compared with the plot, the mean distances provide a more detailed picture of how residents look at themselves and at burglary prevention when an organizer comes to the door to provide such services. In this area—on the average, at least—residents have little fear of burglary and are not particularly dissatisfied with police. Of the seven referent concepts, the residents associate themselves least with fear of burglary (44.43) and dissatisfaction with police (48.86), sixth and seventh, respectively, in distance from the notion of self. Smaller numbers, obviously, indicate smaller distances.

While residents apparently speak occasionally with neighbors, they, on the average, do not associate themselves particularly closely with their neighborhood. Compared with other referents, neighbors seeing each other is rated by residents as fourth closest to themselves (41.38); neighborhood is fifth (42.56). This is consistent with the previous chapter, which certainly did not portray extensive, close relations among neighbors.

Residents tend, on the other hand, to think of themselves as taxpayer (30.19), discouraging burglary (33.13), and solving problems (33.96). This is sensible because all adult residents in this area probably pay income taxes; most pay other kinds as well—property taxes, school taxes, sewer taxes—sometimes directly and sometimes in rent. As mentioned earlier, initial canvassing by organizers revealed many residents who felt they were already discouraging burglary. Problem solving, finally, is something we all do daily, but most of us are often less successful than we would like to be.

For organizers trying to persuade residents to consider burglary prevention more important, the most promising approach, so far, seems to involve associating such measures with taxpayer, discouraging burglary, and solving problems.

But this section also needs to look at what residents know about each of the burglary prevention activities. First, they tend not to see these activities as a direct response to dissatisfaction with police. None of the distances from the activities to such dissatisfaction—44.90 to 49.46—is smaller than the matrix mean of 43.03.<sup>9</sup> Compared with other referents, dissatisfaction stands fifth to seventh closest to the activities. In this neighborhood, dissatisfaction with police represents merely closing off an option for dealing with burglary and, therefore, only a tangential reason for participation in any of the activities.

Most residents understand that the burglary prevention activities can be a response to fear, but fear is usually not dominant in our program area (37.91 to 41.37). It ranks the third or fourth closest referent to security survey, watching neighbors’s houses and block clubs.<sup>10</sup>

Residents appear to view burglary prevention activities more as tasks they perform individually unless cooperation with neighbors is required; neighbors



seeing each other rates closest to the activities that require interaction—watching neighbors' houses (31.97) and block clubs (35.86)—and farther from those which do not—security survey (44.53) and property marking (46.58—all four comparisons  $p < .05$ , two-tailed).

Apparently, residents think that neighbors participate more in neighborhood watch or security survey than in block clubs or property marking. Residents associate their own neighborhood more with such watch and survey (41.22, 43.97) than with clubs or marking (49.41, 48.30—all four comparisons  $p < .05$ , two-tailed).

Still, residents do not associate any of the burglary prevention activities particularly strongly with their own neighborhood. Even neighborhood watch, which ranks closest of the four activities, lies a moderate 41.22 units from neighborhood. Overall rates of participation, both here and in many other places, make this no surprise.

Clearly, residents understand all four activities as ways to discourage burglary (33.91 to 39.84) and, in a sense, solve problems (36.43 to 43.06). Organizers discovered that most residents probably understood the basic purpose of the program's activities before it began.

Of the seven referents, taxpayer, lastly, ranks the fourth to sixth closest to each of the activities. It lies basically a medium distance from each (42.74 to 46.80). Compared with some other referents—particularly discouraging burglary—residents really do not see it as closely related to the activities. Perhaps some residents wonder, "What does paying my sewer tax have to do with keeping burglars out of my house?"

Since the objective of a burglary prevention program is to get people to prevent burglary, an organizer, at this stage, would want to find ways to make residents of the program area associate themselves more closely with these activities. In RMDS terms, this involves pinpointing referents that lie closest to the self yet distant from the activities. Then, getting the residents to associate the referents more closely with the activities simultaneously would bring the residents to associate the activities more closely with the self. Since four of these referents—neighbors seeing each other, your neighborhood, dissatisfaction with police, and fear of burglary—are not close to the self, they hold little promise of bringing the desired change. Discouraging burglary and solving problems, on the other hand, lie closest to the self and would seem to be the most helpful. Taxpayer also remains a possibility.

### *Relation of Behavior to RMDS*

This evaluation correlated participation in activities with corresponding distances as this has been done in past RMDS studies.<sup>11</sup>

First, however, security survey was deliberately excluded from these calculations because of economic pressures against participation. Organizers found that even though the security survey is free, at least some residents would not participate because they could not afford to follow the recommendations they felt would be made.

The three measures of participation correlate very strongly— $-.99$ —with the three mean distances ( $p < .05$ , one-tailed).<sup>12</sup> This correlation incorporates these comparisons:

- 15.24 percent of residents say that they belong to a block club; the mean distance between “you” and block club is 51.00.
- 34.76 percent say that they have marked their valuables with a special identification number for burglary prevention purposes; the mean distance between “you” and marking valuables with an identification number is 46.67.
- 84.76 percent report that they watch one or more neighbors’ houses; the mean distance between “you” and watching neighbors’ houses is 35.85.

## Planning Method

Since burglary prevention rests on persuading residents to take appropriate precautions, organizers need to devise effective messages to get this point across. But determining the contents of such messages can be tricky. On this point, a computerized computational method developed by Woelfel, Fink, Holmes, Cody, and Taylor (1976) can aid organizers’ intuitive approach by projecting the likely effects of different messages for persuasion.

This planning method rests on a theory that contends, first, that the more frequently an aggregate sees or hears one concept linked to a referent concept, the closer that concept will move to the referent, particularly when the aggregate is more familiar with the referent than with the concept (cf. Woelfel, Cody, Gillham, and Holmes 1980; Woelfel and Fink 1980). When such perceptions or statements link the first concept to two or more referents, it will move to a position mathematically average among them (Cody 1978, pp. 47–55). Second, an aggregate tends to engage more frequently in activities with conceptions closer to the aggregate’s conception of itself than in activities more distantly related to the aggregate’s self-concept.

In some ways, this planning method parallels the organizers’ procedure for finding persuasion strategies. Once the concept to be moved as well as its desired location have been determined, however, the method uses particular mathematical techniques to evaluate the potential of other concepts as referents that would bring the concept as close as possible to the desired direction.

This planning method has shown itself valid in several situations. In a 1974 Congressional election in Michigan, Barnett and his colleagues measured the distances in an electorate’s world view of itself, the issues, and candidates (Barnett, Serota and Taylor 1976). By campaigning on a series of messages devised with the help of the planning method, the team’s candidate was able to close the gap and move the electorate’s notion of him closer to its notion of itself. He subsequently won with 58% of the vote, even though, six weeks earlier, only 9% of the electorate had known his name. A week before the election, a particular arithmetic combination of distances even predicted the outcome of the election within two percentage

TABLE 3.2. Effect percentages for potential burglary prevention messages.

Messages	Block Club	Neighborhood Watch	Property Marking	Security Survey
<b>One Referent</b>				
Fear of burglary	87.12	—	95.21	—
Your neighborhood	83.45	—	91.21	—
Discouraging burglary	64.96	92.41	70.99	87.58
Dissatisfaction with police	95.80	—	—	—
Solving problems	66.59	94.74	72.78	89.79
Neighbors seeing each other	81.13	—	88.67	—
Taxpayer	59.19	84.21	64.69	79.81
<b>Two-Referent Messages</b>				
Fear of burglary/Your neighborhood	72.06	—	78.76	97.16
Fear of burglary/Discouraging burglary	62.56	89.01	68.38	84.35
Fear of burglary/Dissatisfaction with police	77.90	—	85.13	—
Fear of burglary/Solving problems	58.18	82.77	63.58	78.44
Fear of burglary/Neighbors seeing each other	72.58	—	79.32	97.86
Fear of burglary/Taxpayer	57.77	82.19	63.14	77.90
Your neighborhood/Discouraging burglary	59.15	84.14	64.64	79.74
Your neighborhood/Dissatisfaction with police	75.01	—	81.98	—
Your neighborhood/Solving problems	60.87	86.60	66.53	82.08
Your neighborhood/Neighbors seeing each other	69.89	99.44	76.39	94.24
Your neighborhood/Taxpayer	59.31	84.37	64.82	79.96
Discouraging burglary/Dissatisfaction with police	63.52	90.37	69.43	85.65
Discouraging burglary/Solving problems	50.06	71.21	54.71	67.49
Discouraging burglary/Neighbors seeing each other	63.37	90.16	69.26	84.44
Discouraging burglary/Taxpayer	42.60	60.61	46.56	57.44
Dissatisfaction with police/Solving problems	65.43	93.08	71.51	88.21
Dissatisfaction with police/Neighbors seeing each other	73.40	—	80.22	98.97
Dissatisfaction with police/Taxpayer	65.45	93.12	71.53	88.25
Solving problems/Neighbors seeing each other	62.55	88.99	68.36	84.33
Solving problems/Taxpayer	46.51	66.17	50.83	62.71
Neighbors seeing each other/Taxpayer	53.91	76.69	58.91	72.68

*Note.* Smaller percentages suggest more effective messages.

points. Dinkelacker essentially redemonstrated the validity of this method of prediction in a later county referendum (James Dinkelacker, personal communication, 1979).

With a war chest of only \$118,000 and a message obtained through this method, the Michigan United Conservation Club prevailed against the glass industry, which mounted a \$1.8 million campaign using other methods, in a statewide referendum on banning throwaway bottles (Joseph Woelfel, personal communication, 1979). A Michigan State master's thesis used the planning method to change undergraduates' opinions on several nationally known politicians (Cody 1978). Another Michigan State graduate student's field experiment to increase undergraduate interest in opera at the university brought only four inquiries from the control group but 31 from the experimental group (Dinkelacker 1979). Two of the "big three" automakers have also used this procedure in their market research.

Table 3.2 presents the results of the planning method's computations using the same RMDS data discussed earlier. The top part of the table comprises evaluations of one-referent messages and the bottom comprises those for two referents, expressed, in both cases, as *effect percentages*. This percentage represents the portion of the distance between two concepts—such as home security survey and the residents' notion of self—that will remain after a particular message is used to bring them closer together.

In Table 3.2, more specifically, each line represents a message whose potential effect is being evaluated. Such a message links the concept designating the behavior to be changed and the particular referent or referents. Combining fear of burglary, from the first row of the table, with the notion of block club, for example, would result in a message saying "Afraid of burglary? Join a block club!" As another example, combining the first item in the list of two-referent messages, involving fear of burglary and "your neighborhood," with the notion of home security survey produces a message saying that "your neighborhood is afraid of burglary and is having the security of its homes checked." Since the effect percentage reflects remaining distance, the smaller the percentage, the better the message. An effect percentage in the 90s is virtually worthless, while one close to zero is virtually perfect. No significance tests are used to compare effect percentages. But by a researchers' rule of thumb, a difference of 10 percentage points is considered appreciable. Table 3.2 also contains some dashes, where, for mathematical reasons, the effect percentage cannot be computed. The effect of the message, therefore, would be undefined.

An organizer must select a message which is accurate, by the way, because virtually all lies are discovered eventually and would only hinder accomplishing the program's objective. The planning method does not evaluate the truth of a message.

### *Results of Planning Method*

Table 3.2 reveals considerable consistency with findings so far on the referents' relation to both self and activities. But the effect percentages show some things that have not been so clear.

First, a look at one-referent messages indicates an appeal to dissatisfaction with police on block club—e.g., “Dissatisfied with police? Join a block club”—would be worthless (95.8%). The projected effects are undefined when using such dissatisfaction to encourage the Big Three. Since the results cannot be anticipated, harm—moving property marking farther from self, for example—would remain a possibility; using this approach might be unethical.

An appeal to fear would be worthless, or virtually so, for property marking or forming block clubs (95.21%, 87.12%) and undefined for neighborhood watch and security survey.

Seeing neighbors would hold little appeal as an argument for participating in block clubs or property marking (81.13%, 88.67%), with undefined effects on the other two activities.

Appeals to conformity with neighbors—e.g., “your neighborhood is marking their valuables with an identification number”—also would be expected to have poor (83.45%, 91.21%) or undefined results.

Solving problems would serve better as a rationale for forming a block club or property marking (66.59%, 72.78%) than for encouraging neighborhood watch or security survey (94.74%, 89.79%).

An appeal to discouraging burglary appears more appropriate for organizing block clubs and encouraging property marking (64.96%, 70.99%) than for stimulating neighborhood watch or security survey (92.41%, 87.58%).

Taxpayer has some of the lowest effect percentages (59.19% to 84.21%). But they are not usually appreciably lower than those for discouraging burglary or solving problems.

The message that has the strongest effects, and the most consistent across the four behaviors, turns up among the two-referent messages (42.60% to 60.61%). This message incorporates taxpayer and discouraging burglary: “Taxpayers discourage burglary by belonging to block clubs,” “taxpayers discourage burglary by watching neighbors’ houses,” “taxpayers discourage burglary by. . .,” etc. This is consistent with Figure 3.1, earlier, in which the midpoint of the distance between taxpayer and discouraging burglary lies fairly close to “you.”

The expected effects of this message do not differ between sub-aggregates in the program area: homeowners versus renters, elderly versus the younger. In each sub-aggregate, the optimum message is basically the same “taxpayers discourage burglary by. . .” for all four burglary-preventive activities.

Several assumptions lead us to speculate that using the “taxpayers discourage burglary. . .” message systematically might bring modest but appreciable improvement in other areas similar to ours. Lacking data, this chapter assumes that organizers’ messages to residents vary particularly among organizers and programs. Probably, the most common approach basically uses discouraging burglary. It seems unlikely that organizers use the “taxpayers discourage burglary” message, excluding others, because the rationale would be unfamiliar to organizers. Yet residents in other parts of the country presumably view themselves as taxpayers and have some sense of discouraging burglary.

Combining these assumptions leads us back to Table 3.2 to compare effect percentages for discouraging burglary with those for taxpayer/discouraging burglary. For block club, the drop is 22 percentage points—from 64.96 to 42.60; for neighborhood watch, almost 32 points; for property marking, 24; for security survey, 30 points. There is no plausible, known way to use these numbers to figure out the specific improvement in participation that might result. But based on overall experience with RMDS, a number of researchers would expect improvement.

Notice, though, that despite this help, the taxpayer/discouraging-burglary message leaves substantial room for improvement. Used with all four burglary prevention activities, that message still leaves them roughly half their current distance from residents' notion of self.

## Conclusions

Woelfel and Fink (1980) focus on philosophical and theoretical aspects underlying RMDS. Gillham (1983) focuses on corresponding methodological ones. For students of burglary prevention, this chapter has made mainly a theoretical point. This chapter has proposed a new notion of world view, which depicts concepts as spheres arrayed in a space: one concept for what is to be moved, one for the target and others to represent various referents. Change in world view is then represented as the motion of those spheres in the space.

Three propositions have been central. Briefly stated, these say that (1) as an aggregate sees or hears a concept linked to another, more familiar one, the first moves closer to the second; (2) when the first is linked with two or more others, it moves to a mathematically average position; (3) an aggregate tends to engage more frequently in behaviors that it imagines closer to itself than in others imagined further. All three of these propositions have received empirical support (cf., Barnett et al. 1976; Gillham 1983).

The advantage in this alternative approach is that (1) within particular limits common to RMDS research as a whole, world view is consistently related to a variety of activities in a strong statistical fashion. This supports organizers in their assertion that world view is relevant in fashioning messages to encourage a variety of burglary prevention activities. (2) This approach also underlies an alternative planning method—needed, apparently, and demonstrated successful in a fairly wide variety of other contexts—for developing messages to encourage burglary prevention. While unable to test the effects of the taxpayer/discouraging-burglary message, this evaluation demonstrated the planning method and described its logic.

Burglary prevention programs are concerned with more than residents' world view on burglary prevention. They are also concerned with residents' participation in particular activities, and that is the concern of the next two chapters.

## Notes

1. George A. Barnett is junior coauthor of this chapter.
2. Obviously, some aggregates may differ and not all should be approached in the same way.
3. It is difficult to document differences in organizers' abilities. But the level of participation in various burglary prevention activities would seem to support this.
4. This description of RMDS, and the planning method later, relies heavily on Gillham (1983)—cf. Woelfel and Fink (1980).
5. Individual respondents also commonly use qualitative dimensions, along with the judgmental standard, in judging such distances. When asked how they made such judgments, respondents list dimensions that vary from distance to distance as well as from respondent to respondent. Averaging such distances yields an aggregate-level world view that incorporates the notions of each individual but really represents the aggregate (Gillham 1972).
6. A respondent may not be able to estimate a particular item for one reason or another. Circumstances also may lead to estimating a particular distance with a number extremely large compared with those used by other respondents. Apparently, no one has published an accounting of the number of respondents who declined to answer particular RMDS items as opposed to the number of extreme responses trimmed. In other RMDS studies, so far as can be determined, nonresponses and trimmed extreme values for any particular item rarely exceed 25% and 10% of a sample, respectively. Both RMDS data sets used in this book are consistent with this experience.
7. No current line of theory provides guidance on which concepts tend to be near each other in particular populations. Any expectations are guesswork. While this chapter has little use for difference-of-means tests, they were performed for pairs of distances as implied by the discussion which follows in the next section. When means differ by less than 5.0, that difference is always  $p > .05$ , two-tailed. All differences greater than 6.0 are  $p < .05$ , two-tailed. This chapter relies more frequently on simple rankings of distances, because they enable a quick grasp of basic relations in the space.
8. Respondents often appear to estimate RMDS distances in a way that is consistent with this. Footnote 2 in Chapter 10 discusses this further.
9. As Table 3.1 points out, averaging the distances in that matrix results in a mean of 43.03.
10. For elusive reasons, however, residents rate fear of burglary as the referent closest to property marking.
11. Both kinds of measures were collected from residents in November 1981. To validate the measures of activities, this evaluation correlated information from end-of-program records with corresponding measures reported by residents in April 1982. Security survey and property marking were measured by the same questions, respectively, in both data collections. Block club membership was measured by virtually the same question: the November 1981 question asked,

“Are you a member of a block club?” The April 1982 question asked, “Do you—or your spouse if you have one—currently belong to a block club?” April 1982 reports were used to validate those from November 1981 because, by then, the program had reached more households, providing potential for larger correlations.

A household’s self-report of belonging to a block club correlates .304 with whether the respondent lived on a block that had been organized at the time the data were collected ( $p < .05$ , one-tailed). A household’s self-report of participation in property marking correlates .234 with notice of that in program records ( $p < .05$ , one-tailed). The corresponding correlation for security survey is .319 ( $p < .05$ , one-tailed). No such correlation is available on the validity of residents’ reports of watching neighbors’ houses because our program kept no records on that.

12. While a correlation computed from three observations is unusual, it is appropriate (Hays 1963, p. 510). The values used in the correlation are computed at the aggregate level and, thus, are probably fairly reliable. As discussed in Appendix B, though, these data do not meet the principle of probability sampling; statistical inference is not strictly appropriate. Again, the probability level is included for those interested.



## 4

# Program Participation: Attendance at Block Club Meetings

Since preventing burglaries was a key reason for organizing block clubs in this program area, attendance at club meetings can be considered, to some extent, an element of burglary prevention. This chapter and the one that follows on property marking, neighborhood watch and security survey examine what prompts residents to participate in each of these activities. They specifically focus on the processes—the sequence of interactions and other behaviors—that lead to such an action.

The director of a local burglary prevention program in Michigan had this observation on encouraging participation:

The crime itself is one of the best ways to get people involved. I mean if there is a crime in the neighborhood . . . You've got everybody's attention. If the crime isn't there, you know, to be frightening to them, then I think your next most important thing is the approach the organizer uses when she goes to work with them. Now, once she has approached them and got them to a meeting, then it becomes a neighbor-to-neighbor thing. (JG/1, p. 43)<sup>1</sup>

Previous research on burglary prevention participation has looked at the roles played by a fairly lengthy list of variables (Titus 1984, pp. 103–104), which can be categorized in a number of ways. For reasons that will become clear later, this chapter and the next do so as follows: (1) threat, which reflects knowledge of crime, fear of crime, and related notions; (2) structural position, including length of residence, home ownership, race and other variables; (3) communication, illustrated by interaction among neighbors, material conveyed by mass media, attendance at crime prevention meetings.

First, this chapter will outline the variables used here—including several not used before in burglary prevention research—and the rationale for them. Then, for each of the four activities, these two chapters will present a separate *path model*, basically a diagram of the most important relations leading to a particular activity. In these chapters, the term path model includes models with both linear and logistic regression coefficients. While this is broader than conventional usage (cf. Land 1968), it is a useful way to look at sequences of variables.

Organizing burglary prevention is probably more complex than these models show. But such models' purpose is to demonstrate a simplifying sequence among the variables, something not shown by lists of what plays a role in burglary prevention. More importantly, they show that while processes vary understandably, in some ways, among the activities, each model repeats a particular sequence which has not been reported before. All this will lead, in Chapter 10, to suggestions for organizers to improve their methods.

## The Variables

### *Threat: Burglary, Risk, Fear*

Since burglary constitutes the source of threat, it has enormous importance, but its most salient aspect remains unclear. Researchers have focused on such aspects as victimization (Scarr 1973; Skogan and Maxfield 1981), the number of burglaries reported to police (see, e.g., Schneider 1975), and the extent to which people perceive burglary as a problem (Skogan and Maxfield 1981).

In our program area, the number of victims is too small for a statistical analysis of victimization, and people clearly need not be victimized before taking measures to protect themselves (cf. Skogan and Maxfield 1981). Many burglaries, moreover, are not reported to police.

For three reasons, this study focuses on residents' perceptions of the number of burglaries in their area. First, the previously described Seattle program, used this approach by sending crime prevention workers door-to-door to alert people to the number of burglaries that had occurred in the city (Ciril et al. 1977, p. 23). Second, workers, who used this approach in our program area, also said the figures had some impact.

When asked, "What problems do you think need to be solved to help citizens prevent burglaries from residences more effectively?" one resident replied:

Well, basically, I would say that they have to be made aware that it can happen to them, that . . . burglaries do take place on their street. Show 'em the hard evidence. (182281, p. 11)

Third, correlations supported choosing perceived number of burglaries. This chapter will argue in a moment that particular network attributes should correlate with measures of threat. While not otherwise reported here, data collected before those reported in these two chapters showed such network attributes, as well as measures of participation in burglary prevention activities, correlating a little more strongly and consistently with the perceived number of burglaries than with the perceived importance of burglary or alternative measures. Unafflicted by inner-city signs of disorder, such as drunks or prostitutes hanging out on street corners, our program area did not see such occurrences as a problem there.

To measure the number of burglaries known to a resident, this evaluation asked, "So far as you know, how many burglaries, or 'break-ins,' have occurred in the last

two years in the area where you live? (Count those that have happened to you and to other people that you know, as well as to others that you have heard about.)” The answer—a specific number of burglaries—provided a ratio-level response.

Besides perceptions of the number of burglaries, residents’ perceptions of their own risk of being burglarized may play an important role in prompting participation in burglary prevention (cf. DuBow 1979, p. 60). To measure this perception, this evaluation asked residents, “What are the chances that something will be stolen from your residence or garage sometime in the next three years?” Residents answered with a percentage between 0 and 100.

Fear of burglary also figures in residents’ feelings of vulnerability to burglary (cf. Dubow, McCabe, and Kaplan 1979, pp. 26–27; Skogan and Maxfield 1981, p. 65). To measure this fear, this evaluation asked, “How afraid are you that something will be stolen while you are gone?” Pretests had indicated that residents understood that this brief question covered thefts from their homes or garages while they were away.<sup>2</sup> Respondents provided a ratio-level response after the interviewer read a brief set of directions indicated effective by pretest.

### *Structural Position*

The composition of a community can have considerable effect on its approach to a crime problem (Podolefsky and DuBow 1981; Podolefsky 1983). Some research has indicated that blacks are more likely than are whites to participate in crime prevention (Titus 1984, p. 103). Schneider (1975, p. 25) reports blacks participated more heavily than whites in some aspects of property marking. Marx and Archer (1971, p. 57) report a heavy proportion of black citizen patrols. To measure racial-ethnic status, this evaluation asked residents the ethnic group to which they belonged, then offered several alternatives: black, white, Hispanic, Asian, American Indian.

Dubow et al. argue that compared with others—especially those with larger incomes—the elderly are more likely to protect themselves against burglary by inexpensive means (1979, pp. 44–45). As is well known, many find their current incomes basically too small, and they spend their money very carefully (cf. Riley and Foner 1968, p. 69). This evaluation asked respondents their age and categorized them as elderly if they were 65 or older.

Since marriage often includes child-rearing and redoubled efforts to preserve wealth, married persons would have greater interest in securing their property against burglary. They, naturally, talk more than the nonmarried about ways to overcome mutual problems. Minnesota reports a predominance of married persons among participants in property marking (Governor’s Commission on Crime Prevention and Control 1976, p. 232). Lavrakas reports that married persons tend to protect their homes by such tactics as outdoor lights, timers to turn lights on and off, asking neighbors to keep an eye on the residence, property marking, and household insurance (1980, Table 5.6; cf. DuBow et al. 1979, p. 56). To measure marital status, this evaluation asked residents whether they were married, widowed, divorced, separated, or single.

In a review of a number of different kinds of community crime-prevention programs, Washnis finds participation related to home ownership (1976, p. 3; cf. Governor's Commission 1976, p. 162; Dubow et al. 1979, p. 56). As described in Chapter 2, our organizers found a household's interests shaped by whether it owned its residence. As one man told Bennett:

I busted my butt to get the mortgage to buy this house, and I don't want to see the housing stock on this street go down. I've got an investment. (R/2, 5050)

To measure home ownership, this evaluation asked whether respondents rented or owned the unit in which they lived.

Waller and Okihiro (1978, p. 82) report that respondents' concern about becoming victims of burglary depends on the number of persons in the household. In this program area, mothers with children made parallel comments. So this evaluation asked respondents how many people live in their household.

A later note describes this evaluation's look at relations involving other structural variables.

### *Communication*

This chapter and the next use some communication notions that have appeared—though sometimes measured differently—in previous research on crime prevention. Titus indicates that attendance at crime prevention meetings has received attention in research on burglary prevention (1984, p. 103). Meeting attendance and other interaction in particular places also have been used in research on how innovations are diffused (Rogers 1971, pp. 252–255; Rogers and Kincaid 1981). To measure attendance at block club meetings in our program area, this evaluation counted entries on sign-in sheets that residents signed as they arrived for each meeting, and then summed those numbers for the household.

People who join and participate in other sorts of local voluntary organizations also tend to participate in burglary prevention, Titus reports (1984, p. 103). Correspondingly, previous research has indicated that in the diffusion of innovations, persons with more experience in clubs and other organizations tend to learn about innovations sooner and to serve as opinion leaders (Rogers 1971, pp. 349, 368, 379). In our program area, a parallel role was sometimes played by block club members to the extent that they had experience in voluntary organizations. This chapter and the next term such experience *activism*; it was measured by multiplying together the responses to two items: “Do you—or your spouse, if you have one—currently belong to a block club?” This item was answered *no*, scored 0, or *yes*, scored 1. The second item asked the number of years which the resident had spent as an officer in a club, church or school group, neighborhood or fraternal organization.<sup>3</sup>

Silloway and McPherson (1985) report that when crime prevention organizers exert more effort, they produce more meetings of residents. Correspondingly, study of the diffusion of innovations has found that persons who have more *contacts with a change agent* tend to adopt an innovation more quickly than persons with fewer

such contacts (Rogers 1971, p. 371). Sometimes these contacts occur over a substantial period of time. An organizer in our program area provided the following handwritten account of contacts with one resident:

One man told me he had a shotgun behind his door. It seemed to me like he couldn't wait to catch someone inside his house. He was very negative about the program and didn't think there was much anyone could do. I told him that I didn't think a shotgun behind his door was the answer to his problem. Because he was so negative, I thought I had nothing to lose by chatting with him.

I sort of challenged him with comments and left saying that it wouldn't hurt to come to one of our meetings and check it out. "Listen to what we have to say, see what your neighbors have to say, and see what they're doing about it."

I didn't think he'd show up and I didn't recognize him when I saw him for the first time. At first, he was rather quiet, and I got the impression that his neighbors viewed him as the ogre of the block. He has met some new people at the meetings and has come up with a couple of good ideas. He seems like a happier person and people have warmed up to him.

I have had several more contacts with him about burglary prevention. He delivers slingers now and is getting a couple of new people interested, too. (Anonymous, pp. 4–6)

To measure residents' contacts with organizers, this evaluation used a series of contingency questions. The first part asked, "Since last New Year's Day, have you talked with, or listened to, Jack Bennett, or one of his crime prevention assistants, from the Goodfields Community Center?"<sup>4</sup> If the answer was affirmative, the interviewer then asked how many times such discussions had concerned attending block club meetings. Parallel items asked about marking valuables with a special number for crime prevention purposes, asking someone to suggest ways to make "your residence" more secure and keeping an eye on each other's residences. The replies—the number of times—provided us with ratio-level responses.<sup>5</sup>

### Borrowed Communication Variables

Besides some communication notions previously used in crime prevention research, this chapter and the next borrow several that have not been measured directly in such research. A first is *network attributes*, which, basically, is the extent to which the resident is embedded in a network on burglary prevention. Three notions offer slightly different perspectives on this. The first two come from Rogers and Kincaid, who report that connectedness and integration have considerable influence in diffusion (1981, Chapter 5). Following their definitions to a large extent (1981, pp. 346–347), this chapter and the next define connectedness as the number of neighbors with whom a resident discusses a particular burglary prevention activity. Integration, correspondingly, consists of the resident's estimate of the number of neighbors with whom he or she discusses a particular burglary prevention activity who also talk with each other about it. As a third network attribute, this evaluation added overlap, defined as the number of neighbors with whom a resident talks about both what's going on in the neighborhood and a particular

burglary prevention activity. This evaluation considered overlap important, because organizers reported that residents tended to talk with the same neighbors about burglary prevention and other things going on in the neighborhood. Coleman, Katz, and Menzel report a similar phenomenon among physicians on the diffusion of medications (1966).

While no available evidence indicates that burglary prevention organizers think in terms as precise as connectedness, integration, and overlap, most seem to have a general notion of network and of its importance. A Michigan crime prevention organizer commented:

. . .the more people you get to a meeting, the better your crime prevention work is going to be. . . There's got to be other people on your block that are going to do it. . . If you are in a neighborhood where things are really hot, a lot of times you feel unsafe. If you can get other people involved in it, people feel safer; then they will join in. (JG/1, p. 37)

Asked if the importance of talking with a large group of neighbors lies in establishing a conduit to show that others will get behind the effort, the organizer replied:

Right, and now you can have all the one-to-one crime prevention talk you want, but it won't work. Crime prevention does not come from a one-to-one conversation between a worker and the person sitting in a house. . . The only thing that makes crime prevention work is when neighbor will call neighbor and . . . police. (JG/1, p. 37)

For each of the four burglary prevention activities, network attributes were measured as the average of connectedness, integration, and overlap.<sup>6</sup> (This average was computed only after standardizing each of the variables to have the same mean and standard deviation.) Connectedness on security survey, for example, was measured by asking residents, "How many people on your street do you talk with, overall, about having residences checked for proper locks on doors and windows?" The parallel integration measure, which followed immediately, asked, "So far as you know, how many of these \_\_\_\_\_ people talk with each other about having residences checked for proper locks?" To measure overlap, residents first were asked the number of neighbors with whom they talked about what's going on in the neighborhood. Then they were asked, "Of these \_\_\_\_\_ people, how many do you also talk with about having your residence checked for proper locks on doors and windows?" In all cases, the answers provided ratio-level responses.<sup>7</sup>

Research has shown that behavior varies strongly with several notions of modeling (Schwitzgebel and Kolb 1974, Chapter 6; Gillham and Bersani 1976; Woelfel, Woelfel, Gillham, and McPhail 1974). Many residents were aware of neighbors' burglary prevention measures. One resident described the outcome of such mutual imitation in his neighborhood:

Everybody here has now made sure that nobody is just being careless any more. Everybody's making sure their homes are locked up, that everybody informs someone on the block that they're gonna be gone, watch the house, take in the mail, so

everybody's very aware, very conscious. . . . Some have put steel doodads on the basement windows. Many have gone to deadbolt locks. Some have even put a special type of plastic on the side windows so they (burglars) can't break them. (182281, p. 6)

Police have noted the effects of modeling. A community in Michigan attaches several packets of crime prevention material—one packet per household—to a clipboard and sends it up one side of a face block and down the other. When a household receives the clipboard, it signs in and when it gives it to the next-door neighbor, it signs out. Asked why this procedure works in some neighborhoods, a police-community-relations officer said,

They see the involvement of their neighbors, I think. They see graphic proof. . . . They see all of the neighbors are joining in this effort and it becomes more of a team effort rather than somebody going house to house. (JG/1, p. 16)

For each activity, this chapter and the next define modeling as a resident's impression of the number of neighbors who participate or have participated. For neighborhood watch, for example, modeling was measured by asking residents, "So far as you know, how many of your neighbors watch each other's houses or apartments to spot potential intruders?" Similar items asked about the number of neighbors participating in the other three activities—property marking, home security check, and attending block club meetings. Pretests indicated that residents understood that these questions applied to the number of neighboring households. Residents responded at the ratio level.

Besides modeling, research in communication and other disciplines reports that behavior correlates with *defining* (Bersani et al. 1977; Gillham and Bersani 1976; Woelfel et al. 1974). This essentially consists of verbal messages to a person on what constitutes appropriate or desirable behavior. Defining is a somewhat unusual measure of interpersonal expectation because it pays no attention to affective elements, such as the likableness of the source. Rather, the message of a particular source is considered influential in proportion to the frequency of his or her communication with the person whose behavior is being influenced (Woelfel and Haller 1971a, p. 76).

The comments of one resident of the program area reflect defining on burglary prevention:

Every day I walk to the store. I'm always talking. Hello, how are you? . . . We talk about the conditions and what's going on. (111891, p. 9)

When asked under what circumstances she would try actively to persuade neighbors to participate in burglary prevention, this resident replied:

Well, all you can do is talk; then from there, they take over. I can't do it for them. You know. You tell them about it. It's too late when the horse runs out of the barn. The horse gets lost. You gotta do that so he doesn't run out. Burglary is the same thing. You gotta be on the lookout and watch. (111891, p. 14)

Defining also occurs in conversations with family members or other persons who share a home. When one resident was asked about those, besides neighbors, with whom he had talked about the threat of burglary, he replied:

Pretty much between my wife and myself. It's not a preoccupation. But it's something I feel that we have to plan for. (18237, p. 2)

Asked whether he was concerned about being burglarized, another resident answered:

I have a mild concern about it. . . . Usually my wife and I discuss it. Basically with the school being just one block away and there are a lot of kids in the neighborhood during the day and during school hours. (111341, p. 2)

Defining can be measured by multiplying the number of contacts with a source about a behavior by a measure of the source's apparent viewpoint on the behavior (Bersani et al. 1977; Woelfel et al. 1974).

Neighbors' defining on property marking, for example, would consist of the number of times a resident has talked with neighbors about property marking multiplied by a measure of their apparent favorability toward this activity. The role of television and radio in defining fear of crime, likewise, could be represented by the amount of time a resident devotes to crime-related programs, multiplied by a measure of fear that the resident perceives in them.

To look at the role of defining in burglary prevention, this evaluation constructed a series of contingency items covering other occupants of the resident's home—regardless of relationship—and neighbors. The first asked, "Since last New Year's Day, how many times have you talked with your neighbors about each of these strategies for burglary prevention?" This was followed by a list of the four activities: marking valuables with a special number for crime prevention purposes, asking someone to make "your residence" more secure, keeping an eye on each other's residences, attending block club meetings. If the respondent answered with a number of one or more, the interviewer read a brief set of directions indicated effective by pretest. Then the respondent rated the relative degree of opposition or favorability toward each activity on which he or she had reported contact.

After appropriate trimming, the two ratio-level responses for each activity were multiplied together to form the defining measure.

Defining with co-occupants was measured in a similar way, except that the questions asked about contacts with "your spouse, or persons you live with."

This evaluation also measured defining by radio and television on residents' fear of burglary.<sup>8</sup> Research has been inconsistent on such media's role in residents' fear of crime. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli (1980) found such fear associated with number of hours of television viewing. Skogan and Maxfield (1981, pp. 176–179), on the other hand, reported no relation between fear of crime and watching television news. Doob and Macdonald (1979) found that fear of being a crime victim does not vary with the number of television programs watched, number of violent programs watched, or frequency of listening to radio news.<sup>9</sup>



Roberts and Maccoby argue that such inconsistency pervades other research on mass communication at least partly because of widely different measures of media consumption (1985, pp. 544–546). They recommend using media measures that parallel, as closely as possible, the kind of behavior being studied (p. 546).

To measure defining by radio and television on fear of burglary, this evaluation asked residents, first, “In the average day, how much time do you spend watching television and listening to the radio?” Residents answered in hours and fractions thereof. Next, this evaluation asked, “Of what you see on television and hear on the radio, about what percentage concerns thefts from a person’s residence or garage?” These percentages were handled as integers. Third and finally, residents were asked, “From what you see on television and hear on the radio, how afraid should you be that something will be stolen from your residence or garage?” To answer the third question, respondents were told to use “as large or small a number as you like,” with 0 representing *not being afraid at all* and 5 indicating being *half-way afraid*.<sup>10</sup> After appropriate trimming, the three responses were multiplied together to form the defining measure.

### *Attendance and the Big Three*

As mentioned earlier, this evaluation measured attendance at block club meetings from the sign-in sheets at each meeting. This evaluation also measured participation in property marking by asking, “Do your television set or other valuables have special identification numbers for crime prevention purposes?” A response of *no* was scored 0 and *yes* was scored 1.

This evaluation measured participation in neighborhood watch by asking, “In your neighborhood, how many houses or apartments—besides your own—do you look at from time to time to spot potential intruders or thieves?” Residents answered at the ratio level by responding, separately, for apartments and houses. But the number of residents who reported watching any apartments, unfortunately, was too small for use in statistical analyses.

This evaluation measured participation in security survey by asking residents, “Has a policeman or anyone else inspected your house or apartment to suggest ways to make it more secure?” A response of *no* was scored 0 and *yes* was scored 1.

## Analytical Procedures

Table 4.1 summarizes residents’ responses on the variables just described.<sup>11</sup> While the measures of attendance were compiled from block club meetings’ sign-in sheets, the other variables come from a questionnaire administered in April 1982. The rest of this chapter and the next report on the processes that lead to participation in block clubs, property marking, neighborhood watch, and security survey. For each activity, more specifically, these two chapters look at the overall path model,

TABLE 4.1. Summary of variables in chapters 4 and 5.

Variable	% or Mean\Median	Range	Reference Period <sup>a</sup>
Number of burglaries known	4.51 \ 2.50	0–38	Last 2 years
Perceived risk of burglary	39.96 \ 49.66	0–100	Next 3 years
Fear of burglary	32.42 \ 29.75	0–100	
Black	7.4%	0–1	
Married	50.8%	0–1	
Home ownership	58.6%	0–1	
Number of persons in household	3.38 \ 3.22	0–10	
Elderly	16.5%	0–1	
Number of block club meetings attended			
Used as dependent variable (Chapter 4)	.68 \ .12	0–10	Through end of program
Used as independent variable (Chapter 5)	.33 \ .07	0–7	To collection of data reported by respondents
Activism (member of block club multiplied by number of years as officer)	.46 \ .05	0–10	
Number of contacts with organizer:			Since last New Year's Day
Block club	.11 \ .04	0–3	
Property marking	.22 \ .06	0–10	
Neighborhood watch	.08 \ .03	0–2	
Security survey	.15 \ .05	0–5	
Network attributes (average of standardized connectedness, integration, overlap)			
Block club (includes modeling)	-.02 \ -.40	-.41–5.95	
Property marking	-.02 \ -.30	-.30–5.37	
Neighborhood watch	-.02 \ -.25	-.65–7.36	
Security survey	-.04 \ -.41	-.42–5.18	
Modeling (number of participating neighbors known)			
Property marking	.49 \ .11	0–8	
Neighborhood watch	6.52 \ 2.83	0–75	
Security survey	.88 \ .09	0–30	
Neighbors' defining on property marking (number of contacts multiplied by neighbors' opposition or favorability)	1.37 \ .08	-5–30	Since last New Year's Day
Co-occupants' defining (number of contacts multiplied by co-occupants' opposition or favorability)			Since last New Year's Day
Block club	4.26 \ .02	-8–50	
Property marking	3.44 \ .01	-20–35	
TV/radio defining on fear of burglary (hours of exposure on burglary multiplied by fearfulness conveyed)	252.42 \ 51.81	0–4725	
Property marking	26.4%	0–1	
Neighborhood watch (number of neighbors' houses watched)	4.68 \ 3.17	0–80	
Security survey	15.6%	0–1	

Note. Only the variables appearing in the models are listed here.

<sup>a</sup>This tells the time period for which the respondent answered the question or through which data were collected.

a diagram of the relations that are involved. Most of these relations are based on standardized multiple-regression coefficients ( $B$ ),<sup>12</sup> though some relations are based on logistic-regression coefficients.<sup>13</sup>

Besides statistical aspects, these path models also express the sequence, or order, in which aspects of threat, structural position, and communication affect each other and activities. Such sequence is established using the researcher's knowledge of the research setting, statistical findings, and particular methodological criteria. It is important for three reasons. First, most such analyses, like those here, use ordinary-least-squares multiple regression. With that procedure, statistical problems may exist if sequence goes in both directions between two variables. Use of that statistical technique in such circumstances is controversial (Land 1971; Henry and Hummon 1971; Woelfel and Haller 1971b). Second, knowledge of sequence contributes to that of causation, which is one of the aspirations of much of social science (see, e.g., Hirschi and Selvin 1967, p. 38). Third, organizers might find such sequence helpful in decisions on how to influence participation in an activity most effectively. Suppose, for example, the findings reveal that after an organizer contacts residents about security survey, they respond by discussing it with neighbors. These discussions, in turn, provide information on neighbors' participation, and residents then rely heavily on these neighbors' decisions to decide whether to participate themselves. Residents, therefore, do not respond directly to contacts with organizers but only indirectly as described. If organizers—contrary to much current practice, probably—take this into account, they would not expect their contacts to suffice in stimulating participation. Instead, they would make sure, especially late in the organizing, that residents talked with neighbors and found out about those who have participated.

These two chapters discuss the relations one after another in each path model.<sup>14</sup> If two variables appear in a particular model but show no relation, that relation was ruled out for one or more reasons.<sup>15</sup> After looking at the separate relations, these two chapters compare the coefficients in the models to draw conclusions about which relations are strongest.

In the rest of this chapter and in the next, the unit of analysis is the person. As mentioned earlier, efficiency usually led our organizers to work with a household through a particular member. Administratively, then, each organizer saw the household as an extension of that person. These two chapters treat the matter similarly. So, for example, when a respondent reported on the household's participation in property marking or security survey, these two chapters treat that observation as an attribute of him or her.

## Attendance at Block Club Meetings<sup>16</sup>

Figure 4.1 depicts the relations involved in block club attendance. Overall, these show that when residents have contact with organizers, basically two things happen. First, residents attend meetings. Second, such contacts also spur commu-

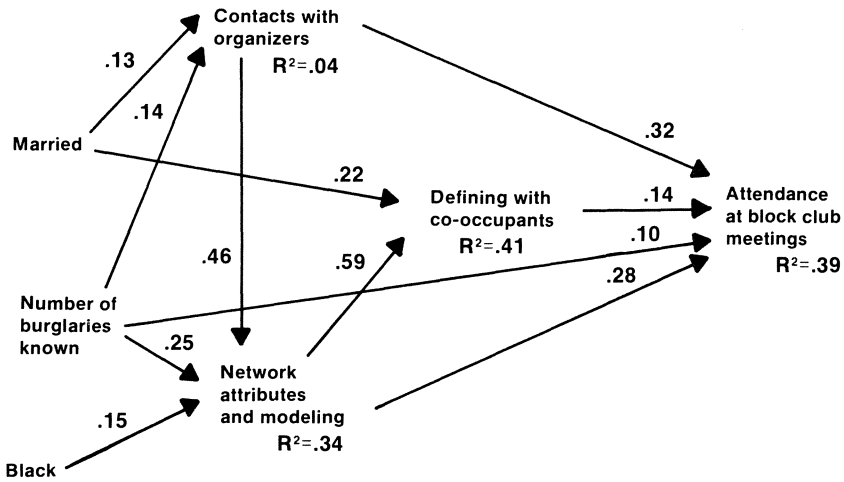


Figure 4.1. Path Model for Attendance at Block Club Meetings. All multiple correlations and standardized regression coefficients are appreciable ( $p < .05$ ).  $R^2$  is corrected for degrees of freedom.

nication with neighbors on the block club and knowledge of their attendance at its meetings. This, in turn, prompts attendance and household discussions about block club meetings, which also encourage attendance.

Before proceeding, by the way, lay readers need to understand that these relations merely express patterns discernible in a fairly large number of persons. For reasons basically unknown, some persons and households do not fit these patterns. Let's look at these relations for each dependent variable.

### *Organizer Contacts*

The more burglaries about which a resident knows, the more contacts that he or she tends to have with organizers on attending block club meetings ( $p < .05$ ). This evaluation has no evidence that organizers tried harder to organize blocks with larger numbers of burglaries. The organizers worked as diligently as possible on all the blocks. Instead, increasingly large numbers of burglaries would make residents pay more attention to neighborhood problems otherwise ignored. This would have encouraged residents to seek out organizers on what a block club could and would do. As mentioned earlier, such clubs are intended to handle a flexible variety of problems. In the Chicago area, similarly, Lavrakas reports correspondingly more anticrime efforts in neighborhoods who perceive crime and incivilities as more serious problems (1980, p. 148).

Number of contacts with organizers on block clubs would not affect the number of burglaries about which a resident knows for three reasons. First, most residents probably learned about the number of burglaries from a slinger discovered on their

doorsteps or directly from an organizer. Even if residents had their first contact with organizers on block clubs in the same conversation as on burglary, knowledge of burglary would still come first. So far as can be determined, no organizer ever invited a resident to participate in a block club before telling him or her the number of burglaries that had occurred.

Second, residents used actual break-ins, or available information about them, to make their estimates of number of burglaries. No reason exists for thinking that when a resident merely talked with organizers about a block club, that would make burglaries increase. Moreover, the number of burglaries seldom or never increased on a street while one of its blocks was being organized.

Third, our experience indicates that a resident who considers talking with organizers about block clubs thinks about how many burglaries have occurred during a previous period of time. This evaluation measured the number of contacts with organizers “since last New Year’s Day,” which was roughly four months before these data were collected. Number of burglaries was measured during the “last two years.” So the number of contacts with organizers on block clubs during the previous four months depends on the number of burglaries that had occurred, according to the respondent, during the past two years. Under the principles of path analysis, later measures cannot be used as antecedents of earlier ones (Land 1968, p. 34).

Compared with those of other marital statuses, married residents tend to have more contact with organizers on attending block club meetings ( $p < .05$ ). In this program area, many married residents have a variety of overlapping interests: maintaining the value of their homes, protecting possessions and children’s safety, maintaining a pleasant neighborhood atmosphere. A block club serves all these interests.

Marital status would be unaffected by any of the activities or interpersonal or media contact examined in this chapter and the next. Virtually all the marriages predated our program. So far as can be determined, moreover, block clubs—and other aspects of burglary prevention, for that matter—rarely, if ever, play a role in initiating, continuing or dissolving a marriage.

### *Network Attributes and Modeling (Combined)*

As noted earlier, burglary tends to prompt residents—except, perhaps, the most fearful—to talk to their neighbors about potential remedies. One of our interviewers, for example, reported that after a burglary in the middle of a cold day, one resident said:

Now you see, what’s good about this, the neighbors are closer now. I never seen so much closeness on — Avenue as there is now. (111891, p. 4)<sup>17</sup>

Network contacts, more specifically, provide information about the block club attendance of others. Presumably, the more burglaries that have occurred and the more neighbors with whom a resident discusses block club, the more of them he or she would discover who attend. Correspondingly, the more neighbors whom a

resident sees at a meeting, the more neighbors with whom he or she would tend to talk. Unlike the Big Three, a block club, by its nature, shows a resident the block's participation and brings neighbors together in a way that encourages each to discuss it more widely than he or she probably would otherwise.<sup>18</sup>

On attendance at block club meetings, network attributes and modeling correlate highly at .792 (pearson  $r$ ). Organizers reported something similar—more discussion of burglary prevention when a larger proportion of a block appears to participate.

So, to make the statistical aspects more manageable, the network and modeling variables were combined, first by standardizing each, then by averaging them. The result shows that the more burglaries about which residents know, the higher their level of network attributes and modeling on block club attendance ( $p < .05$ ).

Conversely, network attributes on block club attendance would tend not to affect the number of burglaries about which a household knows unless so many burglaries were occurring that residents discovered and discussed them while talking with neighbors about block clubs. This was not the case. First, residents tended to learn of the scope of burglary in the area from organizers, who had obtained the information from police. The police would not give such information to residents but only to organizers. As noted previously, organizers included the number of burglaries in the slinger delivered to every home on the block as the first step in organizing. When neighbors discussed the block club, all participants would have received the same slinger and, presumably, would have had similar information.

Second, organizers, as mentioned a moment ago, seldom told an established club that more burglaries had occurred after it had formed. In the one exception, a particular burglar, well known to the police, began working in the program area; block clubs responded by disseminating a slinger listing his street name, description and his manner of operating, as well as instructions telling residents what to do if they spotted him.

No plausible reason exists for thinking that modeling on block club attendance would affect the number of burglaries about which a resident knows. Perceptions of the number of burglaries would depend, primarily, on information provided by organizers. The number of people who attend meetings would be irrelevant.

Besides the number of burglaries, organizers play a direct role in network attributes and modeling. The more contacts which a resident has with organizers on attending block club meetings, the higher the resident's levels of network attributes and modeling on that topic ( $p < .05$ ). Organizers actively promoted block networks by urging residents, as many times as possible without antagonizing them, to talk with their neighbors about attending block club meetings. Since the organizers stressed the importance of participation by as many houses as possible, residents would have tended to contact more neighbors—but mainly those with whom they normally discuss what is going on in the neighborhood. Coleman et al. report a similar phenomenon on a different topic among physicians (1966). Following the premise that a person's friends tend to become acquainted (George Barnett, personal communication, 1983), such neighbors, presumably, would have discussed block club meetings with each other, as well.

Contacts with organizers, likewise, enhanced modeling since such contacts gave the organizers the opportunity to convey information that neighbors were attending block club meetings. The zero-order, Pearson correlations support this interpretation. Network attributes and modeling correlate .51 and .46, respectively, with contacts with organizers (both  $p < .05$ ).

Experience suggests that network attributes and modeling did not affect contacts with organizers on attending block club meetings. According to organizers, residents' block-club-related requests seldom or never stemmed from the number of residents who had discussed attending such meetings or actually attended them. This occurred only when attendance was starting to decline. At such times, a block club leader might express concern to an organizer and ask what could be done. This implies that any relationship from modeling and network attributes to contacts with organizers would be negative. Controlling for other appropriate variables, regression analysis, not otherwise reported here, reveals no such relationship.

Compared with other racial-ethnic groups, blacks tend to stand higher on network attributes and modeling on attending block club meetings ( $p < .05$ ). This is consistent with findings reported by Schneider (1975, p. 25) and Skogan and Maxfield (1981, p. 237), as well as Titus' review of research (1984, p. 103). The findings here, though, suggest specifically that blacks are likely to talk with more neighbors about the block club, that those neighbors are more likely to talk with each other, and that blacks are likely to know more neighbors who attend. Obviously, neither network attributes nor modeling would affect a person's racial background.

### *Co-occupant Defining*

Compared with those of other marital statuses, married residents tend to encounter a higher level of defining by other occupants of the household on attending block club meetings ( $p < .05$ ). Asked whether this finding made sense, a block club organizer from another program in Dixon noted the physical proximity aspect: "A landlady would have to make an effort to tell tenants, where (sic) a husband is right there." (JG/2, p. 1). As mentioned earlier, co-occupant defining would not affect marital status.

The higher the resident's level of network attributes and of modeling on attending block club meetings, the higher the level of defining that he or she tends to have with co-occupants on such attendance ( $p < .05$ ). As pointed out by the principle of entropy, information tends to flow from more informed sources to less informed ones (Woelfel and Fink 1980, p. 136). In this instance, therefore, when residents know about something happening in the neighborhood—such as a block club—they are likely to inform other members of their households.

According to research on formation of norms, a group confronting an ambiguous situation tends to take the position advocated by the most numerous segment of its members (Sherif and Sherif 1969, pp. 202–218).<sup>19</sup> Cognitive-dissonance research suggests, as is well-known, that when behavior changes, attitudes change to become favorable to it. These principles, with the data and the experience of our

organizers, suggest that when members of a household discuss whether one or more will attend a particular meeting, they take into account the extent to which the block club appears to interest the rest of the neighborhood. The greater such interest, the more likely that the block club will interest the household. Such a club, therefore, would come in for more discussion and that discussion would be more favorable than corresponding discussions on blocks with less apparent interest in such a club.

Such defining by other household members is unlikely to affect a resident's level of modeling or network attributes involving block club attendance. First, such modeling consists of neighbors' block club attendance. Co-occupant defining involves no direct communication with neighbors. Obviously, such communication would be necessary to affect neighbors' behavior. Defining with co-occupants would have no direct effect, therefore, on neighbors' attendance.

Second, in the very few homes where both husband and wife were "shakers" in a block club, network attributes and defining by another household occupant might have a "feedback" relation—"arrows in both directions." Such residents did appear to listen to their neighbors, talk with each other, then try to persuade neighbors to attend block club meetings. This might apply to as many as one or two cases in these data—less than 1%—a trivial number, particularly in light of the analysis of residuals mentioned in an earlier note. For the other households, however, co-occupant defining on block club attendance is unlikely to affect corresponding network attributes. According to organizers, co-occupants in most households tended to approve or disapprove the activity, then act accordingly, without generating outside contacts.

### *Attendance at Meetings*

The more burglaries about which a resident knows, the higher his or her household's attendance at block club meetings ( $p < .05$ ). This finding will not surprise people familiar with such meetings.

Block club attendance, for reasons mentioned earlier, would not affect the number of burglaries about which a resident knows. Residents heard about the number of burglaries when first approached to attend, and that number rarely changed later. Burglaries were measured over a period of time that predated the corresponding period for attendance, and later measures cannot be used as antecedents of earlier ones in path analysis (Land 1968, p. 34).

In line with the experience of our organizers and that of change agents elsewhere, the more contacts reported with organizers, the greater the attendance at meetings ( $p < .05$ ; cf. Rogers 1971, p. 371).

Overall, a household's block club attendance would not affect contacts with an organizer about attending, because such contacts usually begin and end before attendance does. Organizers canvass a neighborhood to persuade neighbors to meet, meet with the group long enough for it to become stable, then gradually move on to some other group. Since our program expected organizers' effects to persist, the measure of attendance, here, extended beyond the termination of the organizing,



essentially in late April 1982, to the close of the program in July 1982. As mentioned earlier, principles of path analysis rule out considering later measures as antecedents of earlier ones.

The higher the level of defining with co-occupants on attending block club meetings, the greater the household's attendance at block club meetings ( $p < .05$ ). Organizers, similarly, found that a household's block club discussions exerted tremendous influence on members' attendance. Asked about this, a very active Dixon resident outside our program area told an interviewer, "A wife will jack a husband up to participate at a meeting by . . . taking him to a meeting." (JG/2, p. 8)

Attendance at block club meetings would be unlikely to affect such defining on attendance. Consistent with our program's image of co-occupants discussing a block club before beginning to attend, the measure of attendance extends beyond the collection of the other data. Principles of path analysis preclude treating an entity measured later as preceding an earlier one.

The higher a resident's levels of network attributes and of modeling, the higher the household's attendance at block club meetings ( $p < .05$ ). This is consistent with the experience of our organizers and with research on the effects of particular network attributes and of modeling, described previously (cf. Titus 1984, p. 104). As one active Dixon resident said during an interview:

If a person knows a neighbor and has known them (sic) for a couple or three years, and they talk, the one might say, "Listen, we are going to have a meeting. It lasts about an hour and doesn't cost you anything." They might get interested. (JG/2, p. 8)

According to research on norms formation, a single household's attendance at block club meetings would be unlikely to affect attendance by neighbors, as a group, and, hence, modeling to which the resident would be exposed. Attendance at a block club meeting might affect network attributes on that topic under some other circumstances, but not in this instance. Controlling for the effects of contacts with organizers, modeling, and the number of burglaries known to residents, multiple regression, not otherwise reported here, reveals network attributes do not vary appreciably with block club attendance. Data on attendance, moreover, were collected after those on networks.

### *Summary*

Figure 4.1 indicates that when residents have contact with organizers on attending block club meetings, two things tend to happen: (1) Residents increasingly attend meetings ( $B = .32$ ). (2) Residents talk with proportionally more neighbors about such attendance and learn that increasing numbers are attending (network attributes and modeling,  $B = .46$ ). Such conversations and examples, in turn, assist attendance ( $B = .28$ ). The following account illustrates the links from organizer contacts to network attributes and modeling to attendance. "Gladys," who was unusually well-connected in her neighborhood, described what happened following contacts with an organizer whom we will call "Mary."

Mary had come around several times and handed out notices. This day, I happened to be at a friend's house across the street, and Mary was passing out notices. I asked her what a block club was and she told me. She said this is your last chance for this street. I told her we'd have people at the meeting.

. . . I sold Avon, and this happened to be my territory. I wasn't just a stranger. . . . A stranger could have come in and talked their (sic) head off.

. . . They all admitted it at the meeting. They said they wouldn't have been there if Gladys hadn't come around and told us what the meeting was about. (JG/2, p. 7)

Other occupants of a resident's household also figure in block club attendance. Contacts with neighbors, which yield information on how many are attending, fuel discussions within a household ( $B = .59$ ). But, according to these data, organizer contacts ( $B = .32$ ) and network attributes/modeling ( $B = .28$ ) carry twice the weight of co-occupant defining ( $B = .14$ ) in decisions to attend meetings. This suggests that while household discussions reflect conversations with neighbors, residents also may be concluding implicitly, "Let's go along with (yield to) the neighbors and see what it's all about." While residents pay attention to the number of burglaries as they attend meetings, that relation is relatively weak ( $B = .10$ ).

Looking a step further back in the model, one can see that network attributes and modeling depend almost twice as much on organizer contacts ( $B = .46$ ) as number of burglaries ( $B = .25$ ). This may seem surprising, particularly to practitioners who view burglary prevention programs as prompted mainly by the number of burglaries in an area. But this is only one instance in this study of social variables showing a stronger relation than a measure of burglary, risk, or fear.

The next chapter continues this examination by looking at property marking, neighborhood watch, and security survey.

## Notes

1. The reference in parentheses following each quotation consists, first, of a sequence of letters and/or numbers designating a particular file for the rest of the interview, or the extract of it, followed by the page or starting line number for the quotation.
2. Relations involving risk may differ, to some extent, from those involving fear. Many persons would expect, for example, to find relations from number of burglaries known to perceived risk to fear. As described later, the data support such relations in that order.
3. These were counted as "organization-years." If someone, for example, in the same year had served as president of two separate organizations, this would have counted as two years.
4. New Year's Day occurred roughly four months prior to the collection of these data. As before, pseudonyms replace actual names.
5. As discussed more fully in Chapter 7, our program began by trying to reach only particular parts of the overall area.

6. For each of the four activities, connectedness, integration, and overlap correlate fairly highly: Pearson correlations range from .44 to .96 (all  $p < .001$ ).
7. In data collected before those reported in this chapter, this evaluation measured other attributes—such as whether the resident expects to continue living in the same place, the extent to which he or she knows his or her neighbors, the extent to which he or she feels part of the neighborhood—that could measure interaction and affect among neighbors. But subsequent analysis revealed such items less useful, overall, for our purposes than connectedness, integration, and overlap. Subsequent analysis also revealed that connectedness, integration, and overlap are more useful than the number of persons with whom a resident discusses what's going on in the neighborhood.
8. This notion of defining ignores distinctions between drama and news programs, or prime-time shows versus those aired at other hours because the basic concern involved what residents saw and heard, from the particular media or source, about the fearfulness of burglary. As Gerbner, Gross, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox, and Signorielli (1978, p. 202) point out:

Viewers do not watch just violence (or any other abstracted element) per se. Typically, they do not even watch selected plays, as such. They watch *television* and watch it by the clock rather than by the program. Most viewers watch non-selectively what is on when they habitually turn on the television set.

9. The relation of fear with the print media will be discussed later.
10. As reported before, pretests showed respondents had no difficulty with these measures.
11. In roughly 9/10 of the self-reported variables used in this chapter and the next, 10 or fewer cases were trimmed by the procedures described in Appendix B. The largest number of these variables—15—had no cases trimmed. The next largest number—7—had one case trimmed.

The next-to-largest number of trimmed *cases*—11—came on the number of times residents reported discussing property marking in the previous four months with other occupants of their homes. Two residents responded, for example, with implausible numbers of 98 or larger!

The largest number of cases—22—was trimmed from the number of years served as an officer in a voluntary organization, an element of activism. Residents responded with numbers as large as 80, and some memory error undoubtedly occurred. Organizers' experience also suggested that perhaps, to some point, increasing experience in this area might make residents more interested in burglary prevention; while experience above that level might disillusion them. Correspondingly, this trimming may have strengthened a linear relation by removing the disillusioning years and, thus, been somewhat unusual. Coupled with these considerations, incidentally, parsimony and other reasons led away from handling this with a transformation and toward the procedure reported here.

12. In this chapter and the next, multiple regression was used to evaluate hypotheses with continuous dependent variables. Table 4.1 points out a recurring fact

about the distributions of burglary-prevention-related behaviors: most persons do little or nothing on most particular behaviors; a few persons do a great deal. Some statistically oriented researchers designate such a distribution as “skewed in a positive direction.”

Using multiple regression to handle skewed data is not new. This is appropriate provided that the data, as is the case of those reported in this chapter and the next, can be shown not to violate the basic assumptions underlying this statistical procedure (Draper and Smith 1966; Kmenta 1971; Norusis 1985). In these two chapters, the measures initially were selected according to theory that specifies linear relations at the individual or household level. When residuals were plotted against their respective “predictor” aggregates, the scatters supported linearity of relations and provided no evidence of incomplete specification (Draper and Smith 1966, pp. 90–91; Kmenta 1971, p.470; cf. note 15 in this chapter).

An increasingly popular approach involves transforming skewed data to help meet the basic assumptions underlying multiple regression, as well as to strengthen the fit of the data to theory (see e.g. Norusis 1985, p. 33). This research examined whether particular transformations improved squared multiple correlations, adjusted for degrees of freedom, enough to merit reconceptualizing the propositions presented here. Such propositions need to remain parsimonious. Logarithmic and square-root transformations each constitute a commonly recommended palliative for skewed data. Particular rules of thumb guided the use of such transformations. For some variables, alternative logarithmic and square-root versions were created. Overall, however, neither kind of transformation proved worthwhile in untrimmed or trimmed data here. While the transformations increased such a correlation as much as .09 for one equation, they reduced it as much as .30 in another. Outcomes of comparisons were scattered spasmodically between those two extremes. Such correlations differed by .05 or less in two-thirds or more of the comparisons where the transformed data yielded a higher correlation than did the untransformed data. Comparable equations were inconsistent on whether particular transformations were desirable. This is hardly strong support for reconceptualized theory.

13. For relations with dichotomous dependent variables, this evaluation used logistic regression (Kmenta 1971, Chapter 11; Pindyck and Rubinfeld 1976, pp. 247–254). Virtually all the independent variables are continuous. Scatter plots show that when a dichotomous dependent variable varies directly with a continuous independent one, a logistic curve describes such a relationship better than does a straight line. All independent variables were standardized beforehand to make the individual regression coefficients comparable (cf. Walpole 1983, 47).
14. In the statistical analyses in this chapter and the next, most relations discussed in the text were expected to have positive signs. This reflects the way the measures were conceptualized. So, unless otherwise noted, these two chapters report one-tailed levels of significance.

15. These reasons include substantive theory; considerations common in path analysis, such as of time order; statistical controls by all other variables in the model, as well as those remaining among number of burglaries known, perceived risk of burglary, fear of burglary, age of the resident, being black, number of persons in household, attendance at block club meetings, length of residence, and home ownership. This evaluation also controlled, consistently, for the perceived effectiveness of the particular activity involved in a model, which will be discussed in a later footnote.

Income and education play no important role in this chapter and the next. An earlier data set had shown negligible correlations between important other measures here and those two. Organizers also reported that besides particular points made elsewhere in this book, neither income nor education played any appreciable role in the responses of people in this area.

16. In some cases, block club meetings may have been attended by persons other than those who provided the rest of the data examined in this chapter. This could constitute a source of error, which would reduce the correlations involving those variables measured most inaccurately for such persons who attended the meetings. Three reasons suggest, however, that respondents acted competently in reporting on their households and, therefore, that such error is either absent or inconsequential.

First, households—homeowners, mostly—likely to express the most interest in a block club tended to have fairly small numbers of adults. Depending on the block's interest in a club, experience suggested that information transmitted to one occupant usually is passed along to the rest of the household. Basically, then, each member would have been exposed to fairly similar processes (or lack of them).

Second, in households where one family member handled all the burglary-prevention-related contacts, this person apparently responded in our interview. Interviewers reported that when they called some houses, the person answering the phone would ask someone else to take the call on discovering that it concerned burglary prevention. The third, more important reason is that compared with the organizers' experience and previous research, these data reveal sensible relations.

17. This effect differs, of course, from that of fear. Data presented later show that measures of fear and the number of burglaries about which a resident knows have independent effects.
18. As will be discussed later, this does not imply, on the other hand, that one resident's attendance would have appreciable effect on that of neighbors as a group. Nor does it imply that simply because one resident attends, he or she will see more neighbors at a meeting. He or she might see few or no others. That happened.
19. Moscovici argues that the Sheriffs' work has not become outdated (1985, p. 374).

## 5

# Program Participation: Property Marking, Neighborhood Watch, and Security Survey

Block clubs are not intended to discourage burglary directly, but to encourage activities—such as the Big Three—which, in turn, hopefully, do so. This chapter traces antecedents of the Big Three and then clarifies sequence by discussing why such relations are not reversed. Compared with the relations for block club attendance, those for the Big Three are somewhat more numerous.

### Property Marking

In promoting burglary prevention measures, organizers argue that property marking reduces the risk of burglary. Residents, however, perceive marking burglar-tempting items as less effective than neighborhood watch or security survey (each  $p < .05$ , two-tailed). At one point, residents were asked to rate the following for effectiveness in “preventing things from being stolen from a person’s residence or garage:” neighbors keeping an eye on each other’s property, installing better locks on doors and windows, marking valuables with an identification number especially for crime prevention purposes. The means varied slightly from test to test, but neighborhood watch stood at roughly 6.3, security survey at 7.4, and property marking at 4.7.<sup>1</sup>

Corresponding with this lower level of apparent effectiveness, Figure 5.1 suggests that residents ignore the level of burglary and pay only indirect attention to the admonitions of organizers in deciding whether to mark their property. They seem to be prompted, instead, by their neighbors’ participation in property marking and conversations with neighbors, as well as by conversations with other members of their own household. Such a process is reminiscent of a “bandwagon effect.”

### *Organizer Contacts*

Compared with less active residents, those with higher levels of activism tend to have more contacts with organizers on property marking ( $p < .05$ ). As described

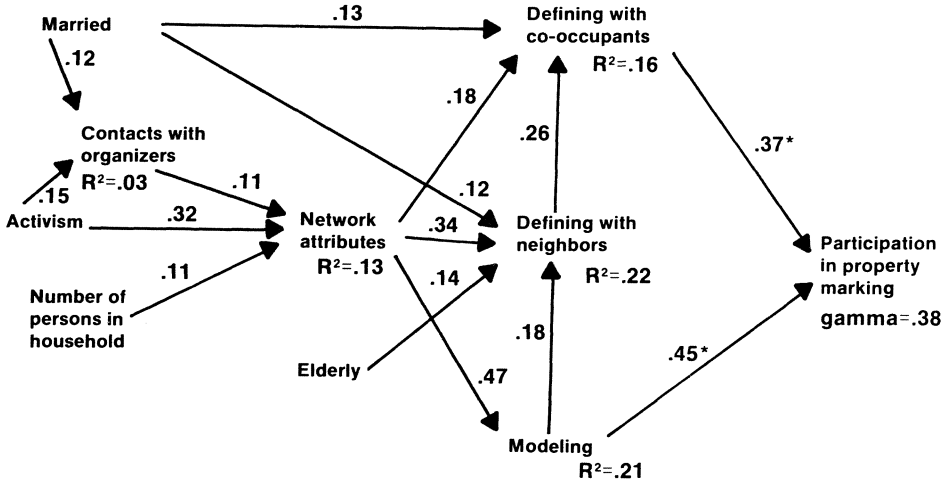


Figure 5.1. Path Model for Property Marking. All logistic regression coefficients (marked \*), multiple correlations, and standardized regression coefficients are appreciable ( $p < .05$ ).  $R^2$  is corrected for degrees of freedom.

previously, activism indicates a combination of a resident’s self-perception as belonging to a block club and of experience as an officer in a club, church, or other organization. One of the oldest principles in social science—supported by findings on participation in voluntary groups (Smith 1975, p. 264)—suggests that the best predictor of a rate of behavior at a particular time is usually that rate at a previous time. So a resident who has been an officer in one group tends to use that experience in other groups. Such experience includes contacting experts about problems confronting the organization. Since active residents also have experience organizing responses to such problems, organizers sought active residents willing to persuade neighbors to participate in burglary prevention.

Compared with those in other marital statuses, married residents tend to have more contact with organizers on property marking ( $p < .05$ ). Most married persons probably had more valuable possessions, which they would want to protect. But they would also tend to contact organizers for clarification of certain ambiguities, particularly its potential for defacing the property to be marked, its effectiveness in deterring burglary, and the likelihood of the property’s being returned, if stolen.

### Network Attributes

Compared with the less active, more active residents tend to have higher levels of network attributes on property marking ( $p < .05$ ). Those with higher activism levels—having been officers in various groups—have experience with contacting

a wide variety of members to assess their opinions on the viability of particular projects. In describing residents most active in a similar burglary prevention program, one organizer noted:

Hank was in the Police Community Council. He's very concerned . . . active. George was in the Jay Ceas. He's very concerned and active. Sam owns a bar; he's involved in a lot of different community activities. (JG/2, p. 2)

The more persons in a household, the higher the levels of network attributes on property marking ( $p < .05$ ). The larger households in this area, first, were families with children and, second, students sharing a flat. Families were interested in property marking for children's bicycles, for example. Property marking appealed to students partly because the protection it provided would accompany them when they moved.

The more contacts a resident has with organizers on property marking, the higher the level of his or her network attributes on that activity ( $p < .05$ ). While residents consider neighborhood watch and security survey as more effective than property marking, it still has some apparent effectiveness ( $p < .05$ ; cf. note 1, this Chapter). This suggests that after residents have spoken with an organizer about marking their property, they may remain unclear about what to do, leading them to speak with neighbors, who speak with each other, as well.

### *Modeling*

The higher the level of network attributes on property marking, the higher the level of modeling on that activity to which the resident tends to be exposed, as well ( $p < .05$ ). Neighbors' discussions of a particular burglary prevention activity are virtually certain to include the extent of their own participation. Since some people in this area were participating in property marking, the more neighbors with whom a resident talks about it and the more of these neighbors who talk about it, the more neighbors the resident is likely to discover—directly or indirectly—who have participated in it.

### *Defining with Neighbors*

Compared with younger residents, the elderly have higher levels of defining with neighbors on property marking ( $p < .05$ ). Our organizers discussed property marking as deterring burglars. While the elderly could participate without spending any money, they would be careful to check with neighbors on the desirability of such participation. Neighbors did not evaluate it as highly as neighborhood watch or security survey, as mentioned earlier, but they were still basically favorable.

Compared with those in other marital statuses, married residents show higher levels of defining on property marking ( $p < .05$ ). Perhaps the conjugal bond—with its frequent implications for child rearing and preserving wealth—also makes such persons more careful in matters of home security. With questions about the effects of property marking, married residents might have more conversations with neighbors about whether to participate. Again, neighbors were basically favorable.



The higher the level of network attributes on property marking, the higher the level of defining with neighbors on that activity ( $p < .05$ ). This suggests that when a resident decides to discuss burglary prevention with neighbors, he or she begins, for example, by deciding to talk with this neighbor and that neighbor and that one.

The higher the level of modeling to which residents are exposed on property marking, the higher their level of defining with neighbors on that activity ( $p < .05$ ). All else equal, a resident who does not see others involved in property marking probably would encounter no defining with neighbors. The principle of entropy suggests, partly, that information tends to flow from more informed to less informed sources (Woelfel and Fink 1980, p. 136). So a resident who learned some neighbors were marking their property might reason: "I have felt that property marking has little effect, but these neighbors have marked their valuables. I will talk to them about it and get the opinions of other neighbors, as well."<sup>2</sup> Cognitive-dissonance research suggests, as is well-known, that when behavior changes, attitudes change to become favorable to it. So in talking about property marking, those who already have marked their belongings would be favorable.

### *Defining with Co-occupants*

Compared with those in other marital statuses, married residents tend to experience a higher level of defining with another household member on property marking ( $p < .05$ ). Even single people sharing an apartment are less likely to make joint purchases of valuable items, such as stereos. In this case, one occupant or the other would own an item and would not need to consult the other on marking it. Married persons, on the other hand, would be more likely to own valuables together and discuss any action that could affect such property.

The higher a resident's level of network attributes on property marking, the higher the level of defining with other household members on that activity ( $p < .05$ ). This suggests that the more neighbors with whom a resident talks about property marking and the more of them who talk with each other about it, the more likely that he or she would talk with at least one other occupant of the household—often, probably, the spouse—who would become more favorable and join the bandwagon. People confronting a common situation, after all, often discuss it. Our organizers found that property marking usually involved discussion among household members in deciding whether to engrave identification numbers on belongings—particularly jointly owned ones. The other household members also can be considered part of the block group, which can be assumed to be essentially favorable toward property marking—else they might not bother to discuss it at all. Norms-formation research then would argue that the household members would tend to reflect the group's viewpoint on property marking, as well (Sherif and Sherif 1969, pp. 202–218).

The higher neighbors' defining on property marking, the higher the defining by other household members on that activity ( $p < .05$ ). The principle of entropy suggests that the more contacts favorable to property marking that a resident has with neighbors, regardless of the number of neighbors with whom he or she speaks,

the more such contacts the resident would have with other household members (Woelfel and Fink 1980, p. 136). Neighbors and other household occupants can be considered basically favorable, or such contacts probably would be few.<sup>3</sup>

### *Participation in Property Marking*

The higher the level of co-occupants' defining on property marking, the more likely that a resident will mark valuables ( $p < .05$ ). Gillham and Bersani reported that in another context, behavior correlates most strongly with defining from sources physically closest to a respondent (1983). Since co-occupants—particularly married couples—frequently make decisions together on modifying possessions, participation in property marking naturally varies with co-occupant defining on that activity.

The more modeling to which a resident is exposed on property marking, the more likely that he or she participates ( $p < .05$ ). As explained previously, modeling constitutes a potent form of communication. So it can reasonably be expected to affect residents' response to the apparent contradiction between organizers' recommendation to mark valuables and the perceived lower potential of such markings to deter burglary in the first place.

In summary, Figure 5.1 basically depicts a bandwagon effect prompting participation in property marking. Burglary seems to play no particular role, and neither the number of burglaries nor block club attendance appears any place in the model.

When residents decide whether to participate in property marking, they pay about as much attention to defining with co-occupants as to neighbors' participation ( $B = .37$  and  $.45$ , respectively). But of the three entities on which co-occupants' defining depends, two—network attributes and defining with neighbors—still reflect communication with neighbors. Of the four paths to neighbors' defining, network attributes is almost twice as strong as any of the rest ( $B = .34$  versus  $.12$ ,  $.14$ , and  $.18$ ). Of the three paths to network attributes, activism is almost three times as strong as either of the others ( $B = .32$  versus  $.11$  and  $.11$ ).

Let's look at those variables with which each dependent variable varies most strongly. Obviously, block club members vary in the extent of their experience in voluntary organizations. The most active are the most likely to discuss property marking with the largest number of neighbors. This would seem to be, primarily, a "what do you think about it" stage. The more neighbors with whom residents talk, the more property marking participants they discover, and the more likely that they will participate themselves. But also, as a household has contact with an increasing number of neighbors and hears more opinions that are more favorable, a larger volume of favorable contacts develops, and participation also becomes more likely.

## Neighborhood Watch

Residents, as mentioned earlier, consider neighborhood watch more effective than property marking in preventing burglary. The data do indicate that residents pay

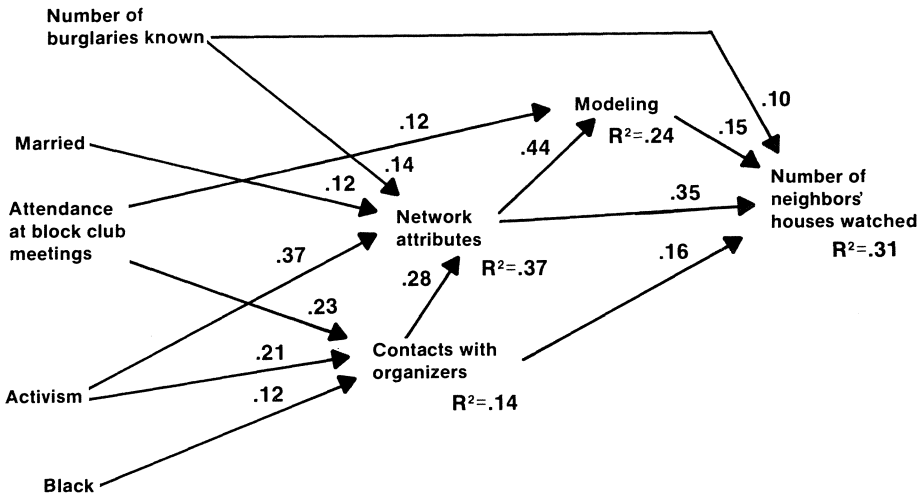


Figure 5.2. Path Model for Neighborhood Watch. All multiple correlations and standardized regression coefficients are appreciable ( $p < .05$ ).  $R^2$  is corrected for degrees of freedom.

attention to the number of burglaries in talking about neighborhood watch and, to some extent, in the number of neighbors' houses they watch. But Figure 5.2 suggests a more balanced overview: Residents vary in activism and the number of block club meetings they attend. These lead residents to contacts with organizers, and such contacts, combined with activism, lead to discussions with some number of neighbors about neighborhood watch. The more neighbors with whom such discussions occur, the more neighboring houses watched.

### Organizer Contacts

Compared with those having lower levels of activism, more active residents tend to have more contacts with organizers on neighborhood watch ( $p < .05$ ). With their experience in looking out for the interests of the groups to which they belong, active residents would press organizers for details on neighborhood watch: “What do you mean by a ‘suspicious stranger?’” “How many neighbors should I be keeping an eye on?” “What do I do if I see something that I think ought to be reported?” “Will the police come in time to make a difference?” As noted previously, organizers naturally sought out more active residents to persuade neighbors to participate in burglary prevention.

Compared with other racial-ethnic groups, blacks tend to have more contacts with organizers on neighborhood watch ( $p < .05$ ). This agrees, to some extent, with the nationwide Victimization Risk Survey, which reported blacks more likely than whites to participate in neighborhood watch (Whitaker 1986, p. 2).

The more block club meetings a resident attends, the more contacts that he or she tends to report with organizers on neighborhood watch ( $p < .05$ ).<sup>4</sup> Roughly 86%

of residents were already keeping an eye on one or more neighbors' houses. But organizers used block club meetings to pass on specific suggestions, such as: "When you go to the refrigerator during a commercial on television, look out your window at the houses across the street," "When you leave for work in the morning, or to go to the grocery store, look up and down the block."

### *Network Attributes*

The more burglaries known to a resident, the higher the resident's level of network attributes on neighborhood watch ( $p < .05$ ). Because neighborhood watch was considered relatively effective, burglaries would tend to increase an area's interest in it as a preventive measure. The greater the number of burglaries, the more urgency a resident would see in the problem. This would prompt the resident to make arrangements with more neighbors to watch his or her house in return for doing the same for them. The more neighbors with whom a resident speaks, as mentioned earlier, the greater the number of neighbors who would speak with each other on this topic.

As with property marking, more active residents also have higher levels of network attributes on neighborhood watch ( $p < .05$ ). Again, the reasons involve the residents' experience in working with other people.

Compared with those of other marital statuses, married residents tend to have higher levels of network attributes on neighborhood watch ( $p < .05$ ). With owning houses, raising children and other considerations mentioned earlier, married persons naturally would discuss neighborhood watch with relatively large numbers of neighbors.

The more contacts a resident has with organizers on neighborhood watch, the higher the resident's level of network attributes on that activity ( $p < .05$ ). In promoting neighborhood watch, organizers stressed the importance of "no weak links" and urged including as many houses as possible. Such contacts with organizers, therefore, would have encouraged residents to contact more neighbors. For reasons described earlier, such neighbors presumably would discuss neighborhood watch with each other, as well.

Occasionally, an organizer tries to reach a clique of neighbors through a particular person. Sometimes this works. A Dixon bar owner talked about a failure that had occurred when he organized neighborhood watch in an area that, compared with our program area, is probably a little lower socio-economically.

I couldn't get the woman, in back here, to attend (the block club meeting) and she had worked for me for a while. . . . Her mother used to own this place.

There were five or six elderly women (who lived in houses behind the bar). She knew them. She was the key person. If we would have got her to come, she would have dropped the others in. But she wouldn't come. (JG/2, p. 13)

### *Modeling*

The more block club meetings a resident attends, the higher the level of modeling to which he or she is exposed on neighborhood watch ( $p < .05$ ). From discussions

at block club meetings, residents would have formed an idea as to how many neighbors probably participate in neighborhood watch. The more meetings attended, the more neighbors who would eventually turn up and indicate that they participate.

The higher a resident's level of network attributes on neighborhood watch, the higher the level of corresponding modeling to which the resident is exposed ( $p < .05$ ). Network attributes include a resident's arrangement with a neighbor to watch each other's homes. By keeping an eye on the resident's home, the neighbor then becomes a source of modeling for the resident. But network attributes also involve discussion of neighborhood watch throughout the block. With more extensive attributes on this activity on a block with participation, a resident would discover more neighbors who participate.

### *Number of Houses Watched*

The more burglaries known to a resident, the more neighbors' houses the resident tends to watch ( $p < .05$ ). As with the corresponding network attributes, a flurry of burglaries raises residents' vigilance in watching, as well.

The more contacts with organizers on neighborhood watch, the more neighbors' houses a resident watches ( $p < .05$ ). As mentioned earlier, organizers repeatedly encouraged residents to keep an eye on as many houses on the block as possible. Somewhat similarly, Bickman and Rosenbaum found that verbal encouragement to report crimes increases such reports (1977).

The higher a resident's level of network attributes on neighborhood watch, the more neighbors' houses the resident tends to watch ( $p < .05$ ). Part of these attributes involve making arrangements to watch each other's houses. The actual watching would follow these commitments (Rogers and Kincaid 1981). Moriarty, similarly, reports that bystanders stop a theft more readily if they previously had told the victim they would do so (1975).

Lastly, the higher the level of modeling on neighborhood watch, the more neighbors' houses a resident tends to watch ( $p < .05$ ). This is consistent with research on modeling—the more neighbors who keep an eye on each others' houses, the more neighbors' houses a resident tends to keep an eye on.

Figure 5.2, once more, summarizes these relations. The findings, to some extent, confirm practitioners' common conception that people participate in neighborhood watch particularly in response to burglary.

But as Figure 5.2 shows, this overlooks stronger influences and tends to oversimplify the process. The number of houses watched varies roughly three times as strongly with network attributes ( $B = .35$ ) as with number of burglaries known ( $B = .10$ ) and about twice as strongly as with modeling ( $B = .15$ ) or organizer contacts ( $B = .16$ ). Such attributes, in turn, vary with number of burglaries known ( $B = .14$ ) and being married ( $B = .12$ ), but twice as strongly with organizer contacts ( $B = .28$ ); network attributes vary most strongly with activism ( $B = .37$ )—three times as strongly as with being married ( $B = .12$ ).

These comparisons indicate that the strongest route through this path model begins with the degree of activism among residents and their discussions with project staff. These lead to discussions with neighbors about neighborhood watch and finally to the number of houses a particular resident watches.

Although this simplifies the development of neighborhood watch, it demonstrates that residents do *not* begin keeping an eye on neighbors' homes simply because a number of burglaries have occurred in the area. Even in discussions with neighbors on undertaking neighborhood watch, other aspects figure at least twice as strongly as burglary.

But the weaker relations in Figure 5.2 should not be brushed aside. Chapter 10 discusses their practical uses. The path model, however, puts the relations in perspective.

### Security Survey

As Figure 5.3 shows, residents follow two fairly distinct lines of influence in deciding whether to participate in security survey. The first line moves through organizer contacts, network attributes, and modeling, and the second through number of burglaries known, perceived risk, and fear of burglary.

While overall fear of crime has received widespread attention as both a stimulus and an outcome, fear of burglary has not appeared in the other models examined

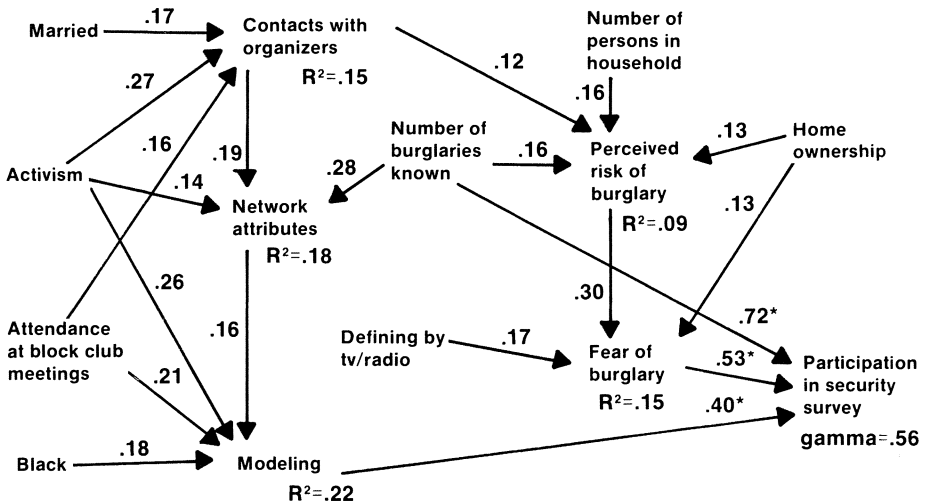


Figure 5.3. Path Model for Security Survey. All logistic regression coefficients (marked \*), multiple correlations, and standardized regression coefficients are appreciable ( $p < .05$ ).  $R^2$  is corrected for degrees of freedom.

so far. Since people often respond to fear by fleeing, security survey—with its implication of windows pinned shut and locks—can be considered fleeing to a relatively secure place.

### *Organizer Contacts*

Compared with those with lower levels of activism, more active residents tend to have more contacts with organizers on security survey ( $p < .05$ ). As with property marking and neighborhood watch, organizational experience would lead active residents to seek out answers to such questions as: “Can’t burglars get in almost any place if they really want to?” “Is the cost of new locks really worth it?” “What are the most common ways that burglars enter a house?” “What do you mean by ‘pinning’ a window?”

Compared with those of other marital statuses, married residents tend to have more frequent contacts with organizers on security survey ( $p < .05$ ). Concerns about the safety of their families and conservation of wealth are likely to encourage married residents to learn more about security survey and, therefore, to contact organizers.

The more block club meetings a resident attends, the more contacts the resident tends to report with organizers on security survey ( $p < .05$ ). As mentioned earlier, organizers used meetings to seek appointments to perform such surveys.

### *Network Attributes*

As with property marking and neighborhood watch, more active residents also have higher levels of network attributes on security survey ( $p < .05$ ). Again, the reasons involve these residents’ experience working with other people.

The more burglaries known to a resident and the more contacts with organizers on security survey, the higher the resident’s level of network attributes on that activity (each  $p < .05$ ). The rationale parallels those for corresponding relationships in neighborhood watch: the residents perceived security survey as relatively effective, and the organizers, by emphasizing the “no weak links” concept, encouraged as much neighborhood involvement as possible.

Unlike neighborhood watch, implementing a security survey usually involves costs. Neighborhood discussions, therefore, may include the extent to which the risk of burglary outweighs the cost of protective measures recommended through a security survey.<sup>5</sup>

### *Modeling*

The more active a resident, the more modeling to which he or she is exposed on security survey ( $p < .05$ ). Active residents tend to have contact with relatively large numbers of people on many aspects of the neighborhood besides security survey. The data indicate that number of neighbors with whom a resident discusses the neighborhood correlates .24 with activism ( $p < .05$ ). During such discussions, a resident may infer which neighbors have participated in security survey, even

though security surveys, themselves, were not discussed explicitly. A relatively active resident also might visit neighbors' homes for a variety of reasons and notice the presence or absence of particular security precautions.

Although Washnis (1976, p. 3) reports that desire to reduce crime does not seem to vary by race or ethnicity, some findings suggest that blacks participate disproportionately in burglary prevention (Schneider 1975, p. 25; Skogan and Maxfield 1981, p. 237; Titus 1984, p. 103). The data here indicate that compared with other racial-ethnic groups, blacks know more neighbors who have had the security of their homes checked ( $p < .05$ ).

The more block club meetings attended, the higher the level of modeling ( $p < .05$ ). As with neighborhood watch, discussions at meetings led residents to form an impression about neighbors' participation.

The higher the level of network attributes on security survey, the higher the level of modeling ( $p < .05$ ). After all, the more neighbors with whom a resident talks, the more participation in security survey he or she would discover.

### *Perceived Risk of Burglary*

When asked, "How do you feel when you hear about burglaries in your area?" one resident replied:

Well, I don't say I wonder if we're gonna be next. What I do say is it's getting pretty close. (252021, p. 4)

Data from the Goodfields program area also say that the more burglaries about which a resident knows, the greater the resident's perception of risk ( $p < .05$ ). This corresponds, to some extent, with the finding by Block and Long (1973, pp. 89,90,92) of a relation between "subjective probability of burglary," measured by National-Opinion-Research-Corporation data, and crime rate.

The more contacts with organizers on security survey, according to the data, the more risk of burglary that a resident perceives ( $p < .05$ ). An organizer hardly can discuss such a survey without making at least implicit reference to burglaries in the area. Residents would draw conclusions about their own risk at least partly from such conversations. This relation between contacts and perceived risk also is consistent with the differential socialization theory of attitude formation (Woelfel et al. 1974).

The more people in a household, the greater a resident's perceived risk of burglary ( $p < .05$ ). Perhaps the comings and goings of a large number of persons—such as children—indicate that doors and windows are less likely to be left closed and locked.

Compared with renters, homeowners see a greater risk of being burglarized ( $p < .05$ ). With a variety of particular commitments, homeowners probably have more possessions of greater value.

### *Fear of Burglary*

Compared with renters, homeowners have more fear of being burglarized ( $p < .05$ ). This chapter speculates that a homeowner may have more emotional attachment



to particular possessions. When he or she feels their loss is likely regardless of attempts to prevent it, fear may result. Current research on the nature of emotion tends to support this reasoning (Berkowitz 1980, pp. 125–128; Schacter 1964; Stryker and Statham 1985, p. 355; Tannenbaum and Zillman 1975).

The greater a resident's perceived risk of burglary, the more fearful the resident tends to be ( $p < .05$ ). Skogan and Maxfield, somewhat similarly, link fear for personal safety with the threat of burglary (1981, p. 65).

The higher the level of defining by television and radio on fear of burglary, the more a resident tends to fear burglary ( $p < .05$ ). In multiple regression not otherwise described here, this conclusion remains unchanged by statistical controls for measures described in an earlier note, gender, as well as defining by newspapers and magazines, neighbors, organizers, and co-occupants (unless otherwise stated, all controls  $p > .05$ ).<sup>6</sup>

Two points should be noted. First, the failure of defining by newspapers and magazines, here, is consistent with three other studies. Roshier (1973, p. 37) reports that people's estimates of the relative frequencies of particular crimes bear more similarity to official statistics than to what appeared in the newspapers these persons read. In two Boston-area communities, Conklin (1975, p. 25) found that "neither perception of local crime rates nor feelings of personal safety were related to overall exposure to . . . news in daily papers." Skogan and Maxfield (1981, p. 177) reported that fear of crime is unrelated to reading about crime in the newspaper. Shotland et al. (1979), on the other hand, reported finding fear and potential behavioral change associated with variations in a single newspaper-like story. While the stimulus was somewhat artificial in this field-experimental study, outcome measures were collected so as to be sensitive to short-term change.

Second, some importance exists in the absence of relation involving defining by neighbors, organizers, and co-occupants. Typically, behavior relates more strongly to defining by persons than by mass media (Woelfel and Hernandez 1972, Table 2; Woelfel et al. 1974, Tables 3 and 4). A growing body of literature, however, indicates that mass media have effect on acquisition of information, agenda setting, publicity campaigns for social change, consumer behavior, socialization of children, production of aggression, a variety of prosocial behaviors and particular attitudes (Roberts and Maccoby 1985). The findings in this study, subject to replication, indicate that fear of burglary could be added to this list, at least for television and radio.

### *Participation in Security Survey*

The more burglaries about which a resident knows, the more likely that his or her household participates in security survey ( $p < .05$ ). As mentioned earlier, residents viewed neighborhood watch and security survey as more effective than property marking in preventing burglaries.

The higher the level of modeling to which a resident is exposed on security survey, the more likely that his or her household participates ( $p < .05$ ). As a potent form of communication, modeling would affect the residents' assessment of the tradeoff between cost and likelihood of deterring burglary.

The more a resident fears burglary, the more likely that his or her household participates in security survey ( $p < .05$ ).<sup>7</sup> When asked how he handles fear of burglary, a resident in our program area replied:

I live with it. . . . I just figure that someday I'll come home and find the front door knocked off, you never know. . . . I don't want it to happen, you understand. (251721, p. 1)

Asked what precautions he had taken, the resident replied, "Locks, security lights, dog." (251721, p. 1)

As shown by Figure 5.3, in summary, the process leading to participation in security survey differs considerably from those for block club attendance, property marking, and neighborhood watch. Of the two distinct lines of influence, basically, the first runs from organizer contacts through network attributes and modeling, while the second runs from number of burglaries known to risk, then fear.

In deciding whether to participate in security survey, a resident pays about as much attention to what the neighbors are doing (modeling;  $B = .40$ ) as to his or her own fear ( $B = .53$ ). But such participation depends most strongly on the number of burglaries ( $B = .72$ ); that number of burglaries has almost twice the effect of modeling.

## Sequence

Researchers do not always defend the sequence among variables in a path analysis. But many think that such information is useful in building causal knowledge and in selecting communication channels to influence people.

In the models presented in this chapter, no contacts with organizers, defining with neighbors or co-occupants, or network attributes would affect marital status. As mentioned earlier, virtually all the marriages predated our program. So far as can be determined, moreover, the Big Three rarely, if ever, play a role in initiating, continuing or dissolving a marriage.

Racial-ethnic status is virtually always a matter of genetics. In our program area, biology and/or the landlord's sense of economics would have determined the number of people in a particular housing unit long before residents discussed a block club with neighbors or learned about their participation in it, discussed property marking with them, or reported perceived risk of burglary to interviewers.

Being elderly is a matter of when a resident was born and would certainly not be affected by neighbors' defining on property marking.

Neither fear nor perceived risk of burglary would affect a household's decision to rent or own a particular dwelling in our program area. Residents had made this decision and moved into their homes well before the collection of such data on threat. Owner-occupied homes had little or no turnover. Organizers found students—who, among renters, probably changed residences most often—had little concern about burglary.

Activism is unlikely to be affected by organizers' contacts on property marking, neighborhood watch, or security survey. First, such contacts are unlikely to affect that part of activism constituted by perception of self as a block club member, because various kinds of communication specifically addressed to one behavior rarely affect another behavior directly. This finding has turned up, in various ways, in such diverse communication as reciprocal inhibition, modeling, and reinforcement (Schwitzgebel and Kolb 1974, p. 20, pp. 129–134, pp. 41–42). Even if an organizer encourages a Big Three activity and membership in a block club in the same conversation, for example, each activity would be encouraged separately. Second, the organizational involvement of residents with such experience generally began before the block clubs were organized and predate contacts with organizers. Of the 120 people in this sample with experience as a club or organizational officer, 106 (88.3%) had more than a year's experience when this program had been operating somewhat less than a year.

Besides contacts with organizers, for parallel reasons, neither network attributes on property marking, neighborhood watch or security survey nor modeling on security survey would affect activism.

### *Number of Burglaries, Block Club Attendance as Antecedent*

Neither network attributes on neighborhood watch or security survey nor perceived risk of burglary or participation in neighborhood watch or security survey is likely to affect the number of burglaries about which a resident knows. This information came mostly from organizers, who obtained it from police, then disseminated it in canvassing door to door and speaking at block club meetings. No case turned up, incidentally, in which news of burglary had spread extensively on a block before organizers learned of it.

The number of contacts with organizers on neighborhood watch or security survey is unlikely to affect attendance at block club meetings because communication on one activity is unlikely to have direct effect on another. Modeling on neighborhood watch or security survey is unlikely to affect block club attendance for a parallel reason. Also, all the measure of attendance precedes the measure of modeling. Under the principles of path analysis, a measure collected earlier cannot be designated as a function of one collected later (Land 1968, p. 34).

### *Organizer Contacts, Network Attributes as Antecedent*

Network attributes would not affect corresponding contact with organizers on any of the Big Three. Organizers reported that no resident ever asked them to take particular action based on conversation among some particular number of neighbors about a Big Three activity. No resident ever told an organizer, for example, that a particular group of neighbors was interested in security surveys and that the organizer should contact them.

The number of houses a resident watches would also be unlikely to affect organizer contacts on neighborhood watch. Once they had started, residents needed little, if any, additional guidance. Organizers said that if asked, residents would talk

about their watching activity. But the number of homes watched never led a resident to make a specific request of an organizer or to make additional contacts with him or her.

Residents' perception of their risk of burglary would be unlikely to affect contacts with organizers on security survey. As mentioned earlier, organizers provided the information from which program residents formed their perceptions of such risk. Organizers had to work to seek contacts with residents, and sometimes organizers had to speak with them several times. The time frame underlying the measure of such contacts—"since last New Year's Day"—moreover, extends further back in time than the one for risk, which involves only current perceptions. Path analysis, again, does not allow designating earlier measures as functions of later ones.

Neighbors' defining on property marking is unlikely to affect residents' network attributes. It is implausible to think that instead of trying to make contact with particular neighbors, a resident tries to talk with neighbors—regardless of which neighbors—some particular number of times. Neighbors' favorability toward property marking is unlikely to affect a resident's contacts with them, because the resident would not know about it until they talk about that activity.

As with block club attendance, network attributes and defining by other occupants on property marking might develop a feedback relation—arrows in both directions—in the very few homes where both husband and wife are “shakers” in a block club. But, again, this might apply to only one or two cases and, in these data, is trivial. For the other households, however, co-occupant defining on property marking is unlikely to affect corresponding network attributes. According to organizers, co-occupants in most households tended to approve or disapprove the activity, then act accordingly, without generating outside contacts.

Three reasons pertain to why modeling on each of the Big Three would not affect corresponding network attributes. First, since neighbors generally began keeping an eye on each other's homes after reaching some sort of informal arrangement, the network attributes would have been operating before any modeling could occur. Even if particular residents keep an eye on the whole block, they do it partly because they think that at least some neighbors do so, as well.

Second, particularly with neighborhood watch and security survey, considered relatively effective, a resident would have little or no reason to discuss the activity with any particular number of neighbors after finding out about their participation.

Third, modeling virtually has to depend on network attributes for each of the three activities. A resident would have few, if any opportunities to actually see a neighbor watching someone else's home. Residents rarely, if ever, inspect neighbors' houses to see whether valuables are marked or a security survey implemented. Even these instances probably would have been prompted by previous discussions.

It also seems unlikely that the number of houses watched by any particular resident would affect his or her network attributes on that activity because this

would imply that people, in general, would begin watching other people's houses without some previous arrangement. In our program's experience, as mentioned earlier, this is relatively rare.

### *Modeling, Defining as Antecedent*

Defining with neighbors on property marking is unlikely to affect the modeling to which a resident is exposed on this activity, because that would imply that defining with a single resident would substantially affect the participation of a number of neighbors in property marking. This appears unlikely in light of research, mentioned earlier, on the processes by which groups form norms. More fundamentally, the defining encountered by a particular resident almost certainly would differ from that encountered by other residents and, therefore, could not affect their participation.

The participation of a particular resident in any of the Big Three is unlikely to affect the corresponding participation of the neighborhood, as a whole, or therefore, the modeling to which he or she is exposed on that activity. Such group dominance over the individual is consistent with norms-formations research and is supported by an implication of entropy: when a smaller group communicates with a larger one, change occurs among each in inverse proportion to the number of people in the group (Woelfel and Fink 1980, pp. 187, 190).

As stated earlier, far too few of the households in this sample were influential enough on their respective blocks to argue that, on the whole, defining with household occupants might influence defining with neighbors. The dominance of neighbor defining over that with co-occupants also is consistent with the norms-formation research (Sherif and Sherif 1969, pp. 120–121).

Participation in property marking is not likely to affect co-occupants' defining on that activity. Once a household has marked its possessions, occupants have little occasion to discuss it further. Valuables acquired later, of course, may need to be marked. But our program did not stress this, and the situation arose rarely, if at all.

Fear of burglary, as expressed during interviews for this project, would not affect defining in television and radio, because the exposure to television and radio—and, therefore, such defining—almost certainly would have occurred before the interview. The fear-of-burglary question asked specifically about such fear at the time of the interview.

### *Risk, Fear as Antecedent*

By itself, residents' fear of burglary is unlikely to affect their perception of their chances of being burglarized. Recent experimental evidence—which establishes time order—stresses that a person's emotions, such as fear, consist of interpretations, based on the person's experience, of the reasons for physiological arousal (Berkowitz 1980, pp.125–128; Schacter 1964; Tannenbaum and Zillman 1975). A person, therefore, becomes fearful when he or she senses arousal and perceives a risk from a source over which he or she has no power. So fear—by itself—results from the risk and would not affect it.

A properly done security survey, itself, is not likely to diminish or increase a resident's fear of burglary. Implementing the recommendations to keep out burglars, such as by changing locks, would, hopefully, reduce such fear. It might be possible, on the other hand, for a person performing a security survey to instill fear. But that did not happen in our program, where organizers tried instead to instill calm confidence. Residents would not have cooperated or allowed the program to proceed otherwise.

## Summary and Implications

Two basic points support the notion that this chapter and the last may describe relations that exist in other areas besides Goodfields. First, Chapter 2 argued that our program area is similar to those in many other parts of the country where such programs operate.

Second, two basic aspects of these path models correspond with findings published by Skogan and Maxfield (1981) from data collected by Northwestern University in Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco.<sup>8</sup> Compared with other sets of data on the theoretical issues involved here, so far as can be determined, Northwestern's sample is most heterogeneous.

First, the Goodfields data indicate basically the same thing as Skogan and Maxfield on the extent to which property marking and security survey respond directly to awareness of crime. The path model here shows no *direct* relation between property marking and the number of burglaries known by a resident. Correspondingly, Skogan and Maxfield report no direct relation between engraving valuables and a variety of measures of awareness of crime (1981, Table 12.3).

Goodfields reports a direct relation between participation in security survey and the number of burglaries about which a resident knows. Correspondingly, Skogan and Maxfield report a relation between installing locks and bars, on the one hand, and measures of awareness of crime, on the other (1981, Table 12.3).

Second, the Goodfields data indicate basically the same thing as Skogan and Maxfield on the relative importance of entities related to communication. In Goodfields, each of the four activities shows somewhat different relations with measures of communication—modeling, defining, and network attributes. But these activities still show relations more consistently with measures of communication, as a group, than with any other group of antecedents. Correspondingly, Skogan and Maxfield report that several home-protection activities have their “most consistently significant” relations with a measure of a sociological notion of *integration* (1981, p. 221).

This notion of integration is considerably more inclusive than any of the notions underlying the measures of communication here. Such integration basically indicates the extent to which a person is part of his or her neighborhood; this includes multiple dimensions, such as communication, affect, and residential stability.

Goodfields used measures of residential stability separately and focussed on several elements of communication, each with behavioral specificity correspond-

ing to a particular activity. While such notions basically lack integration's intellectual history, they clarify what happens during the organization of burglary prevention.

Compared with other research, this chapter and the previous one make three contributions to knowledge about the processes—particularly the communication—leading to each activity. First, this research reveals sensible differences among the four. Particular relations are present in one model, that is, but not in another. Compared with the Big Three, for example, attending a block club meeting calls for relatively little commitment. It does not require letting strangers into the house or involve any promise to keep an eye on neighbors' houses for a prolonged period of time. To attend a meeting, a resident only has to show up for a couple of hours. It requires relatively little checking or other preparation. Not surprisingly, this model involves fewer relations than those for the Big Three.

Residents see property marking as less effective in deterring burglary. Correspondingly, property marking's model is distinguished by the fact that neither burglary, risk, nor even attendance at block club meetings appears anywhere in the model. The model says basically, that when an organizer contacts residents about property marking, they do not think in any appreciable way about deterring burglary. With the organizer on one side and their own judgment on the other, residents wonder what the neighbors are going to do.

The neighborhood watch model is distinguished by the strong role of network attributes. Again, this is not surprising in light of the contacts involved in setting up the arrangement. This is the only model in which the final activity has at least twice as strong a direct relation with network attributes as with any other antecedent. Neither property marking nor security survey, as activities, show a direct relation with network attributes.

The security survey model is distinguished by the two lines of influence described earlier. Like the other activities, security survey depends, in varying ways, on organizer contacts, network attributes, modeling and other antecedents. Unlike the other activities, however, the process toward security survey also incorporates fear of burglary. This reflects the "run and hide" role that fear plays in some forms of crime prevention. Since security survey encourages people to lock themselves behind doors and pinned windows, it certainly qualifies as running and hiding from burglary. Yet according to the path model, participation in security survey depends almost 1 1/2 times more on the number of burglaries that have occurred ( $B = .72$ ) than on fear ( $B = .53$ ). This underscores the image of security survey as a relatively direct way to deter burglaries, despite such drawbacks as costs and allowing strangers to inspect the home.

The second contribution is that with appropriate statistical controls for communication, burglary prevention activities vary not directly, but indirectly with structural variables in the Goodfields program area, which appears fairly typical. This inquiry found no activity related directly to such structure: not income, not race, not even home ownership. Such activities did show indirect relations—mostly through communication variables—with home ownership, being married, being black, number of people in the household, and being elderly.

Skogan and Maxfield report several activities, on the other hand, related directly to such variables as income, race, and home ownership (1981, Table 12.3). Part of this difference may reflect the possibility that structure would play a more direct role in the burglary prevention activities of a group as diverse as a nation than in those of a smaller, more local one. When most programs organize, as is implicit in Chapter 2, they bring people together from relatively homogeneous areas like Goodfields. It is hardly surprising that our organizers noticed few or no differences in terms of income or race, for example.

The Northwestern sample is much more diverse and encompasses a wide variety of areas in three cities—each with markedly different character, in a sense—spread across the United States (Podolefsky 1983). Such a sample goes far beyond the kind of area into which any knowledgeable practitioner would try to place a single burglary prevention program with no suborganizations. With such diversity, it is hardly surprising that activities show relations with structural variables. Any observer sent to such a variety of areas would, at least to some extent, probably notice parallel differences.

The third contribution is that despite the differences among these path models, all four contain a parallel sequence of relations among corresponding variables: from contacts with organizers to network attributes, from network attributes to modeling, and from modeling to the particular activity on which each model focuses. (In the attendance model, of course, network attributes and modeling are combined into the same variable.)

In their own models, moreover, most of these parallel relations have at least moderate strength. Looking at the 11 dependent variables, total, in the four shared processes, this inquiry found only two instances in which any other relation has a regression coefficient twice or larger compared with that in the process.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, this common pattern in all four models describes how residents respond when organizers try to stimulate each activity. Basically, organizers talk with a resident; the resident responds to these contacts by discussing the matter with some neighbors, which provides the resident with information on what the neighbors are doing; the resident then acts similarly.

Finally, practical application parallels the theoretical contributions. The previous chapter began by categorizing antecedents of burglary prevention in terms of threat, structural position, and communication. Although the models show participation in security survey directly related to measures of threat, such relations, directly with the activities, are among the weakest—or nonexistent altogether—in the other three models. So while indications of threat may be necessary to interest residents in burglary prevention, their usefulness, therefore, is plainly limited.

Obviously, organizers cannot change structural characteristics to persuade residents to participate. Burglary prevention activities tend to show only weak and remote relations—if any—with most structural variables at the individual level; so such variables have limited use for figuring out the residents most likely to participate.

This brings us to communication. Obviously, the normal talk of neighbors—whatever that is—does not necessarily promote burglary prevention. This is also



supported by other analysis not described here and an earlier note, comparing the usefulness of network attributes with that of alternative measures. Burglary prevention discussions must cover particular activities, the focus of the communication-based variables here. But to use this tool effectively, organizers must understand the contacts and networks through which a neighborhood's communication flows.

## Notes

1. This chapter and Chapter 4 do not argue that the perceived effectiveness of an activity operates like the other variables used in this study. For each of the 20 dependent variables in the four models, this evaluation included the corresponding measure of effectiveness as a regressor. These regressors are statistically appreciable in only three equations. In two of these instances, the dependent variable has a reference period that precedes that of the measure of effectiveness. The more serious problem is that these three relationships are scattered through the models and make no sense theoretically. So these three regressors were removed from the regression equations.

These chapters, instead, argue that such effectiveness is part of residents' perception of the activity itself, and that the process leading to each activity constitutes a separate situation.

2. Tested with data collected relatively late in the program, this model may not indicate clearly what prompts the first few instances of property marking on a block. Such residents may pay heavy attention to other blocks or, particularly, to the organizer.
3. When respondents rated neighbors' favorability toward property marking, both the mean and median values were roughly 5.1. Such a value suggests "half-way favorable."
4. As noted in Table 4.1, this chapter uses a measure of attendance which is a subset of that used in Chapter 4. The current measure counts attendance only through the last meeting on each block before the collection of the other data used in these two chapters.
5. Organizers said that a number of renters and some older residents declined the survey because they couldn't afford to implement it. While a few persons said they felt more comfortable not knowing how vulnerable their homes were, data indicate that controlling for other relations discussed here, perceived risk of burglary does not vary with participation in security survey ( $p > .05$ ).
6. Defining by newspapers and magazines was measured as the product of items similar to those for television and radio. This variable ranged from 0 to 1800; the mean and median were 135.82 and 28.65, respectively.

Defining with neighbors, organizers, and co-occupants was measured as products of responses to three two-part questions. Residents first were asked how many times, "since last New Year's Day," they had talked with each of the following "about the possibility of something being stolen from a residence or

garage in your neighborhood”: neighbors, organizers, “your spouse, or persons you live with.” For each source with whom a respondent reported any such conversation, he or she was asked a corresponding follow-up question about “how afraid” that source seemed to be that something would be stolen. Responses rested on the standard, discussed earlier, that 0 indicates *not at all afraid*; 5, *half-way afraid*, and so on. The corresponding measures of defining had range, mean and median as follows: neighbors, 0 to 110, 10.86, .09; organizers, 0 to 20, .72, .01; co-occupants, 0 to 100, 14.27, 4.02.

7. In a sense, this finding indicates a difference in conclusions at two different levels of analysis, for it suggests that at the individual level, fear would be useful in encouraging security survey. But at the aggregate level, Chapter 3’s message-planning method found that fear, by itself, has no demonstrable utility for encouraging security survey. This may indicate that residents act more on the basis of individual fear than fear shared in a group. Such a conclusion, however, could be drawn only after more investigation of relations involving fear at individual and aggregate levels.
8. Compared with Skogan and Maxfield, Podolefsky and DuBow (1981) apparently use basically the same data. But this chapter and the previous one use logic and statistical methods much more similar to those used by Skogan and Maxfield.
9. Comparisons of such coefficients are legitimate; a factor of two appears large enough to draw attention to noteworthy, relative weakness in the shared pattern.

In the security survey model, modeling varies with activism. This relation comes close to meeting the criterion but its coefficient is not quite double that from network attributes ( $B = .26$  vs.  $.16$ , respectively).

Two other instances qualify, however, and are plausible: (1) In the property marking model, network attributes depends almost three times as much on activism as on organizer contacts. This may occur because residents consider property marking relatively ineffective and, therefore, pay less attention to organizers seeking to encourage it. Active residents, on the other hand, secure their motivation elsewhere to talk with neighbors.

(2) In the neighborhood-watch model, the number of houses watched varies twice as strongly with network attributes as with modeling. Compared with the other activities, neighborhood watch relies heavily on reciprocal arrangements, which would be part of network attributes.

## 6

# Program Participation: Contacts and Networks<sup>1</sup>

When going from block to block organizing clubs, an organizer needs to know enough about how a club develops to assess its progress. In this instance, the word *develop* signifies increase in the number of contacts among households on a particular block. *Contact* signifies that two households have talked, and might continue to do so, about particular topics of interest in the program. Chapters 4 and 5 have shown that contacts are critical in influencing block club attendance and the Big Three. If development hinges on taking particular steps, an organizer needs to realize that and take the appropriate action. By knowing how clubs develop, more specifically, an organizer can deal more effectively with everyday situations like these:

- A woman reports that her closest friends, next door, have no interest in the block club. But she is still interested. Whom should she contact next?
- The president of a club becomes concerned that all its members live at one end of the block. She asks how clubs develop and how she can make her club develop.

A concerted search of the literature and careful questioning of several organizers yielded no account of how block clubs develop. Most organizers do not even have a representative picture of all the contacts, particularly the less frequent ones, on a block. Organizers, obviously, know with whom they talk. They also know which households are particular friends and tend to talk a lot at meetings, as well as how many residents show up for block club meetings. But none of these is equivalent to knowing about the contacts, and, in this program's experience, residents rarely tell an organizer all the neighbors with whom they talk.

To look at the question of how clubs develop, this chapter first uses a statistical procedure to look at what elements seem to shape contacts between any two households on each of four topics: what's going on in the neighborhood, property marking, neighborhood watch, and security survey. In each of the nine clubs operating at the end of our program, these contacts constituted a network, or a pattern. So, secondly, this chapter compares, intuitively, the development of these nine networks in terms of distance among houses, the quality of leadership, and the issues on which the block chose to work.<sup>2</sup>

On the elements shaping contacts, this chapter will report that for each of the four topics, contact depends most heavily on the distance between the two houses and on modeling by those houses' neighbors. According to the separate comparison of the nine clubs, not surprisingly, contacts increase between houses with the severity of issues and the quality of leadership. Contacts remain limited by distance between houses, and block club members tend to cluster within half a block, in either direction, of a leader's house. Compared with those on neighborhood happenings, moreover, contacts on the Big Three tend to show a similar but less elaborate network.

## Measures of Elements Shaping Contacts

The particular elements that might shape contacts were measured through a questionnaire distributed in block club meetings at the end of the program.<sup>3</sup> It is important to understand that in this first of the two sections, the unit of analysis is a pair—called a *dyad*—of households. Rogers and Kincaid argue that the dyad constitutes a legitimate level of analysis (1981, pp. 126–134). When the dyad constitutes the unit of analysis, however, this presents unusual implications for data reduction. This chapter discusses such procedures now so that readers will more easily understand the variables as they are described. After being transferred to a computer file, the data for each respondent were copied and inserted at appropriate places in the file to form a new file. Each observation in this new file contains the data for a different pair of respondents, and for each block, the file contains an observation for every possible pair of respondents. Respondents were not paired, obviously, across blocks, because such persons were much less likely to interact than were persons on the same block. This file contains 524 observations.<sup>4</sup>

Let's look more closely at the variables. Independent variables include whether both households are white, similarity of age, as well as combined communication with Program Coordinator, modeling, in addition to distance between houses. Measures of the contacts constitute the dependent variables.

Sadly, a few residents revealed traces of racism, from time to time, in their contacts with each other at block club meetings. This is difficult to document and more the case in some clubs than in others. But racism seemed to show up most in signs of discomfort and lack of ease. Most of the residents who attended block club meetings were white. Sometimes whites would say hello to blacks as they arrived for a block club meeting, but whites talked warmly with mainly each other while waiting for it to start. At one club meeting, several black couples had brought very nice refreshments—more extensive, perhaps, than whites had brought to the previous meeting; after the meeting, the blacks drifted toward the kitchen while the whites congregated in the room where the meeting had been held.

Such occurrences led to expecting the data to show the importance of contact within race, particularly for whites who, in varying degrees, might associate burglary with blacks.<sup>5</sup> Race was measured by an item similar to one described in

Chapter 4. Combining individual-level scores from each member of a dyad and matching the two, this dyadic variable is scored 1 if both respondents are white and 0 otherwise.

Casual observation revealed a modest tendency for residents to interact more frequently with neighbors similar in age. This showed up mainly in who spoke with whom before and after block club meetings, as well as in which households visited the Community Center together. Such visits included using the library, attending presentations by political candidates, and other pursuits. Age was measured by an item similar to one described in Chapter 4. For each dyad, difference in age is measured by subtracting the smaller age from the larger.

Throughout the program, Bennett, the Coordinator, remained a central figure in contacts with residents because of his involvement on property marking, security survey and the other activities and because he used what he learned in those contacts in training the student organizers. Bennett usually helped block club leaders plan their meetings—particularly when a club was just starting to meet. Unless the club was far enough along for its leaders to conduct the meetings, Bennett did that, as well.<sup>6</sup>

Casual observation of Bennett's work led to expecting that if two households had more communication with him, they would be more likely to talk with each other, as well, to coordinate their efforts. Using items similar to those for organizers in Chapter 4, this evaluation asked specifically about communication with Bennett. For each of the four topics, a dyadic measure was created by summing the corresponding individual-level variable from one member of the dyad with that from the other.<sup>7</sup>

Chapters 4 and 5 discussed the importance of modeling for the burglary prevention behaviors of individual households. Residents depend on network attributes for knowledge of the number of neighbors participating in the Big Three. Since residents find out about such participation through contact with neighbors, there is little or no reason to take such information back to the people who gave it to them. But in this chapter's inquiry, the unit of analysis is the dyad and each resident is exposed to modeling from different sources and circumstances. Entropy theory suggests that in such circumstances, each resident would make contact on the particular activity. The strength of the total encouragement toward the contact—and, thus, the likelihood of it—would be directly proportional, therefore, to the combined modeling to which the two residents are exposed. Each dyad's exposure to modeling on each of the four activities was measured, basically, by tabulating the participation of the neighbors—outside the dyad—with whom either member spoke about that activity. As with the four variables involving the Coordinator, dyadic measures of modeling were created by summing the corresponding individual-level variables from one member of the dyad with those from the other.<sup>8</sup>

Small groups research argues that interaction between two persons varies inversely with their spatial proximity (Homans 1950; Rogers and Kincaid 1981). Segal (1974) reports an amazing Spearman correlation of .92 between the interaction patterns of Maryland state police recruits and the spatial relations among them during training. As this chapter will show, our program's experience indicated that

TABLE 6.1. Summary of variables in chapter 6.

Variable	% or Mean\Median	Range	Reference Period
Both white	68.3%	0–1	
Difference in age	18.79 \ 14.93	0–61	
Communication with Program Coordinator on block club	4.04 \ 4.02	0–12	Since beginning of program (roughly 13 months)
<b>Modeling</b>			
Attend block club	58.78 \ 49.70	1–193	
Property marking	1.63 \ 1.21	0–13	
Neighborhood watch	33.03 \ 27.59	0–157	
Security survey	1.07 \ .60	0–9	
Distance between houses	35.55 \ 30.83	0–125	
<b>Contacts</b>			
			Within previous year
Neighborhood happenings	44.1%	0–1	
Property marking	16.0%	0–1	
Neighborhood watch	18.5%	0–1	
Security survey	14.3%	0–1	

*Note.* Only the variables with appreciable relations in Table 6.2 are listed here.

households who live more closely to each other would be more likely to have contact. Distances among the households in our data were measured in millimeters on a to-scale map—which showed property lines—secured from the planning office of the City of Dixon.<sup>9</sup>

To measure contacts among households on neighborhood happenings, the first dependent variable, a map of all the houses on the block was included with each questionnaire. The item on such contacts read,

Please think about the people who live on both sides of your street. Using the block club map, list the house numbers of those persons with whom you have spoken, either face to face or on the telephone in the last year about WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD.

The questionnaire then contained space for respondents to list such house numbers. Similar items measured contacts on marking valuables with an identification number, keeping an eye on each other's residences, and having "your home" checked for proper locks on doors and windows. This measure was scored 1 if the dyad had discussed the particular topic, 0 otherwise.

Table 6.1 describes residents' responses on the variables just described. This chapter uses logistic regression to look at the relation between such contacts on each topic, on the one hand, and independent variables discussed above, on the other.<sup>10</sup> For each dependent variable, generally speaking, independent variables include the corresponding versions of modeling and communication with the

Program Coordinator.<sup>11</sup> With contacts on property marking, for example, the measure of modeling pertained only to that activity; contacts with the Coordinator concerned, similarly, only those on property marking. All independent variables were standardized before entry into their respective equations (mean = 0; standard deviation = 1).

## Results

Correlations suggest that the Big Three tend to be discussed in the same dyads as discussions of neighborhood happenings. Contact on neighborhood happenings correlates with that on property marking .45, on neighborhood watch .52, and on security survey .44 (biserial correlations—all  $p < .05$ ).<sup>12</sup> This chapter excludes contact on neighborhood happenings from the equations that appear next, though, in Table 6.2. Available information is insufficient to say which kind of contact came first among the block club members who constitute the sample here. Concern with burglary may have led some dyads to initiate contact. Probably many more came together because of shared interests such as children, hobbies or neighborhood happenings, then discussed burglary prevention. Future research should look more carefully at the sequence of such contacts.<sup>13</sup>

According to Table 6.2, the logistic regressions reveal several weak relationships and a number of stronger ones.<sup>14</sup> Let's look first at the weaker ones, which involve contact on neighborhood happenings. The data indicate that two neighbors are more likely to discuss neighborhood happenings if they are both white, similar in age and the more they have talked with Coordinator Bennett about a block club.

Except for the apparent propensity of similar-aged persons to make contact on property marking (coefficient =  $-.39$ )—which deserves replication—contacts on the Big Three show no corresponding relationships. This seems plausible. Since the Program Coordinator was leading the block clubs, he was one of the things happening in the neighborhood. Dyads would talk about him if nothing else. But

TABLE 6.2. Four kinds of dyadic contacts regressed on standardized independent variables.

	Neighborhood Happenings	Property Marking	Neighborhood Watch	Security Survey
Both white	.41	—	—	—
Difference in age	-.28	-.39	—	—
Communication with Program Coordinator (specific to activity)	.27	—	—	—
Modeling (specific to activity)	1.08	1.29	1.15	1.07
Distance between houses	-1.22	-1.48	-2.71	-1.91
Gamma	.67	.77	.82	.75

Note. Logistic regression coefficients— $p < .025$  only.

the data say that on the Big Three, such dyadic contacts do not vary with the number of times such residents have communicated with the Coordinator. This conclusion differs from the role that appeared for organizers as a whole at the individual level on neighborhood watch and security survey. Perhaps the dyadic results differ because instead of being a group, the Coordinator is merely one person and, thus, had more limited impact.

None of the contacts on the Big Three—except for the one on property marking mentioned previously—has any relation with “both white” or difference in age. Each kind of similarity might facilitate interaction, according to casual observation, but no plausible reason is apparent why either would stimulate it. Keep in mind, too, that while neighborhood happenings incorporate a plethora of topics that might draw neighbors into conversation, the Big Three are narrow and hardly pleasant to discuss.

For all four kinds of contacts, much stronger relationships occur with the distance between houses and with modeling. Such relative importance appears in both the logistic regression and gamma coefficients. In the equation for neighborhood happenings and the one for property marking, each of the regression coefficients for distance and modeling has an absolute value more than twice as large as that for any other variable. Such importance is also demonstrated by the fact that gamma coefficients—each of which tells the extent of fit of a particular equation—change very little as the other variables are added to the respective equations. With only distance and modeling in the equation for contacts on neighborhood happenings, gamma is .64. When contact with organizers, “both white” and difference in age are added to the equation, gamma rises only to .67.

With only distance and modeling in the equation for contacts on property marking, gamma is .75. When difference in ages is added to that equation, gamma rises only to .77. On neighborhood watch and security survey, on the other hand, dyadic contacts relate *only* to modeling and distance between houses.

These relationships also express sequence. (1) Obviously, no contact affects a dyad’s races, ages or distance between respective houses. (2) Suppose that residents from two particular households discuss what’s going on in the neighborhood. No plausible reason exists for thinking that such contact will lead them to have more contact with Bennett than would otherwise occur. Bennett did not know, to any appreciable degree, which residents had contact. As mentioned earlier, virtually all contacts were initiated not by residents but by organizers. (3) Modeling comprises the participation of some number of neighbors. As described in Chapters 4 and 5, such participation has various, clear antecedents. Thus, mere contact between two particular neighbors could have no plausible, appreciable effect on neighbors’ modeling.

These results have more importance than the relatively brief attention devoted to them here. This volume has already shown that contacts have particular importance for the spread of burglary prevention and, thus, for organizers. They can hardly compute, in their own minds, the elements that shape contacts within dyads.

The next section shows how dyadic contacts link together into a network on a block.



## Networks of Households

This section compares our block clubs as they existed at the end of our program. Kahn (1982) and other organizers emphasize the importance of leadership and the handling of issues in creating successful community organizations. Earlier discussion showed distance and modeling playing a role with contacts. At each of the clubs, therefore, this chapter looks at the distribution of contacts as a function of such leadership, issues and distance between houses. At this block-level of analysis, modeling is treated as part of the handling of issues; more on this in a moment.<sup>15</sup>

On quality of leadership, more specifically, this section focuses primarily on Bennett's perception of the extent to which each club leader demonstrated initiative, knowing what to do, and perseverance. Bennett was more qualified than was anyone else to evaluate these attributes.

A block's handling of issues is a much broader consideration than simply asking residents the importance they attach to each of a series of issues. When this section talks about a block's handling of issues, this includes particularly Bennett's perceptions of such elements as whether problems, in fact, confronted the block, and whether the block agreed that particular problems merited attention; modeling is incorporated by including the behavioral responses—excluding contacts—observed by him and others.

For each club, this section shows, on to-scale maps, two particular kinds of contacts among neighbors. Such maps depict all the contacts in which the previous section's corresponding logistic regressions were computed. The discussion of each club will look first at which neighbors talk to each other about neighborhood happenings, because such contacts may facilitate those on the Big Three. Second, each discussion will look at contacts on property marking because this evaluation found it more purely socially driven at the individual level. Hopefully, therefore, such contacts would be less constrained by reciprocity or such fluky occurrences as lack of income (to afford implementing security survey) or perception of the number of burglaries.

### *The Comparison*

This comparison discusses the clubs, generally speaking, by moving from those that took relatively little interest in burglary prevention to those that took more of such interest to those who progressed to other issues.

On *Hughes*, the first club, two households stood out in particular (Figure 6.1). The man at 217 believed in the block club and hosted a few meetings. But the real energy on the block was a housewife at 203. She was active in community affairs elsewhere and tried to bring the block club together (Bennett and Larusch 1984, p. 55). No one on any of the other blocks was more dynamic than she (Bennett and Larusch 1984, p. 56). Despite contacts with her and Bennett, unfortunately, most of the rest of the block simply did not think that they had a problem (Bennett and Larusch 1984, p. 55).

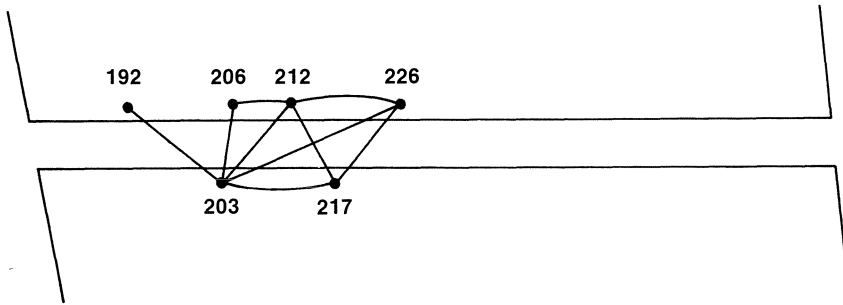


Figure 6.1. Contacts in the Hughes Block Club about Neighborhood Happenings.

Figure 6.1 shows that only a few neighbors, at one end of the block, talk with each other about what’s going on in the neighborhood. On the first several blocks, in fact, contacts occur in only a fairly small area, usually one end or the other of the block. Figure 6.2 shows that on property marking, only 203 talks with neighbors.

Bennett found that on *Leone*, no leaders with any dynamism emerged. Our organizers found it difficult to bring the block together (Bennett and Larusch 1984, p. 43). This club had no sense of a particular issue confronting it. Street lighting, for example, was not perceived as much of a problem.

Not surprisingly, particularly in comparison with blocks visited later, Figure 6.3 indicates relatively few contacts on neighborhood happenings. These are confined to half the block and are concentrated particularly at one end. Figure 6.4 indicates a similar but less elaborate network on property marking. That is, contacts on property marking tend to occur only where the two households discuss neighborhood happenings; but this does not occur for all contacts on such happenings.

According to Bennett, the club on *Charles* had no clear leaders when these data were collected. While organizers found that this club had chosen, nominally, to try to secure better street lights, relatively few households saw this—or anything else on the block—as much of a problem (Bennett 1982, p. 1). Thus, most households saw no strong reason to discuss even what was going on in the neighborhood.

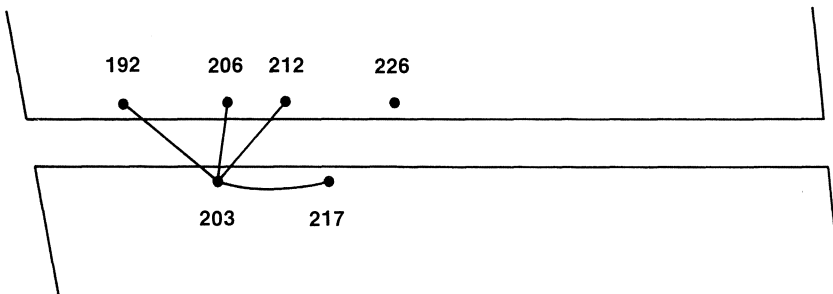


Figure 6.2. Contacts in the Hughes Block Club about Property Marking.

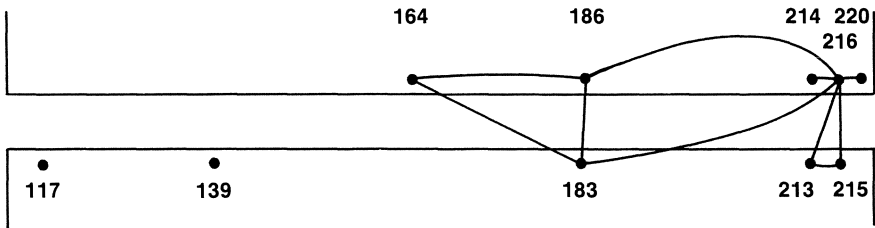


Figure 6.3. Contacts in the Leone Block Club about Neighborhood Happenings.

Figures 6.5 and 6.6 also reflect this kind of image. Links on property marking, and particularly those on neighborhood happenings, are more sparse than those on the next block, which had leaders for a while and at least started working on issues.

The leaders of the club on *Garth* were the couples living at 221 and 237, who filled out no questionnaires, as well as the housewife at 174 (Bennett and Larusch 1984, p. 49). Figure 6.7 reveals that she has a fairly large number of contacts on neighborhood happenings.

Organizers did property marking and security surveys and brought people together, to some extent, on the burglary issue (Bennett 1982, pp. 26–27). Despite the fact that this block had several houses left in very poor repair by absentee owners (Bennett 1982, p. 27), the block failed to persevere on those problems or any others after its initial interest in burglary prevention (Bennett and Larusch 1984, p. 50); attendance declined at block club meetings (Bennett 1982, p. 26).

Compared with the maps for Hughes, Leone, and Charles, Figure 6.7 indicates somewhat more contacts on neighborhood happenings on *Garth*. Notice, particularly, that unlike the blocks visited so far, such contacts begin to spread from one end of the block to the other. This may reflect partly the fact that two households 221 and 237, who turned out to be leaders, had bought their houses in the middle of the block; the other leader, 174, lived at the end of the block. In Figure 6.8 most of the contacts on property marking occur among households who live fairly close together; such contacts are also more numerous than on preceding blocks.

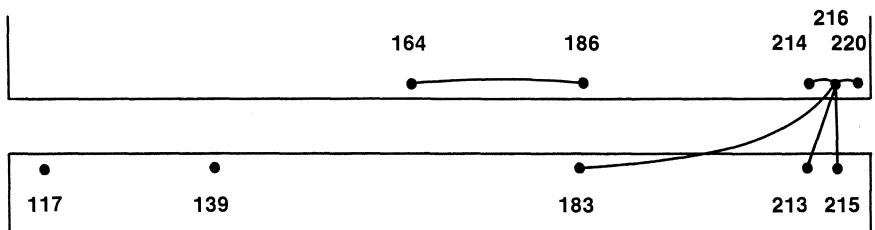


Figure 6.4. Contacts in the Leone Block Club about Property Marking.

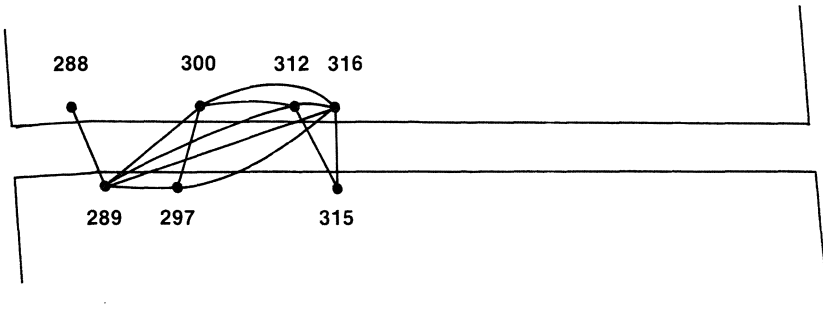


Figure 6.5. Contacts in the Charles Block Club about Neighborhood Happenings.

In the rest of the clubs discussed here, members seemed to take a more active interest in activities beyond burglary prevention. In the *Dakota* block club, the next one in the progression here, an unusual item was that roughly a third to a half of its active members were related by blood or marriage (Bennett 1982, p. 5); the club already existed when organizers visited it near the beginning of the program in July 1981. This club had been meeting every other month for roughly two years and much of its activity focussed on planning and carrying out an extensive block club party during the summer (Bennett and Larusch 1984, p. 14).

The president of this club lived at 259 (Figure 6.9). She was one of the least pushy and pretty much followed whatever the group wanted to do (Bennett and Larusch 1984, p. 28). As will become apparent, particular leaders on other blocks were more active in putting issues before their respective groups.

Figure 6.9 reveals contacts from roughly the middle of the block to each end on neighborhood happenings. Notice that if a household discusses neighborhood happenings with closer neighbors, it may or may not do so with more distant ones.

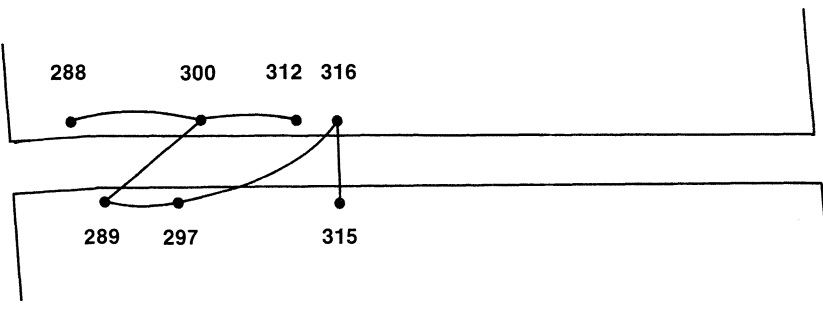


Figure 6.6. Contacts in the Charles Block Club about Property Marking.

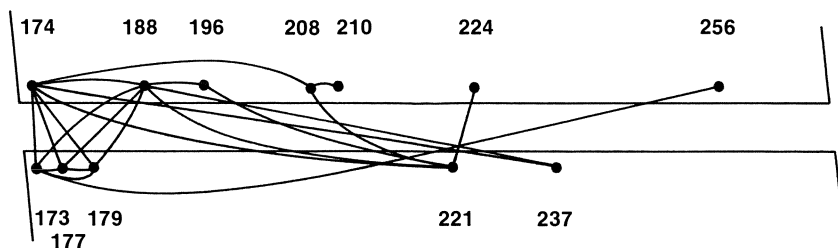


Figure 6.7. Contacts in the Garth Block Club about Neighborhood Happenings.

But relatively few households discuss neighborhood happenings with more distant neighbors without talking with closer ones, as well. The implications of this will receive discussion later.

Indicating the flow of burglary prevention material through contacts on neighborhood happenings to some extent, probably, Figure 6.10 reveals a similar, but less elaborate set of contacts on property marking. This has shown up on blocks visited earlier and will continue to do so on others.

Interestingly, while this Dakota block had relatively many contacts on the Big Three, its participation in these activities was so low as to force its exclusion from the quasi-experiment, described earlier. (It would have been excluded anyway, because the club was in place before the quasi-experiment began.) Some observers wondered whether the block had come to think of the club as primarily for parties—perhaps as “women’s work.” At the meeting in which data were collected on the Dakota block, in fact, roughly six females were present for each male. At most other clubs, attendance was much more evenly divided between genders. If the club was considered women’s work, the men may not have seriously considered the information about burglary when the women brought it home from meetings.

The *Joyce* club had organized partly around a problem with high-school students who were knocking over trash set out for pickup by the city. When several men from the block joined together and confronted these youth, that remedied the problem (Bennett 1982, p. 37).

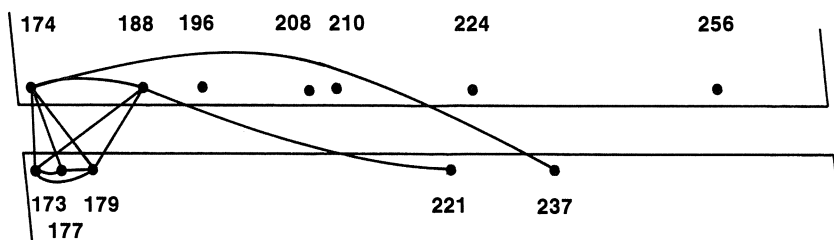


Figure 6.8. Contacts in the Garth Block Club about Property Marking.

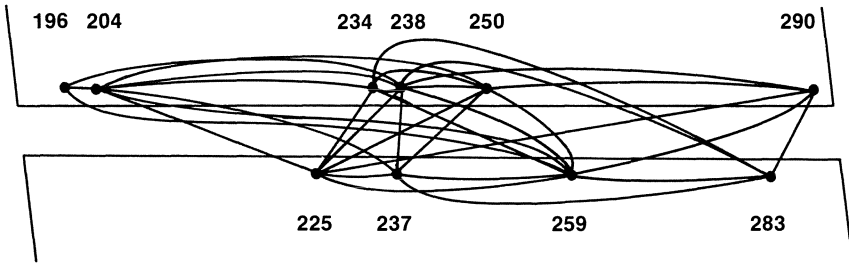


Figure 6.9. Contacts in the Dakota Block Club about Neighborhood Happenings.

The club had begun with a particular couple as leaders; but when they dropped out, the woman in 93 took over that leadership (Figure 6.11). She had considerable experience as a volunteer, but none as an officer in a club. Bennett would later remark that it took him awhile to show her what to do, but once he did so, she did fairly well. Leaders on other blocks were more innovative, but she persisted and was tough with the club when that was required to accomplish particular tasks (Bennett and Larusch 1984, pp. 23, 27). This club engaged in such activities as exchanging supermarket coupons, holding a block-wide garage sale, and making Christmas gifts together.

Several less developed clubs—discussed earlier—were clustered at ends of their blocks. In this club, which undertakes more activities, two clusters exist. On neighborhood happenings, one cluster—involving 90, 93, 98, 99, and 103—lies at one end of the block (Figure 6.11). Close to the middle and toward the other end lies a second cluster comprising 119, 134, 141, 142, 156 and 161. The block club leader at 93 has many, if not most, of the contacts between the two clusters on neighborhood happenings. Figure 6.12 shows a similar but less elaborate network of contacts on property marking.

A housewife, living at 393, constituted the president of the *second club formed on Florence*; she was very active (Figure 6.13). Also influential, according to Bennett, were the men living at 403 and 404 (Bennett and Larusch 1984, p. 40). The man at 404, in particular, had experience as an officer in some other voluntary

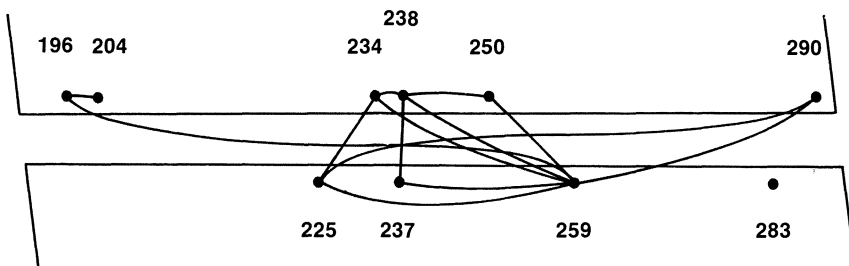


Figure 6.10. Contacts in the Dakota Block Club about Property Marking.

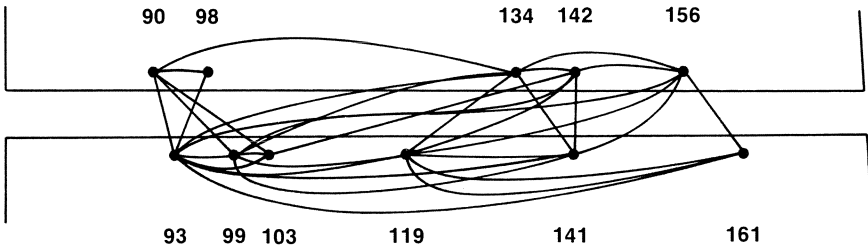


Figure 6.11. Contacts in the Joyce Block Club about Neighborhood Happenings.

organization and was retired. His house was protected by an extraordinarily sophisticated burglar alarm—commonly acknowledged as the most effective type in Dixon. Despite this, his main role in the club was to encourage neighbors to take various kinds of actions, as well. At one meeting, for example, he demonstrated a procedure that he had developed for using inexpensive metal pipe and strap to secure basement windows.

Toward the end of the program, this block was beginning to move toward interests beyond burglary prevention. At one meeting, a representative of the City Councilperson showed up to answer questions and help residents with problems, including broken or unshoveled sidewalks, stray dogs, street lights going out during rainstorms, uncut grass at a house owned by an absentee landlord, and unavailability of paint in the city’s “free paint” program.

Figure 6.13 shows that on neighborhood happenings, the club has essentially two clusters: one involves 393 through 406 on both sides of the street; the other occurs mostly among even-numbered houses from 352 through 380. As before, Figure 6.14 shows contacts on property marking similar to, but less extensive than, those on neighborhood happenings.

In the *Kas* block club, the officers lived at 167, 210, and 215 (Bennett and Larusch 1984, pp. 32–48; Figure 6.15). A knowledgeable source tells us that the housewife at 215 was the daughter of the couple at 172.

Our organizers developed this club around the issue of burglaries to garages (Bennett 1982, p. 42). But this club moved fairly quickly to other issues and

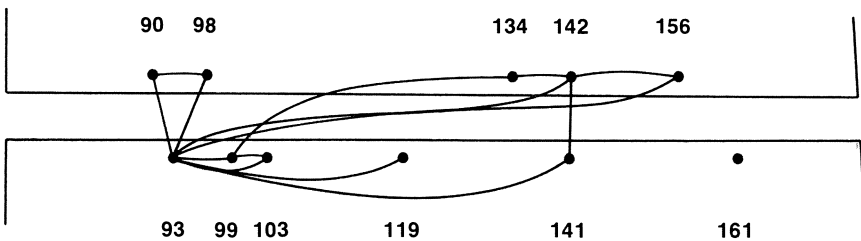


Figure 6.12. Contacts in the Joyce Block Club about Property Marking.

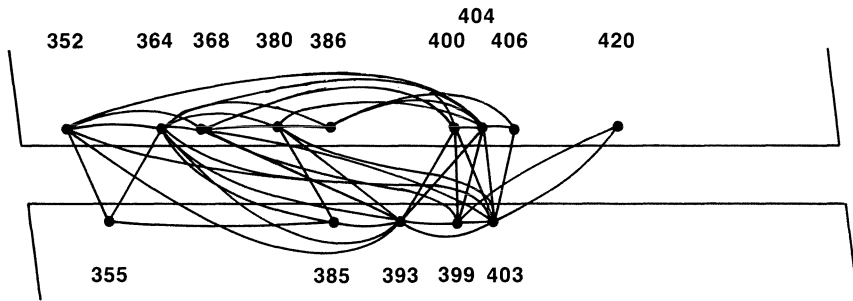


Figure 6.13. Contacts in the Second Block Club on Florence about Neighborhood Happenings.

activities. It organized a block sale, for example, at one meeting. This club was unusually active in pushing public services to its members. At each meeting, in fact, one of the members read a list of services available at the Community Center (Bennett 1982, p. 41); this was the only club that did so.

Figure 6.15 shows that house number 215 is involved in a substantial proportion of the contacts on the neighborhood. Most block club members live within roughly a half block of a leader; this occurs on the other blocks, with the possible exception of Joyce, as well. The number of contacts as long as those from 215 to 148, 150, 158, 160, 164, and 172 is fairly uncommon, however, on other blocks. This chapter speculates that such contacts occur because the woman in 215 may know these more distant neighbors from her childhood. Figure 6.16 presents contacts on property marking.

Several households led the club—the last discussed here—formed *first on Florence* (Figure 6.17). The couple who rented the downstairs flat at 193 was particularly active in the club’s leadership (Bennett and Larusch 1984, pp. 2–3). That man had many years of experience as an officer in a voluntary, community service organization. Essentially, he felt that if the club were not stimulated continually by issues and by outside speakers, it would die. Under his prodding, that club dealt not only with block-level issues, such as

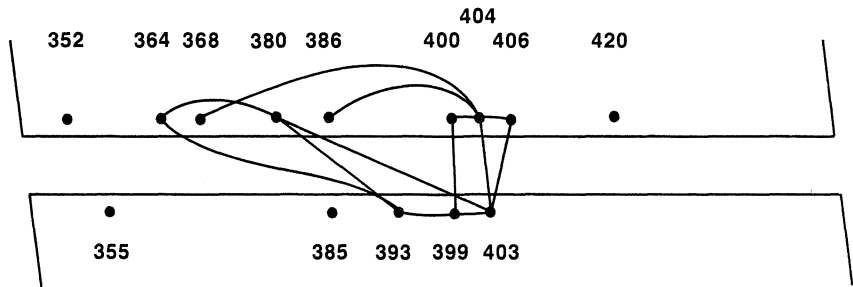


Figure 6.14. Contacts in the Second Block Club on Florence about Property Marking.



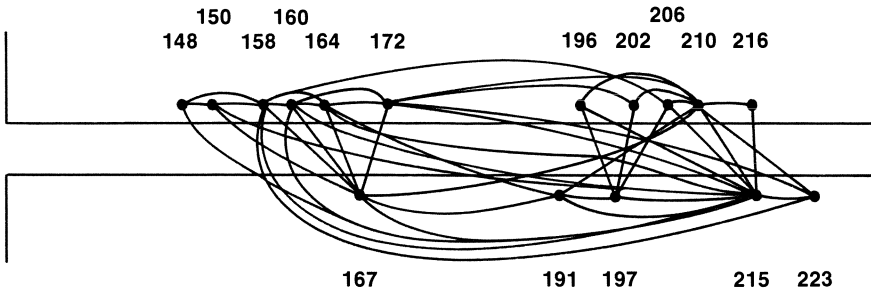


Figure 6.15. Contacts in the Kas Block Club about Neighborhood Happenings.

burglary prevention, but with others well beyond. He did this very successfully. When the block was first organized, it was having a problem with burglary. Roughly 50 persons showed up for the first meeting (Bennett 1982, p. 21). Between then and the end of the program, 71% of the households on the block attended one or more meetings; this was the largest percentage of attendance attained by any of the clubs in our program area. The club was highest on the proportion of houses with property marking (23%) and third highest on security survey (17%). Having accomplished these things, the club would later fight the city, state, and national political structures into giving them a national monument at the end of their street.

Figure 6.17 shows the kind of network that has appeared in more developed clubs: contacts among several houses on one side of the street, contacts among several on the other side and contacts among nodes across the street, as well. In this case, a node is a household with several contacts on the same side of the street. On the map, the triangular area is a small park and probably hinders, to some extent, the development of the network on this block. Figure 6.18 presents the contacts on property marking.

This block also shows us something new. The maps obviously reveal that compared with the last couple of blocks, this most recent one has numerically fewer contacts on neighborhood happenings and on property marking. This block hardly accomplished all that it did with so few contacts. In this club, in fact, these data

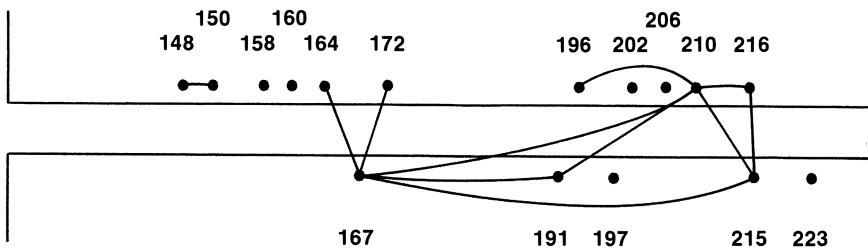


Figure 6.16. Contacts in the Kas Block Club about Property Marking.

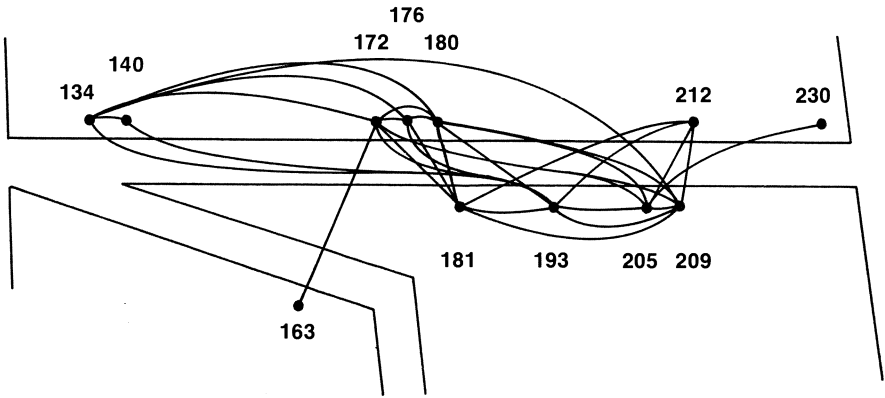


Figure 6.17. Contacts in the First Block Club on Florence about Neighborhood Happenings.

were collected during a lull between burglary prevention activity and preliminary work on the national monument. This volume speculates that as with people’s interests and memories, contacts may decay. People may forget about contacts with particular neighbors when the apparent need passes. Research is needed on such issues.

If for each block, the number of property-marking contacts is counted as a proportion of those on neighborhood happenings, a fairly steady decline emerges from Leone to this most recent Florence block: Leone 6/10 (.60); Charles 6/12 (.50); Garth 11/21 (.52); Dakota 13/32 (.41); Joyce 12/30 (.40); Florence #2 13/42 (.31); Kas 11/46 (.24); Florence #1 7/31 (.22).<sup>16</sup> This decline seems to indicate that with improvement in leadership and the handling of issues—as well as reduction in burglary, probably—dyads emerge who are uninterested in burglary prevention.

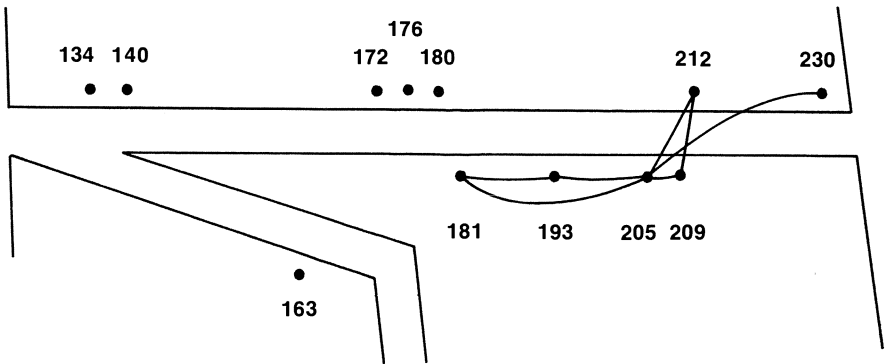


Figure 6.18. Contacts in the First Block Club on Florence about Property Marking.

## Conclusion

This chapter began by asking how networks of contacts develop on blocks. The data have indicated that on neighborhood happenings, contacts tend to occur along the lines of age, race, and communication with the Program Coordinator. More important than these, on all four kinds of contacts, are (1) the extents to which the two households see their neighbors participating in the activity associated with such contact and (2) the distance between the two respective households.

On neighborhood happenings, many of the contacts extend between households several other houses apart. With appropriate leadership and handling of issues, contacts form into clusters; clusters, themselves, may eventually link. Correspondingly, block club leaders appear to have stronger effects on closer neighbors. In virtually all our clubs, clusters tend to occur within half a block, in either direction, of a leader's house.

Compared with networks on neighborhood happenings, those on property marking tend to be similar but less elaborate. According to other maps, not presented here, this also occurs with contacts on neighborhood watch and security survey. This chapter speculates that burglary prevention diffuses, at least to some extent, among residents who have been discussing what's going on in the neighborhood.

Communication, in any event, is important to residents' participation in burglary prevention. But what is the outcome of such participation?

## Notes

1. David S. Roth is junior coauthor of this chapter.
2. This chapter's notion of network may be a little looser than those elsewhere (e.g., Rogers and Kincaid 1981, p. 346). Suppose that on a particular block, for example, that two groups of neighbors discuss property marking, but no one in one group reports discussing such marking with anyone in the other group. Convenience leads to designating the two sets of contacts a "network," for the interest here is simply in contacts which do or do not develop.

Nine clubs is too few to allow any sort of reasonable statistical analysis at such a block level for the purposes of this chapter.

3. Some identifying information has been changed in what follows.
4. For each of three owner-occupied duplexes, this research received separate questionnaires from both the renter and owner. The renters' data were dropped and the owners' retained because (1) reliability demanded measuring distance from one apartment to the next in the same way as between houses. No such way was apparent (through the floor? up the stairs?); (2) communication on burglary prevention appeared different in such a duplex than between separate physical structures; (3) the data included too few such duplexes for a separate analysis; and (4) our program appealed much more to homeowners than to renters.

5. Too few racially homogeneous dyads were present within other racial groups to allow sensible independent variables involving them. As mentioned earlier, this program area is predominantly white.
6. Asked to compare Bennett with the student organizers, block club members, not surprisingly, rated Bennett as more knowledgeable about crime prevention, as providing safer suggestions about it, and as more trustworthy (all  $p < .05$ , one-tailed).
7. The four measures of such communication by each dyad had similar distributions and varied from 0 to 16 times; in each measure, both the mean and median were roughly 3 to 4 contacts with that Coordinator.
8. Attendance was scored as described in Chapter 4. If both households in the dyad knew the same third, modeling household, its attendance was counted twice correspondingly.

Earlier chapters reported results using measures of modeling involving a resident's perception of neighbors' behavior. This chapter, however, uses a measure based on neighbors' self-reports. Both kinds have clear precedent (Bersani et al. 1977); apparently, no one has argued conclusively that one or the other is preferable.

Such measures of modeling in this chapter are only as good as the representativeness of residents' responses in these data. According to the response rates underlying this volume, discussed in Appendix B, such representativeness appears adequate here.

9. This evaluation also measured, separately, a number of other items, including the number of burglaries about which each dyad knows and the defining of block club leaders and meetings, as well as the importance of the issues of crime, parking, absentee landlords, students, traffic, street lighting, and a possible national monument. Despite more than adequate variation on these measures, they were dropped in preliminary stages of this analysis. Compared with the variables presented here—particularly modeling and distance between houses—these other variables showed smaller and less consistent correlations with the four measures of contacts described next.
10. This chapter does not look at relations among the antecedents of dyadic contacts. In these data, at least, such relations appear uninteresting.
11. For contacts on neighborhood happenings, the measures of modeling and communication with Program Coordinator concern attendance at block club meetings, which discuss such happenings.
12. Residents clearly understand *neighborhood happenings* as distinct from each of the Big Three. These three correlations are appreciably lower than those among contacts on the Big Three (all nine differences  $p < .05$ ). As revealed in Appendix A, contacts on property marking correlate .65 with those on neighborhood watch and .71 with those on security survey; contacts on neighborhood watch correlate .69 with those on security survey.
13. Another round of logistic regressions, beyond those shown in Table 6.2, shows what happens when such equations for the Big Three include contacts on neighborhood happenings as an independent variable. Despite possible spec-

ification error, such contacts are statistically appreciable in all three equations. Both distance and modeling remain in all three, as well ( $p < .0000$  in all six instances). On property marking, difference in age has a probability level of .06. Gammas increase by amounts of .07 to .09.

14. As mentioned in the text, dyads comprise a legitimate unit of analysis, which is neither respondent, but rather the relation between the two respondents. But it is possible that some observations are not completely statistically independent in this data set. This chapter speculates that such possible lack of independence might make the standard errors smaller than they would otherwise be. Table 6.2 compensates for that by using .025 as the criterion for evaluating the significance levels of individual logistic regression coefficients. Such significance levels rest on chi-squared statistics, which are, of course, non-directional (SAS Institute 1980, p. 83). In all four kinds of contacts, both distance and modeling have probability levels equal to .0000.
15. As in virtually all other intuitive comparisons in the literature, several concepts here are multidimensional, incorporating several dimensions.
16. On Hughes—the first, least-developed block in the tour and perhaps something of a special case—the corresponding figures are 4/9 (.44).

## 7

# Effects of the Program<sup>1</sup>

The key question in a burglary prevention effort, of course, is, did it have any effect. In Hartford, Connecticut, such a program showed a reduction in burglary, while another in Chicago showed a marginally significant reduction in overall criminal victimization (Fowler 1979, Chapter 5; Fowler and Mangione 1982; Rosenbaum, Lewis, and Grant 1986, p. 123).<sup>2</sup>

In comparison, the Goodfields program narrowed its inquiry. As discussed in Chapter 1, this book views burglary as basically limited to someone entering a house or garage illegally or trying to do so. Obviously, residents do not like burglars in their houses. In the experience of this program, though, residents are more concerned that they might be attacked in the house by a burglar or that burglars might steal things. Fortunately, few burglaries involve violence. The National Crime Survey indicates that from 1973 to 1982, only 3.8% of household burglaries (including attempts) involved a violent crime (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1985, Table 8). Not surprisingly, Goodfields program staff never heard of such a situation in its area, since burglars go out of their way to avoid occupied dwellings (Bennett and Wright 1984, p. 87).

Theft, on the other hand, accompanies burglary much more frequently and is worthy of study in its own right in that context. According to the National Crime Survey, theft occurs in roughly 80% of forcible entries and unlawful entries—burglaries other than attempts (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1985, Table 5). While it's logical that an effective burglary prevention program might also reduce theft, apparently no research has reported that it does. Such a finding would be helpful to organizers when they mention protection of belongings as part of participating in burglary prevention. For many laypersons, indeed, burglary probably means "theft from inside a house or garage."

The program in the Goodfields area, therefore, used a relatively rigorous quasi-experimental design to examine effect on thefts which occur during burglaries in residences and garages.

Besides focussing on theft, this chapter contributes to knowledge of program effects by addressing two other questions. The first asks whether decline in theft

occurs in residential areas more comparable initially, than the separate, relatively large areas compared in Hartford and Chicago. Both programs showed concern about this issue, but in Chicago, the outcome was negative. After showing the reduction in one area compared with others, the Chicago study compared treated blocks with untreated ones in that successful area. The blocks were more comparable than whole areas of a city, and the difference in victimization did not repeat itself (Rosenbaum et al. 1986, p. 129).

Second, does the success of such programs rest on incorporating certain core elements that make them effective in reducing theft?<sup>3</sup> Rosenbaum et al., for example, report reduction in victimization only in the neighborhoods that had implemented the program most completely. This points to the importance of identifying and examining key components that should be included in future efforts.

The question of core elements stems from considerations of power in research designs. Boruch and Gomez argue that the evaluation of a social program must begin by assessing the power of the design (1979). This power consists of the design's ability to avoid accepting a false null hypothesis—concluding, basically, that a program had no effect, when in fact it did. To avoid undercutting the power of the evaluation design, a program must implement its core elements properly and measure the outcome reliably, in terms of what these elements would affect most directly. Failure to conceive a program soundly or to implement it as directed undermines the evaluation. As a result, the program might seem to have less potential to have an effect than it actually does. But even if a program otherwise proves effective, it might not be able to be replicated without a clear understanding of the elements that made it a success.

In summary, these were the key considerations in evaluating the effects of the program in the Goodfields area, where the Big Three antiburglary measures were disseminated heavily through block clubs. Since the blocks involved in the burglary prevention activities were distributed among those that were not, the comparisons are based on areas more likely to be equivalent than in previous studies comparing different parts of cities. When success in implementation is ignored, theft reduction is unassociated with having received the program. When success in implementation is taken into account, on the other hand, theft reduction is evident.

## Dixon's Goodfields Program

The Goodfields burglary prevention program began in May 1981 after the Development Association became aware of an emerging burglary problem in its area. Neither the association nor residents active in it viewed fear of burglary as a problem. Jack Bennett, hired by the association to coordinate this program, decided to focus on the Big Three—property marking, neighborhood watch, and security surveys—and to organize block clubs. Initially, Gillham, the evaluator, and Bennett planned to implement this within a “posttest-only control group design” (Campbell and Stanley 1963, p. 25).

This design was partially implemented. The program area consists of 33 contiguous blocks arranged along 12 streets running east-west and three streets running north-south. This area's east-west streets contained 36 face-blocks, which were numbered from one to 36, respectively. Each face block consisted of the houses on both sides of the street between adjacent north-south streets, which served as barriers to interaction on the east and west.

Half these face blocks were randomly assigned to receive burglary prevention services. So instead of trying to reduce burglary throughout the area, then comparing this area with some ostensibly similar part of the city, the program focused on particular face-blocks, with others serving as controls. Two reasons accounted for this approach. First, adjoining blocks were more likely than seemingly comparable areas to have similar rates of theft. Even adjacent neighborhoods would be more likely than individual blocks in one neighborhood to differ in people, houses and burglars.

Second, experience indicated that elsewhere, some burglary prevention organizers do not try seriously to involve every block in the areas where they work. If this program could demonstrate the effectiveness of burglary prevention block by block, policy makers and organizers might be willing to strive harder for block-by-block coverage. Taylor and Gottfredson also conclude that crime prevention efforts should focus on blocks rather than neighborhoods (1986, p. 387), though their argument is much more sophisticated than the one used in planning this program.

Later, but before organizing began, Bennett insisted on rearranging the blocks designated to receive burglary prevention so that on more than two-thirds of those blocks, residents on at least one side would have neighbors over the back fence who also were in the program. This, Bennett hoped, would persuade persons on such blocks to talk over back fences and "stitch" themselves into larger burglary prevention networks. This rearrangement involved exchanging the assignments of 10 blocks assigned to program with a corresponding number of control blocks, which would not receive burglary prevention services—encouragement to form block clubs and participate in property marking, neighborhood watch and home security survey. Although Gillham opposed the change on methodological grounds, Bennett's observations of the area, as well as his conversations with others more familiar with it, led him to feel confident that the program blocks, as switched, would remain equivalent to the control blocks. As it turned out, Bennett appears to have been correct, and this will be discussed later.

After assignments to program and control conditions were completed in early June 1981, Bennett began providing the burglary prevention services to the blocks as marked on Figure 7.1. The blank area in the lower left hand corner of the map—the southwestern corner of the program area—contains, from south to north, a fenced, defunct rock quarry; then a public park, fenced on the west side, and an apartment complex. An industrial area lies west of the park and apartments. Visual inspection reveals that no foot traffic goes through the park or apartments to the industrial area.

A couple of the blocks that Goodfields tried to organize reported problems with youngsters walking to and from the park, but these problems were remedied fairly



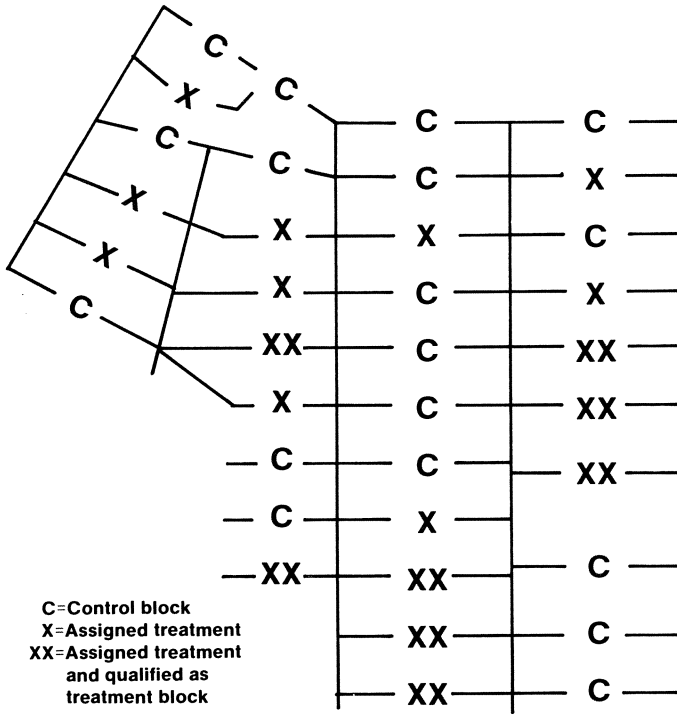


Figure 7.1. Program Area after Block Assignments Were Switched.

easily and lasted only briefly. Concerns in the block clubs closest to that southwest corner, as a whole, had little or nothing to do with the quarry, park or apartments. No data are available in which Goodfields residents report their experience as theft victims before the program began. But according to police records of burglaries for 1979, 1980, and the part of 1981 preceding the program, burglaries showed no particular pattern on these streets.<sup>4</sup>

The program focused heavily on securing houses and garages against burglary. Except possibly for automobiles, which were covered only incidentally by the program, the more valuable items likely to interest thieves were to be found inside these structures, rather than outdoors, such as in yards.

Bennett organized virtually alone until September 1981, when four college interns began to help him. A total of six interns helped from January 1982 through late April 1982.

Residents were more cooperative on some blocks than on others. So time spent on services varied somewhat from block to block. When blocks looked unlikely to organize after the first canvassing, organizers usually canvassed a second time because of reluctance to yield to failure.<sup>5</sup> Organizers said that they put at least 28 person-hours into blocks that failed to organize for a first meeting.<sup>6</sup> More time, of

course, was devoted to blocks that showed more interest. Leadership appeared more quickly on some blocks than on others, but all clubs had officers elected and functioning by the end of the third meeting.

### *Measurement*

To evaluate the effects of the program, theft was measured basically by a two-stage process to correct for “telescoping”—respondents remembering thefts as more recent than they occurred.<sup>7</sup> The first phase consisted of two particular questions asked of the households in two subsamples when other data were collected in April 1982 and February through mid-May 1982. One question asked, “Now would you please think back to when school resumed in the beginning of September. How many times has something been stolen from inside your residence or garage?”<sup>8</sup> Interviewers helped residents to answer by taking into account what was stolen and when—in the context of salient events in the respondent’s life. They also asked the respondent the dollar value of the loss. Final responses consisted of ratio-level numbers of incidents.

Not all theft from within residential structures, of course, occurs in connection with burglary. Something stolen by a person—such as a guest or relative—who enters a structure with permission could be included in a response to this question on theft from residence or garage. But such thefts probably occur rarely in areas—outlined to some extent in Chapter 2—where Big Three programs tend to prosper. Organizers never heard of such an instance from a resident in the Goodfields area. Police say that they rarely or never received reports of such offenses in that area. To the extent that such “insiders” were committing these thefts on both program and control blocks, however, particularly neighborhood watch and security survey would fail to deter them. Correspondingly, the program’s outcome would probably be biased against success.

The other question, similar in format and administration, asked about thefts of items “kept outside your residence, or happened to be left outside, such as a bicycle, garden hose, or lawn furniture.”

The second phase, administered in November 1982, involved contacting the same two subsamples that had been queried earlier in that year, except those who refused to cooperate, had moved out of the area or whose phones had been disconnected. This time they were asked the same two questions, except that the time period was moved forward to “since last Easter, in mid-April.”

Before residents were called for these interviews, the Goodfields Development Association mailed a postcard to each household. The postcard asked residents to tell us whether anything had been stolen from inside or outside their residence or garage from “last Easter, in mid-April” to the time of the interview. The postcard also asked them to discuss this with members of their households so the interviewer would get accurate information from whoever answered the phone. This research also wanted residents to confer on these thefts to reduce various kinds of memory errors and to make sure that whoever answered the phone could report all the thefts for the household. The researchers realized that household members might be

reluctant to tell each other about some kinds of victimization, such as assaults. But experience indicated that residents in this area tended to be willing, even eager, to discuss thefts.

### *Data Reduction*

Of the 430 respondents on all 36 face blocks, 273 (63.5%) remembered receiving the postcard. Of those 273 respondents, 86.4% said that all the members of the household, 16 or older, had participated in the conversation it had requested on theft.<sup>9</sup>

A comparison with the data collected earlier in the year showed that telescoping did not inflate the number of thefts reported in November 1982.<sup>10</sup> Since the study focused on completed thefts, reports of mere attempts were edited out of the data.

### *Threats to Validity*

The switch in blocks between the control and program groups, to encourage possible backyard links, forced a careful look at threats to the validity of this evaluation's conclusions. Of the threats listed by Cook and Campbell (1979, Chapter 2), selection is particularly dangerous in this kind of situation. This basically involves the possibility of designating face blocks with the lowest levels of theft as program blocks because they would be most likely to differ from control blocks in the subsequent evaluation (Campbell and Stanley 1963, p. 12; Cook and Campbell 1979, p. 53).

But three lines of evidence indicate that after the switch, the 18 program blocks remained equivalent, as a group, to the control blocks. First, when Bennett made the switch, he did not have block-by-block information on thefts (or burglaries), so he had no way of knowing whether the changes would make any difference in the evaluation. Second, all the blocks lie in a fairly homogeneous, relatively small area of Dixon. All also are in the same census tract—though the tract includes other blocks, as well. Such tracts are often delineated by the similarity of their constituent blocks. All the blocks are located in the same part of the same police precinct, and, according to police, subject to the same patrolling. Officers indicated, however, that limited manpower largely limited them to responding to calls, with little time for routine patrols in any part of the area. Visual observations, plus data, indicate fairly similar housing stock and demographic composition from block to block.<sup>11</sup>

Third, data also revealed program and control blocks as equivalent on thefts from inside residences and garages, as well as on 33 other variables, gathered in November 1981. These include the number of burglaries about which residents know; participation in property marking, neighborhood watch, and home-security survey; the stronger communication correlates of such participation; and particular structural and attitudinal attributes suggested by other research in community crime prevention. Difference-of-means tests on these 34 variables, more specifically, showed no difference in theft and about as many—or fewer—differences as would be expected by chance alone between (1) the 18 blocks finally scheduled to receive the program and the 18 control blocks, (2) the 10 blocks randomly assigned to program and the 10 controls that were traded, (3) the blocks randomly assigned to

program and those assigned by Bennett, (4) the controls as randomly assigned and those assigned by Bennett, (5) the 17 control blocks retained in the analysis—more on that later—and the 10 program blocks that had not yet held a first meeting as of November 1981, and (6) the 17 control blocks retained in the analysis and the seven program blocks not visited by organizers by November 1981 (basically,  $p > .05$ , two-tailed).<sup>12</sup>

Self-selection of participants to receive the program also presents no problem. First, as mentioned earlier, organizers had considerable difficulty in organizing virtually all the face blocks, particularly in finding a household to host the first meeting.<sup>13</sup>

Second, much to the credit of Bennett's verbal skills and intuition, no changes were made in the assignments of the blocks after his initial switch. The evaluator, the coordinator and the executive director had agreed at the beginning, by the way, that if political problems arose, the decision on face-block assignments would have to be reconsidered. Several blocks—notably one that included a vocal member of the board of directors of the Goodfields Development Association—subsequently asked that the program serve them. But Bennett was able to hold them off for, basically, two reasons. First, the association's director had the confidence of his board, appreciated the value of rigorous evaluation, and supported his subordinate Bennett on this. Second, Bennett understood that when residents pressed him for service, they wanted him to do all the work and were unlikely to do much on their own. So he frequently assigned them the arduous organizing tasks and said he would help when these were completed. Since they were not, the design remained intact. Once, however, a fearful, elderly woman in one of the control blocks called and asked for help. Since one service call in a control area was unlikely to compromise the design seriously, Bennett complied with the woman's request to mark her valuables with an identification number.

Besides selection, maturation poses another potential threat. The similarity and proximity of the face blocks in this program suggests, however, that they would be likely to change in similar ways at similar rates. Subsequent differences between program and control blocks, therefore, are likely to result from burglary prevention rather than from maturation of particular blocks.

For similar reasons, external events would have an equal effect on all the blocks, which would rule out history as prompting some blocks to differ from others. During the program, no changes occurred—such as in the park, playgrounds, apartments or businesses—that would have brought potential thieves together or driven them apart in the program area.

Since this design incorporates no pretest, subsequent differences between program and control blocks cannot result from pretests. This rules out testing as a rival hypothesis.<sup>14</sup>

Since the same measurement procedures were used in both program and control groups, instrumentation can be ruled out as being responsible for subsequent differences between the two. The interviewers and questions would have been equally unfamiliar to the program and control groups, so there would have been no interaction between program and measurement.

Since block-by-block theft data were not available when face blocks were designated as program or control, the assignments could not have been made on the basis of extremes in theft. The two groups of blocks, moreover, showed no initial difference in theft. Subsequent differences, therefore, cannot be due to regression of the theft measures toward their means.

This design and setting make it unlikely that subsequent outcomes might have resulted from Bennett selecting program blocks with particular maturation, exposure to history, or amenability to the program. Nothing indicates that he used such criteria even implicitly in his switch. Selection, maturation and history, themselves, already have been ruled out as threats.

While this program's research design called for control blocks to have no communication on block clubs or the Big Three, such contamination occurred in scattered households. This is discussed more fully in the next chapter. Since contamination makes program and control groups more similar than they otherwise would be, this probably biases tests of difference against showing the program successful.

While data analysis included cases reflecting scattered contamination, the situation was handled differently for the one control block that organized itself into a club and held its first meeting May 9, 1982. That block was dropped from this chapter's analysis of data collected after that time, reducing the number of control blocks to 17.

Despite Bennett's hopes of stimulating contacts on burglary prevention between neighbors with back-to-back property, he reported finding no instances of this.

No evidence of resentment or rivalry could be found between program and control blocks. On most blocks, as mentioned earlier, organizers encountered considerable difficulty setting up block clubs. Neither the Goodfields Development Association nor other agencies, such as police, provided any compensatory equalization of treatment.

One program block, incidentally, that showed some interest but too little to form a club by itself was combined with the relatively vibrant club across a north-south street. Subsequent data analysis counted these two blocks as one, yielding a total of 17 program blocks.

## Results

The November-1982 data indicate that compared with the 17 control blocks, the 17 program blocks did not differ on the average number of thefts per house (.129 vs. .097, respectively— $.25 > p > .20$ , one-tailed). Nor did the program blocks differ from controls on thefts from outside houses (.173 vs. .139, respectively— $p < .60$ , two-tailed).

This, in itself, would tend to imply that the program had no effect on thefts. But a different picture emerges from a more careful examination, which takes into account not only whether a program was implemented, but also how well it was implemented.

## *Treatment Blocks*

As mentioned earlier, burglary prevention programs attempt to deter burglars by providing fewer suitable targets and more guardianship. The core elements of a prevention program—those measures most likely to be effective—seem to consist of two phases. First, as Chapters 4 and 5 indicate, communication plays a key role in getting people to participate in any of the Big Three. Communication, moreover, cannot be limited to a particular period of time. The next chapter, in fact, argues that persistent encouragement, such as that from a block club, is necessary for residents to retain their interest in burglary prevention.

Anecdotal evidence, as well as some data, support the importance of block clubs in discouraging theft. In at least two cases in the program area, block club members apparently deterred thefts. One man found a stranger peering into a neighbor's house. The man made his presence known, then watched to make sure the intruder left. Since window peeping never was mentioned as a problem in this area, the stranger, most likely, was a potential thief.

In another incident, a block club member reported that on returning home from work one night, she found a man carrying a bicycle through her yard. After she challenged him, he dropped the bicycle, which had been taken from a neighbor's garage, and ran.

From the other side of the coin, a student, interning with a local criminal justice agency, reported that a man had confided that he tried to burglarize a house on a block that the Goodfields program had tried to organize. He said neighbors had scared him away and that had he known of a block club there, he never would have attempted the theft.<sup>15</sup> Cromwell reports that a substantial proportion of the West Texas burglars in his study tended to ignore the presence of a block club because they believed that such clubs lose their vigilance fairly quickly. But when a club was perceived as vigilant, these perpetrators tended to avoid burglaries in the area (Paul Cromwell, personal communication, 1991; cf. Cromwell, Olsen, and Avery 1990).

After communication, the second phase involves actually reducing the value of targets for burglary and increasing guardianship of them. Of the Big Three, property marking does relatively little to accomplish that and generally is considered more useful in aiding the return of stolen goods (see e.g. Skogan and Maxfield 1981, p. 211). Neighborhood watch is effective mostly when neighbors can listen for breaking glass or, more particularly, are looking out their windows. While this can complement other efforts, neighbors may not always be able to do this. Home security, on the other hand, can lead to improvements—such as better locks—that help to deter burglary even when neighbors are not watching. In at least two instances in the program area, attempted break-ins were halted by changes in the physical security of the houses.

For this evaluation, these two criteria—block clubs, because of their role in communication, and home security survey, because of its potential for ongoing guardianship—define a subgroup of program blocks, called *treatment blocks*.<sup>16</sup> Specifically, to be considered a treatment block, a block, first, had to have an

operating block club when organizing concluded in early May 1982. Second, at least 11% of the houses on the block had to have had security surveys performed by the program by its formal conclusion July 31, 1982.<sup>17</sup>

Ten of the 17 program blocks failed to qualify as treatment blocks. Three failed to meet both criteria; five had enough security surveys, but the block clubs had died; two had operating clubs but not enough security surveys.

This evaluation looked at whether such exclusion created a selection effect. Such an effect would have meant that instead of the treatment, particular characteristics of treatment blocks—particularly a lower level of theft from the outset—is responsible for any difference between treatment and control blocks on theft. This evaluation also looked at whether the exclusion might have involved a “selection by treatment” interaction, which would have indicated selection of those blocks for whom the treatment was particularly appropriate.

While not conclusive, the data suggest that, probably, neither problem occurred. The appropriate unit of analysis, here, remains the block. Correspondingly, no evidence indicates that these treatment blocks differed from either dropped blocks or controls in the November 1981 data on theft from inside residences or garages ( $p > .05$ , two-tailed). Neither did the treatment blocks differ from these other blocks on the 33 other variables, described earlier, any more than would be expected by chance (basically  $p > .05$ , two-tailed).

So far as can be determined, such findings undercut all plausible theories on what might have been selected besides the treatment blocks’ adherence to the two criteria. While Chapter 6 suggests the importance of neighbors knowing each other before the organizers arrive, for example, the November 1981 data reveal no differences between treatment and dropped blocks in this regard. Even this program’s organizers were able to develop no consistent notions on why higher rates of participation turned up on particular blocks rather than others.

Other crime prevention programs, incidentally, vary in the number of pre-existing differences between treated and untreated units. Henig found several in an area in Washington D.C. (1984, Table 2). Rosenbaum et al. found two such differences in one quasi-experiment and a marginal one in another (1986, pp. 127, 129). Seattle’s burglary prevention program found no such differences (Schneider 1986, p. 78).

### *Effects on Theft*

The November 1982 data indicate that compared with the 17 control blocks, the seven treatment blocks averaged fewer thefts per house (.129 vs. .035, respectively— $p < .03$ , one-tailed).<sup>18</sup> But these blocks did not differ on thefts from outside the houses, which averaged .144 and .139 thefts per house, respectively ( $p > .90$ , two-tailed).

Partial correlations support the importance of block clubs and security survey in reducing thefts in the Goodfields area. To assure that other elements were not responsible, this evaluation controlled for—removed—the variation accounted for by two proxy measures for those other elements. The first proxy is the November-

1981 measure of thefts from inside residences and garages, which, as mentioned earlier, did not differ between program and control blocks. The second is residents' perception of the chances that something would be stolen from their "residence or garage sometime in the next three years," a question included in the April 1982 data collection. Such perception presumably would incorporate a number of aspects, including some—such as weaknesses in residents' home security or security improvements likely to be made in the future—not picked up in the earlier theft measure.

Controlling for these two measures, the data indicate that the average number of thefts reported by residents of a block in November 1982 correlates  $-.33$  with the proportion of households whose valuables had been marked by the Goodfields program ( $.10 > p > .05$ ),  $-.08$  with the average number of houses watched ( $p > .05$ ),  $-.35$  with whether a block club was alive on the block at program's end ( $p = .05$ ), and  $-.35$  with the proportion of households whose security had been inspected ( $p = .05$ ).<sup>19</sup>

At least one other study has looked at differences between those who participate actively and those who lose interest in crime prevention. In the First Police District of Washington, D.C. (1984), Henig categorized blocks as active or inactive on neighborhood watch, then compared the active and inactive areas on reports of crime to police. But his categories, which focused mainly on dynamics inside block clubs, may have been somewhat remote from how block clubs reduce crime. Many crimes, as is well-known, also are not reported to police. In the end, Henig concluded that active and inactive areas did not differ (1984, Table 6).

This evaluation boosted the power for a similar comparison by incorporating security survey to make the criteria pertain more directly to discouraging theft and by using reports from victims, rather than police. As a result, it reveals that the seven treatment blocks averaged fewer thefts per house (.036) than not only the control blocks but also the 10 program blocks that were eliminated from the analysis (.140— $p < .04$ , two-tailed). These blocks experienced roughly as many thefts as the control blocks, which received no burglary prevention services (.140 vs. .129, respectively). This points to the disappointing conclusion that residents may have harmed themselves by refusing burglary prevention assistance.

Any *firm* conclusions on burglars' response to security improvements in the area where they have been active probably requires direct contact with the burglars themselves. Except for the casual conversation mentioned earlier, this evaluation was unable to make such contacts.

Data, however, indicate that theft did *not* increase on control blocks as it decreased on treatment blocks. The number of thefts reported by each of the 17 control blocks averaged .116 in April 1982 and .130 in November 1982, no appreciable difference ( $p > .3$ , one-tailed).

This is no surprise, since most of the burglars in this area were considered fairly amateur. Both Reppetto (1976, p. 176) and the Brantinghams (1984, p. 86) predict little geographic displacement under such conditions. None was found in the Seattle or Hartford projects, either (Ciril et al. 1977, p. 51; Fowler 1979, pp. 102–105).



Burglars working in the program area also were unlikely to shift their operations to other parts of the city. The area itself is bounded on the east and west by two busy streets, both with bus routes and lined by small businesses. People tend to walk through the program area from one thoroughfare to the other, and police told us that burglars, in fact, walk these streets looking for potential targets. Except for measures prompted by the burglary prevention program, housing throughout the area is similar and likely to prove equally tempting to a potential burglar.

Since burglars are not likely to travel farther than necessary, those that encounter security measures on treatment blocks probably would move on to other houses in the area, such as those on control blocks, if not deterred altogether.

## Conclusion

On the whole, this program, aimed at reducing burglary in the Goodfields area, is fairly typical of those, nationwide, designed to counter the threat from relatively amateur burglars. It specifically sought to implement the Big Three antiburglary measures through community action marshalled via block clubs.

In evaluating such social programs, Boruch and Gomez recommend taking into account the success of their implementation (1979). Rosenbaum et al. raise this issue explicitly for evaluations of crime prevention programs and express doubt that community meetings, by themselves, have much effect on preventing crimes (1986, p. 131). The Goodfields data point to a similar conclusion. If this evaluation had compared blocks that had block clubs with those that did not, it would have found no appreciable reduction in theft.

But as this examination has shown, ongoing block clubs are necessary to provide coordination and encouragement, while security surveys prompt improvements that discourage the amateur burglars on whom this program focuses. Such notions rest particularly on the communication shown to be important in Chapters 4, 5, and 8, as well as the partial correlations described earlier and all available anecdotal evidence on thefts that may have been averted because of the program.

Defined by these two criteria, treatment blocks showed reduction in theft. Consistent with particular outcomes from the Hartford and Chicago evaluations, moreover, this one has shown that reduction in theft remains evident when interspersed blocks are compared instead of areas in a city.

Reducing theft, of course, is not the only payoff for a program such as that in the Goodfields area. The effort also can reduce certain concomitants of theft that are less easily quantifiable. These include victims' anger and sense of violation at discovering their loss, the hassle of reporting thefts to police and dealing with an insurance company to recover losses, anger at neighbors who might have seen the theft in progress but did not prevent it, and decline in property values if the neighborhood becomes known as a high-theft area (Frisbie et al. 1977, Chapter 3).

"Few good things last forever," the adage says. That is the topic of the next chapter.

## Notes

1. David S. Roth is junior coauthor of this chapter.
2. Burglary prevention programs, of course, have been evaluated in many other cities—most notably Seattle and Portland (Ciril et al. 1977; Schneider 1986). But the Seattle and Portland evaluations involve comparisons of burglaries in houses that participated with those in houses that chose not to do so (Ciril et al. 1977, pp. 52–54; Schneider 1986, p. 76). No program could have decided which houses would participate and which would not. This, therefore, raises the spectre of self-selection as a threat to validity—that if households decided to participate in the program, they might have reduced their own risk of burglary even if the program had not been available. Those evaluations argue that self-selection is not a problem (see, e.g., Schneider 1986, pp. 77–78); but such a comparison makes them somewhat difficult to evaluate and they are discussed no further here.
3. If the entire program is effective, of course, then all of it is core; but that seems unlikely in most burglary prevention programs.
4. Such data are not available by block or for the northern-most street. But otherwise, dividing the number of burglaries by the corresponding number of households for each street yields figures ranging from .067 to .195. Seven of these eleven figures are between .100 and .165. Visual inspection reveals that all are arrayed randomly. Compared with the more northern streets, for example, the southern ones stand neither higher nor lower as a group.
5. The Minneapolis Special Project also put extra effort where organizing was more difficult (Silloway and McPherson 1985, p. 25).
6. The number of houses on a block ranged from 21 to 62. Seven blocks had 40 to 49 houses; six had 50 to 59 houses.
7. Schneider points out that while offenses can be remembered as occurring earlier than they actually did, the net response is that they are remembered as more recent (1978, Table 23). Skogan, in fact, defines telescoping in terms of offenses being remembered as more recent than they occurred (1981, p. 12).
8. These items asked respondents to count the number of thefts “since the beginning of September” so that respondents would have a salient event to define the reference period. Federally-funded victimization surveys indicate that for simply determining whether a victimization occurred, six-month periods are roughly as acceptable as those of a year, but that respondents estimate when victimization occurred more accurately with the six-month period (Garofalo and Hindelang 1977, p. 14). The resumption of classes makes September particularly memorable for area residents because students return in large numbers and make their presence felt—in supermarket lines, for example. With this particular item wording, the reference period varied, roughly, from five to eight months among respondents. The reason for this variation is that data were systematically collected from one of the subsamples over a period of several months to meet the needs of the analysis in the next chapter. Because only a few

telescoped thefts were subsequently discovered in data collected later, as well as other reasons, however, this variation in reference period appears inconsequential.

9. Two hundred eleven respondents either failed to remember receiving the postcard or said that some household members over the age of 16 did not participate in these conversations on theft. Of these respondents, 98.1% said they would know of all thefts known to other members of the household.
10. The type of items reported stolen and their value, as well as information on when they were taken, were compared for thefts reported in November with those reported in both sets of data collected the previous spring. A number of residents were contacted to determine if particular thefts had been reported twice. Virtually all were happy to clarify the ambiguity. Only one of the 48 “inside” thefts and three of the 65 “outside” thefts duplicated earlier reports. While few, these duplications occurred in both the earlier subsamples and were removed from the November 1982 data before proceeding with the analysis.
11. Organizing had similar outcomes regardless of whether blocks were assigned randomly or by Bennett. Of the eight blocks originally assigned and remaining as program blocks, two never organized despite the program’s efforts, two met a couple of times then died, and four remained in the analysis as *treatment blocks*, defined later. Of the 10 control blocks that Bennett moved to treatment, one never organized despite the program’s efforts; three died; two had too few security surveys to qualify as treatment blocks; four remained as treatment blocks.
12. These comparisons among face blocks refer to *t*-tests, which were used here and later in this chapter because they are appropriate and adequate. Beals (1972, p. 340) and Hays (1963, p. 322) say that, usually, no negative effects result from violating the first main assumption underlying the *t*-test, which specifies a normal distribution in the population. The *t*-test is said to be “robust” in this regard.

In keeping with the second assumption—involving homogeneity of variance between the two groups—this research used *t*-tests with separate estimates of variance when the data required it.

13. This rules out the Hawthorne effect as a threat to validity. No evidence indicates that the program presented participants with particular status in the eyes of anyone with widely acclaimed status (Cook and Campbell 1979, p. 60).
14. Although the test of the program’s effect involved two reports of theft from the same household to remove telescoped thefts, the earlier measure poses no threat to validity. The first report occurred about a quarter of the way through a 116-item interview protocol administered about seven months before the same households were contacted for the second report.
15. Data support the importance of block clubs by showing that, in the later part of the program, thefts from residences of members had stabilized. About 5% of club members in April 1982 and 3% in November 1982 reported thefts from

inside a residence or garage. About 12% in April and November reported thefts from outside the structures. This suggests that block clubs may have aided persistence in antitheft efforts.

16. Naturally, a security survey, by itself, will probably not stop burglary in most cases. Residents have to implement the survey's recommendations to improve security. Since this study did not collect sufficient information to evaluate that for each program block, this criterion is framed in terms of the survey itself.
17. Prevalence of security survey is computed in terms of houses because the program used this basis. No houses, regardless of the number of units, had more than one security survey. Of the 808 houses on the program blocks, property marking was done for more than one unit in only two. In each of those cases, it was done in two units.

The 11% figure was selected for minimum prevalence of home security because Heller, Stenzel, Gill, Kolde, and Schirman linked an adoption of "more than 10%" with "some recruitment success" in evaluating the property-marking movement (1975, p. 8). Since no one else apparently has established a parallel figure for evaluating enrollment in home security survey, 11% seemed reasonable. Second, 11% also happened to be exactly half the largest percentage of security survey participation attained by any club organized by the Goodfields program.

While the two criteria focus on block club and security survey, each of the Big Three was implemented at least to some extent on the treatment blocks. Property marking varied from 3% to 23% of the houses on each of the seven blocks; the average was roughly 13%. Twelve to 22% of those houses had security surveys; the average was roughly 15%. Compared with control blocks, which received no treatment except as noted, treatment blocks received appreciably more burglary prevention service (both property marking and security survey  $p < .002$ ). Toward the end of the program (April 1982), treatment-block residents reported watching an average of 8.4 houses, while controls averaged 3.2 (difference  $p < .01$ ).

According to phone calls to 48 of a systematic sample of 61 households that received services, 55%—17 of 31—of those who had their property marked said they had posted the stickers they were given. According to those phone calls, 33%—nine of 27—of the security surveys resulted in one or more changes. Of these respondents on treatment blocks, 27%—three of 11—of those who had property marked had posted stickers and 80%—eight of 10—of those who had security survey had made one or more changes in security.

18. While Beals (1972) and Hays (1963), as mentioned in an earlier note, indicate that violation of the normality assumption usually has little or no effect on the outcome of the test, Boneau's (1960, p. 55) data suggest that in this case, if there is an effect, it may make the test more conservative. Boneau found that with samples of five members and smaller variance compared with others of 15 members and larger variance, the  $t$ -test indicated fewer significant differ-

ences than would be expected from the mathematical distribution of  $t$ . This comparison involved seven treatment blocks with smaller variance in theft and 17 control blocks with larger variance.

19. For this analysis, the April 1982 data supplied perceived risk and number of houses watched. Program records provided information on club condition, property marking and security survey.

These partial correlations are computed in the same sample, consisting of the seven treatment blocks and 17 control blocks. While theft correlates a little more strongly with the block club's condition and proportion of households surveyed than with other measures here, these correlations do not vary enough in magnitude to differ appreciably from each other. This lack of difference is not surprising because the same project implemented block clubs, property marking, neighborhood watch, and home security surveys.

## 8

# Program Participation: World View's Decay with Communication<sup>1</sup>

After an initial period of high activity, participation in burglary prevention almost always falls off (Garofalo and McLeod 1987, p. 131). Not surprisingly, organizers and others have attributed this behavioral change to *decay*—or loss—in interest in burglary prevention. Interests are part of world view. This chapter looks at what underlies such decay.

Burglary prevention organizers have come to recognize that decay eventually occurs in virtually all such programs (cf. Repetto 1984, p. 159). The Goodfields area was no exception. One of our organizers describes a typical situation of decay in our program:

The Z Avenue Block Club was a real “gung-ho” group. But after about four to six months, at a meeting a month, attendance started to drop. Jack Bennett and I happened to meet Bob —, co-captain of the Z Avenue club. He seemed very upset because of the loss of interest in the group. He told us, “I’m very disappointed! Things are slowing down. They think that because we’ve gotten our signs, they don’t have to do anything else! Let’s keep going! We’ve got to do something to get the people back again!” (Jeanne Rotondo, untitled, handwritten report submitted to James Gillham, 1981, pp. 19–20).

The Z Avenue club died soon after that. In other instances, an organizer becomes aware that residents are losing interest in burglary prevention not only when attendance at meetings drops, but also when the number of phone inquiries decreases, residents seem to have stopped talking about it, or block club leaders complain that members don’t volunteer nearly as much as they did when the club started (JG/1, p. 61).

Burglary prevention researchers and practitioners—and those in other fields, as well—have only the fuzziest ideas on the nature of decay, how it happens, and what, if anything, to do about it. While Skogan notes that neighborhood organizations survive partly by dealing with a variety of issues (1988, pp. 48–49), this evaluation has found no research literature on the basic nature of decay or its antecedents. Policy-makers and practitioners have a sparse literature that describes current efforts to handle decay and other possible approaches (Garofalo and

McLeod 1987, pp. 130–139; Green 1979, p. 24; National Crime Prevention Council 1986). But organizers disagree on whether anything *can* be done. Some, for example, have wondered whether they might be able to prevent such decline by changing some aspect of their practice. Others have argued that decay is virtually inevitable and can be countered only by preparing residents to reorganize when the need arises.

The antecedents of decay constitute an important problem because, first, after several successful programs, burglary has increased within a matter of months. Focusing on follow-up periods of 14 months or less, the Seattle, Portland and Hartford programs show reductions in burglary (Ciril et al. 1977, p. 50, Chapter 5; Fowler 1979, p. 83, Chapter 5; Schneider 1975, pp. iii–iv, 9). But 17 months or more after the programs' completion, both Seattle and Hartford report that burglaries among participants had increased to levels among nonparticipants (Ciril et al. 1977, p. 54; Fowler 1979, pp. 96–97; Fowler and Mangione 1982, p. 125, Chapter 9). Such reversals concern (1) organizers, who do not want the results of their efforts to disappear, (2) funding agencies, who naturally prefer long-lasting effects and, of course, (3) the residents, themselves.

In these situations, decaying interest in burglary prevention may be heavily responsible for increases in burglary.<sup>2</sup> The theory underlying ratio-level multidimensional scaling (RMDS) suggests that as residents lose interest in each of the activities—that is, as they dissociate themselves from concepts representing such activities—the activities become less prevalent. Some residents might lose interest in having a security survey done, for example. The results of the quasi-experiment indicate, in turn, that theft declines with participation in security survey. Correspondingly, we saw, earlier, that residents who shun opportunities to participate in burglary prevention are victimized by thefts at the same rate as residents who never had such opportunities.

Organizers also have a second reason to consider decay an important problem. If residents lose interest in burglary prevention and burglary does not increase, residents may begin to think (1) that in the long run, their efforts have little effect on whether burglaries decrease; (2) that burglars will not strike at their homes, or at least won't strike them again; or (3) working with neighbors to prevent burglaries is not worth the effort. Under such circumstances, residents would lose even their potential for stopping burglary in the neighborhood.

To provide clearer information on such potential outcomes, this chapter follows up the earlier one on world view and looks, more specifically, at the correlates of dissociation of concepts involved in burglary prevention. This inquiry is based on organizers' reports of a relation between residents' declining interest in burglary prevention and, generally speaking, communication among such residents.

First, this chapter looks at whether RMDS measures reflect the basic notion that interest in burglary prevention diminished on *active blocks*—organized treatment blocks where clubs continued to operate—but increased on control blocks. Generally speaking, the data do reflect this pattern.

Second, this chapter examines whether residents dissociate themselves from block clubs and the Big Three by reversing the process, described in Chapter 3,

used to bring concepts together. More specifically, it looks at how decay in burglary prevention activities varies with particular kinds of communication. The political campaign, for example, had used referents as “levers” to move people’s notion of the candidate closer to themselves. This chapter, therefore, examines which referents in our program seem to figure in distancing burglary prevention activities from residents’ notions of themselves.

Chapter 10 will discuss the implications of these findings for improving burglary prevention programs.

## Data Collection

For the investigation reported in this chapter, a new questionnaire was formed from the unidimensional and RMDS items discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. This questionnaire incorporated unidimensional measures of connectedness, number of burglaries known and structural position. To accommodate the additional unidimensional items, yet keep the new questionnaire short enough to be administered without problem, two RMDS concepts that appeared least useful—taxpayer and neighbors seeing each other—were omitted.<sup>3</sup> The questionnaire retained the other 10 RMDS concepts: your neighborhood, discouraging burglary, fear of burglary, dissatisfaction with police, solving problems, you, marking valuables with identification number, watching neighbors’ houses, home security check, and block clubs. Put in pairs, these 10 concepts generated 45 distances to be estimated by respondents. To be consistent with other parts of the book, the rest of this chapter follows Chapter 3 in using the words property marking, neighborhood watch, and home security survey instead of marking valuables with identification number, watching neighbors’ houses, and home security check.

This questionnaire was administered to one of the systematically selected subsamples, mentioned earlier, each consisting of roughly a quarter of the households in the program area. Unlike data collected in other subsamples, however, this evaluation consciously spread the data collection over 84 days from early February through mid-May 1982. These data were collected according to Woelfel’s sampling procedure, because it enables longitudinal analysis without the usual statistical complexities of repeated measures (Gillham 1983). Instead of collecting all the cases in minimum time, as is usually done in cross-sectional studies, this procedure specifies collecting a roughly constant number of cases during small intervals, usually each day, of the longer period. Random or systematic sampling determines the interval during which each case is to be collected. No formal guidelines exist on the minimum number of cases that should be collected per unit of time, but researchers commonly acknowledge that if the number is too small, unrepresentative, or badly distributed through the time period, results may not make much sense.<sup>4</sup>

Subsequent reduction of these data reveals that they were collected on 67 of the 84 days. No data were collected during a three-day period at the very end of the 84. The rest of the missed days were either single days or two days together,



scattered fairly evenly through the rest of the period. The number of cases collected in a single day ranged from zero to nine. Excluding the days in which no cases were collected, however, data were collected in an even enough manner so that, overall, four or fewer cases were collected on 79% of the days. Results tend to be consistent, as we shall see, with other findings from the Goodfields program.

## Actives Versus Controls

The first of the two major analyses in this chapter stemmed from an observation by organizers while helping to establish some of the last block clubs to be organized. While interest already was beginning to diminish on some blocks where clubs had been organized earlier, a few clubs were starting spontaneously on blocks not originally assigned to receive treatment.<sup>5</sup> Representatives of these clubs would telephone Bennett, tell him they had met a couple of times and were ready for him to visit to discuss burglary prevention, which he did.

To verify this decline on active blocks and upswing on controls, this evaluation aggregated the data by face block and correlated all 45 average distances with the measures *control* and *active*. The notion of control indicated whether the block had been designated as a control (scored control = 1, other = 0). As mentioned earlier, half the blocks were initially designated as controls; so this item averages 0.50.<sup>6</sup> The notion of active told us whether a block club was present on a resident's block when he or she provided data to us (scored active = 1, other = 0). Seven blocks had active clubs when data were collected from one or more respondents.<sup>7</sup>

For each pair of concepts on each block, mean distances were computed by averaging the responses of respondents living on that block. Among these 45 measures of distance, that with the smallest range of averages—discouraging burglary/markings with identification number—varies from 1.67 to 52.5 and averages 27.28. Two distances—your neighborhood/block clubs and you/block clubs—vary from 0.0 to 100.0, the largest range, and average 35.78 and 38.52, respectively. All medians are within 4.3 units of the corresponding means.

Table 8.1 lists the 14 of the 45 distances between pairs of concepts that yield appreciable Pearson's correlations—absolute value of .29 or higher,  $p < .05$ —with either active or control.<sup>8</sup> To some extent, these correlations verify a decline in interest in burglary prevention on active blocks but an upswing on control blocks. The distance discouraging burglary/you, for example, correlates a nonappreciable .18 with active, indicating that those living on blocks with active clubs when the data were collected were no more likely than anyone else to associate themselves with preventing burglaries. The appreciable positive correlation—.34—on solving problems/you indicates that those on active blocks tended, actually, to distance themselves from solving problems.

But as indicated by the negative correlations, persons living on control blocks tend to see closer relations than others between the concepts in each pair.<sup>9</sup> Compared with other blocks, in particular, they see themselves associated with discouraging burglary (−.42).<sup>10</sup>

TABLE 8.1. Pearson correlations between selected distances and residence on active or control blocks.

	Active Block	Control
Dissatisfaction with police/Solving problems	.34	-.42
Dissatisfaction with police/You	.43	-.49
Dissatisfaction with police/Home security survey	.38	-.57
Dissatisfaction with police/Neighborhood watch	.23	-.51
Dissatisfaction with police/Block clubs	.38	-.48
Dissatisfaction with police/Property marking	.24	-.32
Discouraging burglary/Dissatisfaction with police	.12	-.36
Discouraging burglary/Solving problems	.29	-.37
Discouraging burglary/You	.18	-.42
Discouraging burglary/Home security survey	.36	-.36
Discouraging burglary/Neighborhood watch	.43	-.36
Discouraging burglary/Block clubs	.40	-.31
Discouraging burglary/Property marking	.20	-.33
Solving problems/You	.34	-.38

*Note.* In this table, correlations were computed in 36 cases; correlations of .29 or larger have probability levels less than .05 one-tailed.

Probability suggests that at the usual 5% level applied here, each of these two independent variables—active and control—would correlate, appreciably, by chance alone with fewer than three of the 45 distances offered for estimates in the interview protocol. Yet Table 8.1 shows that active correlates with nine—roughly three times as many correlations as expected—while control correlates with 14.

This set of relations suggests at least one interpretation of the decay process in burglary prevention. First, when organizers talked to residents about burglary in the area, at least some persons, as indicated by their participation, favored the program strongly. Also, police officers spoke to each club organized by this program, usually at the second meeting. These officers discussed not only crime prevention, but also police problems—manpower, primarily—in combatting it. Since an appreciable increase in such manpower would probably raise taxes, dissatisfaction with police would have diminished and played less of a role in justifying residents’ participation in burglary prevention.

Eventually, some control-block residents also heard about the burglary prevention efforts on active blocks and became interested. This is consistent with Chapters 4 and 5. Residents of control blocks would have learned of the block clubs through gatherings like PTA meetings or at work. An organizer noted:

People who attend block club meetings are also people who are involved in many other community activities such as Boy Scouts, PTA, sports activities, church clubs, . . . “Save the Center.” Such persons are interested in the neighborhood in general. They seem to have an outgoing type of personality and are genuinely interested in other people. (Jeanne Rotondo, untitled, handwritten report submitted to James Gillham, 1981, pp. 2–3)

Simultaneously, however, burglary was declining more than residents of active blocks were aware. Consistent with Chapters 4 and 5, they continued their interaction with each other and their vigilance against burglary. Eventually, however, they concluded, as groups, that burglary was not the problem they thought it was, and their interest in burglary prevention diminished.

This interpretation has at least four flaws. First, it does not tell whether anything opposes decay or whether anything, besides living on an active block, promotes it. Second, decay surely involves more distances than are apparent in Table 8.1. The distance discouraging burglary/you, for example, does not correlate appreciably with active, but would be expected to do so. Direct observation suggests that residents dissociated themselves from the activities and even from their neighborhood.

Third, decay occurs over time, while these observations are aggregated by block, which would obscure at least some temporal differences. Fourth, residents surely had reasons for flagging interest in burglary prevention. Neither the correlations nor the interpretation say much about changes in attitude which are responsible for residents dissociating themselves from burglary prevention activities.

## Attendance, Active Blocks and Linkage

Chapter 3 describes how communicators move a concept—such as people's notion of a political candidate—closer to a referent and, thereby, closer to a target, such as residents' notion of themselves. This section argues that residents lose interest in burglary prevention by the reverse of this process. Particular sources—such as neighbors, for example—may tell residents that no burglaries have occurred recently. With no burglaries to discourage, the residents would dissociate themselves from the referent discouraging burglary. Few people, for that matter, think of themselves as consciously avoiding a problem if no evidence indicates that the problem still threatens. Without burglary, likewise, security survey, for example, cannot reduce it. This would lead residents to dissociate security survey from discouraging burglary. Residents would conclude that security survey no longer is worth the effort and dissociate security survey from themselves.

The following rationale underlies the test of the “three-legged” notion that people lose interest in burglary prevention by dissociating self from referent, and referent from burglary prevention activity. Suppose, more specifically, that the distances (1) from self to referent, (2) from referent to activity and (3) from activity to self each vary with information from a particular channel, such as that which comes from living on a block with a block club. A channel is a structure through which information passes to residents (cf. McGuire 1985, p. 276).<sup>11</sup> Correspondingly, distances change only in response to new information (Woelfel and Fink 1980, p. 155), such as neighbors' admonitions on a block with a block club. Since all three kinds of distances relate to information from the same channel, they must be changing as a fairly unitary process.

## *Reaggregation*

This section uses data aggregated by time to look at how three kinds of distances—self-referent, referent-activity, self-activity—vary with each of three channels of information: attending block club meetings, living on a block with an active club, and linkage with neighbors on neighborhood happenings.<sup>12</sup>

To form appropriate aggregates of residents for this analysis, the individual-level data were resorted according to the 67 dates on which they were collected. Then they were divided into 21 intervals of three days each plus one interval of the final four days.<sup>13</sup> The value of each variable then was computed for each interval by averaging the observations obtained during that period. This yielded 22 aggregated values for each variable—one for each three- or four-day interval.

## *The Variables*

Block clubs organized under burglary prevention programs naturally have emphasized efforts against burglary. Even as some members lost interest and dropped out, those that continued to attend meetings could be expected to retain at least some interest in preventing burglaries. So the greater the block club *attendance* by members of an aggregate, the less decay would be expected in the aggregate's interest in burglary prevention.

To measure attendance for the 22 aggregates, this analysis totaled the number of persons from each household at each meeting, added these meetings totals together for each household, then added the household totals for the aggregate's total. This, then, was divided by the number of households in the aggregate for an average per household. For the 22 aggregates, these averages range from 0 to 1.71 and, themselves, average .42.

As indicated by the earlier Pearson correlations, *active blocks*—those with operating block clubs when the data were collected—tended to show more decay than others, including control blocks. Kahn apparently has observed similar patterns of disillusionment elsewhere (1982, pp. 99–100).

Conceptually, living on a block that has an active club differs considerably from attending club meetings. On blocks with active clubs some people still failed to participate for one reason or another. Others may participate initially, but then drop out. Such problems are common nationwide (National Crime Prevention Council 1986) and point to the prevalence of conditions that promote decay.

For this analysis, *active* was scored 1 if a club was active on the block when the data were collected from a household or 0 if it was not. This measure, for example, would be scored zero for a household on a block where a club had died—defined as ceasing to hold meetings—before data collection. For the 22 aggregates, the active measure ranges from 0 to .273, with an average of .098.

*Linkage*, a third channel for decay-related information, consists of the number of neighbors with whom residents discuss neighborhood happenings. Highly linked residents can be both “pushed and pulled” away from interest in burglary prevention. The push starts in the decline in burglary. During the initial organizing, residents learned from organizers the number of burglaries that had occurred. After

that, however, residents listened carefully to organizers and neighbors for reports of other burglaries, but heard of few, if any. Decline in burglary naturally would constitute part of conversations on neighborhood happenings. By virtue of the relatively large number of neighbors with whom they talk, highly linked residents, therefore, probably would know about such decline relatively quickly and with more certainty. Highly linked residents, on the other hand, are pulled from a program by other interests and commitments such as other organizations, their children's activities, or pastimes like hunting and fishing.

For this evaluation, linkage was measured by a combination of connectedness and integration on neighborhood happenings. These two items were similar to those for connectedness and integration in Chapter 4; instead of asking about a burglary prevention activity, though, these items focused on what's going on in the neighborhood. For the 22 aggregates, the connectedness measure ranged from 3.14 to 11.75 and averaged 5.64; the integration measure ranged from 1.50 to 8.50 and averaged 4.67. These two measures correlate .76 (zero order); not surprisingly, this coefficient is statistically appreciable ( $p < .05$ , one-tailed). To form its measure of linkage, this evaluation standardized then averaged these two measures.

This chapter focuses on three sets of RMDS distances: (1) distances between self and each of the five referents: your neighborhood, discouraging burglary, fear of burglary, dissatisfaction with police, and solving problems; (2) distances between each of the five referents and each of the four activities: property marking, neighborhood watch, security survey, block club; (3) distances between self and each of the four activities. Among these 29 distances after aggregation, the distance with the smallest range—discouraging burglary/property marking—varies from 7.14 to 43.20; the distance with the largest range—dissatisfaction with police/you—varies from 9.29 to 75.83. These distances average 24.81 and 43.44, respectively. All medians are within 6.7 units of the corresponding means.

Table 8.2 shows the results of 29 multiple regression equations—one for each distance listed along the left side.<sup>14</sup> Of particular interest, of course, is which channels of information—block club attendance, living on an active block, and linkage—vary with the distances between residents' notion of self and each of the four activities: block clubs, property marking, neighborhood watch, and security survey. The data reveal a relation in eight of the 12 possible instances. The signs of these eight regression coefficients, listed in Table 8.2, indicate that the more attendance at block club meetings, the less decay in world view. Such decay increases, on the other hand, with both residence on an active block and linkage.<sup>15</sup>

None of the distances, by the way, would affect attendance, living on an active block, or linkage. At least part of attendance was measured before the data on distance were collected. Residents also had lived on their particular blocks before the distances were measured. As for linkage, scholars have devoted relatively little attention to the conditions under which communication depends on the relations among concepts. According to the currently dominant position, residents would tend not to discuss something on which they have a consensus, but matters on which

TABLE 8.2. Multiple regressions of selected distances on attendance, active-block residence and linkage.

	Attendance	Active Block	Linkage	R <sup>2</sup>
<b>Self-activity</b>				
You/Block clubs			.53	.24
You/Property marking	-.35	.48	.37	.40
You/Neighborhood watch	-.34		.62	.42
You/Home security survey		.51	.53	.48
<b>Self-referent</b>				
You/Dissatisfaction with police		.38	.44	.27
You/Fear of burglary	-.39			.11
You/Your neighborhood	-.49	.38	.54	.60
You/Solving problems		.36	.48	.30
You/Discouraging burglary	-.37	.53	.46	.56
<b>Referent-activity</b>				
Dissatisfaction with police/Block clubs		.40	.64	.52
Dissatisfaction with police/Property marking		.41	.60	.48
Dissatisfaction with police/Neighborhood watch		.51	.51	.46
Dissatisfaction with police/Home security survey	-.27	.46	.66	.65
Fear of burglary/Block clubs			.42	.14
Fear of burglary/Property marking				
Fear of burglary/Neighborhood watch			.45	.17
Fear of burglary/Home security survey	-.32	.48	.48	.48
Your neighborhood/Block clubs				
Your neighborhood/Property marking	-.40			.12
Your neighborhood/Neighborhood watch	-.48			.19
Your neighborhood/Home security survey	-.40			.12
Solving problems/Block clubs	-.35		.52	.30
Solving problems/Property marking	-.38		.47	.28
Solving problems/Neighborhood watch	-.34		.65	.45
Solving problems/Home security survey		.54	.48	.47
Discouraging burglary/Block clubs	-.48			.19
Discouraging burglary/Property marking	-.50	.43		.40
Discouraging burglary/Neighborhood watch	-.36		.40	.19
Discouraging burglary/Home security survey	-.35	.45	.48	.46

*Note.* The first three columns of numbers are standardized regression (beta) coefficients; those not "significant" at the .05 level, one-tailed, are dropped. R<sup>2</sup> is adjusted for degrees of freedom.

they differ, that is, view a particular distance differently (Woelfel and Fink 1980, pp. 180–190). This analysis does not involve measures of differences between groups' perceptions of particular distances.

Next, for each of the eight cases in which such a self-activity distance varies with attendance, active block, or linkage, we want to find pivotal referents to complete the “three-legged” pattern described earlier. This involves locating, in each of the eight instances, a significant self-referent distance and a referent-activity distance that correspond and complete the triangle. For the legs of the triangle to correspond, two distances must involve the same referent or the same activity, as the case may be. All three distances also must vary appreciably with the same channel.

Looking at the self-activity distances, for example, shows that for the you/block club distance only linkage figures appreciably as a channel of communication ( $p < .05$ ). The self-referent distances, the second group of figures in Table 8.2, show four possible referents—dissatisfaction with police, your neighborhood, solving problems, and discouraging burglary (each  $p < .05$ )—in the linkage column. But in the third set of figures, for referent-activity distances, only two of those four—dissatisfaction with police and solving problems—also relate appreciably to block club in the linkage column (each  $p < .05$ ). So only these two meet the criteria for pivotal referents.

Table 8.3 lists all the triangles that can be found in Table 8.2. The two triangles—involving block club, dissatisfaction with police and solving problems—appear in the right hand column. The triangles in this column represent combinations that promote decay because the distances become larger among residents who live on an active block or are highly linked to neighbors. The left column lists the triangles—those involving attendance at block club meetings—in which the distances decrease and, therefore, represent combinations that fight decay. Two triangles, marked by brackets, appear in both columns and, therefore, indicate conflicting roles between attendance, on the one hand, and residence on an active block and linkage, on the other.

The importance in each triangle lies in the distances from self to referent and from referent to activity, because these distances indicate the content of the argument that opposes or encourages decay in the distance between self and activity. The two triangles marked by the left bracket, involved in fighting decay, indicate basically that as attendance increases, residents associate discouraging burglary with themselves and, in turn, with property marking, as well as discouraging burglary with neighborhood watch. Certainly, block clubs tried to interest residents in burglary prevention. Organizers made the argument, especially at club meetings, that property marking and neighborhood watch would help discourage burglary.<sup>16</sup>

The corresponding triangles in the other bracket, involved in encouraging decay, also make sense. With the reaggregation by temporal period and statistical controls, the data indicate that when residents live on active blocks or are highly linked, they tend to dissociate themselves from discouraging burglary. This is consistent with speculation earlier in this chapter about some residents on active blocks discovering

TABLE 8.3. Summary of triangles of distances involved in decay.

Attendance	Active Block (A) Linkage (L)
You/Discouraging burglary/Property marking You/Discouraging burglary/Neighborhood watch	You/Discouraging burglary/Property marking (A) You/Discouraging burglary/Neighborhood watch (L)
You/Your neighborhood/Property marking	You/Discouraging burglary/Security survey (A)
You/Your neighborhood/Neighborhood watch	You/Discouraging burglary/Security survey (L)  You/Dissatisfaction with police/Property marking (A) You/Dissatisfaction with police/Security survey (A) You/Dissatisfaction with police/Block club (L) You/Dissatisfaction with police/Property marking (L) You/Dissatisfaction with police/Neighborhood watch (L) You/Dissatisfaction with police/Security survey (L)  You/Solving problems/Block club (L) You/Solving problems/Property marking (L) You/Solving problems/Neighborhood watch (L) You/Solving problems/Security survey (A) You/Solving problems/Security survey (L)

burglary to be a less important problem than previously thought. Compared with others, highly linked residents may have more competing demands on their interests and less time for burglary prevention.

As for discouraging burglary’s widening distance from property marking and neighborhood watch, residents living on active blocks would have heard neighbors question the permanency and, therefore, the deterrent value of property-marking. Compared with others, more highly linked residents may have heard more comments like “I haven’t heard of any burglaries. I think maybe this neighborhood watch thing is being overdone.” Comparatively, such a comment would lead these residents to think that burglary would remain low without neighborhood watch and, therefore, to see it as more distant from discouraging burglary.



Next on Table 8.3 come the triangles with referents appearing in one column but not the other. Besides discouraging burglary, your neighborhood is the only referent, at least according to the three-legged criteria, that helps to prevent decay. First, as attendance increases at block club meetings, the distances become shorter from self to neighborhood. This reflects organizers' efforts to bring residents to block club meetings, at least partly, to make them feel part of the neighborhood. At each meeting, someone also usually urged everyone to look around, see which neighbors were absent, and bring them to the next meeting.

Second, as residents attend block club meetings, the your neighborhood/property marking and your neighborhood/neighborhood watch distances also become shorter. At meetings, residents perceive that their neighbors participate in the Big Three or, at least that they support such participation. Organizers pushed these activities as much as possible without being overbearing; residents rarely said anything negative in reply. Several of those participating in burglary prevention also attended each meeting. One woman, for example, attended a meeting for the first time after the club had been meeting for about six months. Although little was said during the meeting about burglary prevention, she quickly agreed when an organizer approached her about it after the meeting concluded. The woman probably would not have responded in this way if she had thought the neighborhood did not support it.

In the right hand column, rationales similar to those for the first two triangles involved in promoting decay also describe how security survey becomes more distant from discouraging burglary among residents on active blocks and those with greater linkage.

The remaining triangles contain the referents dissatisfaction with police and solving problems. The program conveyed the message that police problems centered largely on manpower limitations and that the police were doing all that could reasonably be expected of them. The principle of entropy suggests that residents of active blocks would have described such perceptions to neighbors.<sup>17</sup> Highly linked residents would have received such sentiments from their neighbors.

Once residents realized that whatever dissatisfaction they had with police was misplaced, this would have reduced this consideration as a reason for participation. According to Table 8.3, this process would have promoted decay for property marking and security survey on blocks with active clubs and for all four activities among highly linked residents.

As for solving problems, these data were collected by a questionnaire basically on burglary prevention and neighborhood. Respondents, therefore, would have included neighborhood problems when judging distances involving problem solving. Residents of active blocks may have remembered that they had been told that a block club would enable them to solve problems, yet realized that results had been meager. Compared with those with fewer links, highly linked residents may have been more aware of problems that could have been defined and solved. Yet they also knew that they were not accomplishing this. Both groups, therefore, would tend to dissociate themselves from problem solving.

The cost of implementing a security survey helps to account for its dissociation from problem solving on blocks with active clubs. Such blocks would have tended to discuss the extent to which such measures created personal or financial problems in dealing with the burglary problem. This reflects Rogers' report that the adoption of an innovation depends heavily on its "relative advantage" (1971, pp. 138–145). The theory of entropy suggests that once such residents clarified the relative advantage, they would have shared their conclusions with neighbors.

Compared with those with fewer links, highly linked residents may have been more aware of whatever problems, if any, that could have been defined and solved. Yet they also would have known that their respective block club was basically not accomplishing this. None were. Since there was no appreciable evidence of burglary in the area, highly linked residents would not have seen property marking, neighborhood watch, or security survey as solving a problem.

## Conclusion

Some organizers seem to view decay as an evolutionary process with virtually unknowable, amorphous roots. This research finds that inaccurate. Attendance at block club meetings opposes decay. But in what may seem like a contradiction, living on a block with an active club, plus links to neighbors, tend to encourage it.

A closer look, however, dispels this contradiction. First, living on an active block indicates, basically, that residents heard the burglary prevention message from organizers. The data indicate that decay occurs on such blocks when residents conclude that dissatisfaction with police is unjustified, no appreciable problem solving is going on, or burglary prevention activities are not reducing burglary, which may be decreasing for what they believe are other reasons.

Second, organizers virtually pray that they will find those few highly linked residents who will actively encourage their neighbors to participate. Block clubs *fail*, in fact, for lack of people who fit this bill. These data, however, suggest that such residents may be less of a blessing in the long run than has been presumed. Highly linked residents may spread the word that the block club is getting under way, but they also disseminate information—such as that burglary no longer is a problem in the area, so the need for prevention has diminished—that can undermine the club's effort.

Particular pivotal referents shed more light on the decay process. On the side opposing decay, we have residents attending meetings and professing interest in neighborhood and burglary prevention. Yet even under these conditions, residents correspondingly associate themselves only with property marking and neighborhood watch.

In contrast, the pivotal referents dissatisfaction with police, solving problems, and discouraging burglary turn up among residents of blocks with block clubs and those with relatively extensive neighborhood links. A relatively low level of dissatisfaction with police figures in active-block residents dissociating themselves from property marking and security survey, as well as in highly linked residents

dissociating themselves from all four activities. Police, as mentioned earlier, discussed such dissatisfaction at block club meetings. Once residents realized that remedying the situation could raise their taxes, such dissatisfaction tended to dissipate. Residents also recognized that dissatisfaction with police was not the prominent reason for participation they might have thought.

Solving problems figures in active-block residents dissociating themselves from security survey, as well as in highly linked residents dissociating themselves from all four activities. Organizers had been telling residents, of course, that block clubs could deal with other neighborhood problems besides burglary. But on most blocks, residents probably realized eventually that little of any consequence was being accomplished.

Discouraging burglary figures in active-block residents dissociating themselves from property marking and security survey, as well as in highly linked residents dissociating themselves from neighborhood watch and security survey. As time progressed and burglary declined, residents simply did not hear about new burglaries. So they naturally were reluctant to battle a problem they no longer could be sure even existed.

Examining participation in burglary prevention activities, the effects of such participation, and decay brings us to the point of putting things into perspective.

## Notes

1. George A. Barnett is junior coauthor of this chapter.
2. More sophisticated burglars may have been operating in Hartford than in our program area. In our area, as described earlier, burglary was about the same on control blocks and those uninterested in burglary prevention, but lower on treatment blocks. In Hartford, on the other hand, residents continued informal social control but burglary increased anyway (Fowler and Mangione 1986, pp. 98–99).
3. While some organizers used both these concepts with some frequency, others used them hardly at all. They were least likely, therefore, to show up in residents' conversations pertaining to decay. The message-planning analysis occurred too late in this evaluation to be used in the program.
4. In our case, interviewers reported that quite a few people apparently were not at home on the day assigned to contact them. The area includes a large number of younger people who are often at school for long periods in a day or who work irregular hours. When an interviewer was unable to reach a household on the day assigned, he or she usually was able to make contact in a day or two by calling each day at different times. Such follow-up probably involved no appreciable harm for two reasons. First, interviewers had no way of knowing when residents would communicate among themselves on decay-related matters. Second, during any particular few days, the timing of a household's communications pertaining to decay would have been virtually random.

5. As noted earlier, one such club began on a control block. A couple of others began on streets running north-south through the area, while the program organized clubs only on streets running east-west.
6. Despite the emergence of a block club on a control block, the measure of "control" remains intact here. This club formed so late that no data used in this chapter were collected from that block during or after the club's formation.
7. While apparently somewhat few, these seven clubs reflect the realities of participation and decay. Also, only half the face blocks were scheduled to receive treatment, and several clubs were organized rather late during the data collection.
8. Several other distances correlated with active or control. But those correlations constituted no discernible pattern, had no apparent importance, and thus, are not presented here.
9. Data are not available for checking on whether this pattern of correlations would have existed at the time most blocks were organized. As mentioned earlier, the first RMDS sampled not each block as it came together around crime but the area as a whole during a particular two week period. Nevertheless, such correlations would be contrary to organizers' experience and our data on the overall effect of the project, as well as the behavioral validity of RMDS.
10. At the level of the face block, the 14 distances listed in Table 8.1 correlate no more frequently than would be expected by chance with the following averages: number of burglaries known, connectedness and integration on neighborhood happenings, as well as number of block club meetings attended.
11. Living on a block with a block club constitutes a structure in the sense that residents live there and interact in a patterned way.
12. Attendance at a block club meeting constitutes a channel in the sense that people sit in a meeting and listen to the discussion. As will become apparent, linkage involves a pattern of contacts with neighbors.
13. The data made more sense when aggregated in this way than in time periods basically of two days.
14. As in Chapters 4 and 5, these equations comprise hypotheses based on theory specifying linear relations at the level of analysis in use. The results, here, showed themselves adequate by the tests—involving scatterplots, residuals, etc.—used to evaluate the findings in Chapters 4 and 5. A footnote in Chapter 4 describes the results of those tests.
15. For the equations in Table 8.2, other multiple regressions, not reported here, indicate no additional role for the time at which data were collected from each particular temporal aggregate. More specifically, controlling for the other variables in each respective equation, such distances vary with this measure of time about as frequently as expected by chance alone, and no appreciable change occurs in the coefficients for those other variables.
16. Based in unidimensional data at a different, individual level of analysis, however, Chapter 5 indicates that neither effectiveness nor block club atten-

dance has any *direct* role in encouraging property marking. This study leaves it to future research to look at the relationship between these two findings at different levels of analysis.

17. For a similar phenomenon in another context, see Gillham, Bersani, Gillham, and Vesalo (1979).

## 9

# Conclusions

At one time, sociologists tell us, people interacted only with others in their primary group (Hunter 1974, pp. 15–16). Now, particularly in cities, many relationships have become secondary and specialized. Each person tends to interact with particular others on more limited topics for particular reasons. A problem like burglary usually prompts a secondary, specialized response—calling police, for example. Communities with multiple crime-related problems usually mount a multifaceted, goal-oriented response (Podolefsky and DuBow 1981, Chapters 3 and 5).

Unlike a couple of decades ago—in burglary prevention, at least—police and community organizations now encourage greater effort by citizens. The burglary prevention program in Dixon's Goodfields area reflects this change and is fairly typical of many such programs nationwide. Like many areas in this country, Goodfields consists predominantly of single-family homes and is urban, lower to middle income, and mostly white. Residents perceived crime to be higher in other parts of the city but were beginning to have a problem, which they did not want to become worse, with younger, more amateur, residential burglars.

The burglary prevention organizers in the Goodfields program worked to develop particular, specialized relations among neighbors so they would protect themselves and each other. Yet as in many similar programs, persuading residents to participate often proved difficult.

Six sets of data and several other kinds of observations have provided the basis for examining several questions involving participation in the Goodfields program and its effects. The typicalness of this program and its area lead to suspecting that these research findings may replicate elsewhere. But that, of course, is a matter for future research.

While such research would benefit from a sound theoretical framework, the issue of participation in burglary prevention has posed as much difficulty for scholars, in some ways, as for community organizers. Few, if any, theories have been developed to express carefully delineated premises and orient the work of

most researchers. Formulating such a theory is difficult because studies use different variables and statistical controls. Naturally, the theoretical basis of particular variables also differs somewhat among studies.

*Risk-efficacy-resources* theory constitutes a workable—though probably not perfect—synthesis of much current research.<sup>1</sup> According to this theory, people use cues from their environment to develop a perception of their risk of burglary. This can involve having been a burglary victim or knowing someone who has been victimized. People then assess the salience of such risk. Such considerations as home ownership, being black or being married can figure in these assessments. Home owners want to protect their investment. Blacks often have fought discrimination to secure what they have and do not want to lose it. Married persons want to protect their families. If these assessments indicate a sufficiently severe problem, people then assess the efficacy of available remedies. This is reflected in responses on how they perceive effectiveness of particular activities. Attending a crime prevention meeting can be part of this process because such meetings presumably convey information on efficacy.

Finally, people also assess their resources. Income, for example, determines the extent to which they can afford certain antiburglary devices. Social integration takes into account whether they can draw on neighbors for help. Experience in other voluntary organizations indicates whether they have the time and interpersonal skill to participate in activities involving cooperative effort. Research on participation in multiple-issue community and other voluntary organizations has turned up similar—though not identical—antecedents, particularly in terms of resources and salience of risk (cf. Greenberg, Rohe, and Williams 1985, p. 142).

Risk-efficacy-resources incorporates certain variables that can be reinterpreted as indicating communication. But the theory itself is heavily cognitive. All the phases occur mainly in residents' minds.

While risk-efficacy-resources appears to describe some very basic aspects of burglary prevention fairly well, it also has some limits. First, participation in burglary prevention involves more than assessing risk, efficacy, and resources. Some situations, for example, are ambiguous and do not allow a clear assessment of risk. Even if the risk is clear, the most appropriate remedy still may not be evident. For such reasons, people discuss burglary prevention with others, particularly neighbors. Second, risk-efficacy-resources theory is sometimes difficult to use for guidance in organizing. A community might complain if an organizer paid special attention to certain residents because they owned their own homes or because of their race, income, marital status or other elements spotlighted by risk-efficacy-resources as important for participation.

While risk-efficacy-resources theory focuses heavily on cognition but hardly on communication, this study has taken a different approach that encourages a detailed look at both. Consistent with risk-efficacy-resources theory, the ratio-level multidimensional scaling and its associated procedures indicate that discouraging burglary figures prominently in decisions to participate. The path models indicate modest support for risk-efficacy-resources, such as in the roles

of number of burglaries known and perceived risk of burglary. But these models also show a much more prominent role for communication than that theory would predict.

While attempting to incorporate the most important notions from previous research, this study develops its findings from communication, basically, because people think in terms of the information they get. This surely oversimplifies the situation, but not as greatly as would excluding explicit consideration of communication. Organizers are much less likely to be criticized for encouraging communication than for concentrating on such aspects as home ownership or race.

At the aggregate level, such communication, as Chapter 3 describes, figures heavily in world view, a general outlook on a particular matter, like burglary prevention. Other research has shown that world view, like many behaviors, vary directly with communication (Bersani et al. 1977; Gillham and Bersani 1976; Woelfel and Fink 1980; Woelfel et al. 1974, Table 4). People, obviously, are not born with a particular world view, and measuring all the communication responsible for a world view on burglary prevention would be impossible. Previous research, however, has shown that world views change according to information communicated by a variety of sources (Gillham 1983; Woelfel and Fink 1980).

As for the world view on burglary prevention itself, the ratio-level multidimensional scaling data indicate that while residents do not associate themselves particularly closely with their neighborhood, they still talk with their neighbors. Residents consider themselves already interested in burglary prevention; they are well aware of burglary prevention's association with each of the four activities promoted by the program. But residents see burglary prevention as an individual undertaking unless cooperation with neighbors is required.

In the program's experience, residents were not aware of the number of burglaries on their street until organizers told them. This indicates many residents believed they had been making an adequate effort to prevent burglaries, which undermined the rationale for participating in the program. Organizers, therefore, often found a rather reluctant market.<sup>2</sup>

Yet organizers encountered difficulties in coming up with a systematic rationale for participation that would be more persuasive than their intuitive "pitches." This research is the first to use the computerized planning method to search for such a rationale.

Experience with this method in other situations indicates that the message with the strongest potential effects—combining the concepts of taxpayer and discouraging burglary—would have been an improvement over arguments based solely on discouraging burglary. Although this improved message would have brought residents to associate themselves more closely with each of the four activities that the program tried to promote, about half of the initial separation would have remained for each activity.

So, with their intuitive approaches, organizers in the Goodfields area, as in much of the rest of the nation, met only limited success (cf. Greenberg et al. 1985, pp. 137–138; Titus 1984, p. 102). This was particularly true in their first contact with a particular household. The path models presented in Chapters 4 and 5 depict the



organizers' plight more clearly. None of the models consists of merely a path from contacts with an organizer to a particular burglary prevention activity. But all the models reveal a central role for contacts with neighbors.

As the models show, each activity generally relates more directly to aspects of this type of communication—such as modeling, defining, network attributes—than to structural variables common in previous research on burglary prevention. In the path models, structural variables usually turn up, instead, as antecedents of communication measures. Studies of status attainment commonly find that communication intervenes between structural position and behavior (Knotterus 1987). But this book apparently is the first to report such a finding on burglary prevention in a relatively homogeneous area with a typical program. As far as can be determined, this research also is the first to report a common sequence of communication in antecedents of block club attendance and each of the Big Three—from contact with organizers to network attributes to modeling to activity.

The processes, naturally, vary somewhat in how they lead to a particular activity. Compared with the Big Three, attending a block club meeting requires relatively little time, effort, or expense—about an hour and a half per session. Residents, therefore, have less need for discussing the matter with neighbors. Compared with the processes leading to neighborhood watch or security survey, the block club process involves somewhat fewer relations among variables.

The process leading to property marking, considered less effective than neighborhood watch or security survey in deterring burglary, does not involve burglary or perceived risk. But the process reflects the residents' uncertainty about participation and the inclination to discuss the matter with neighbors. Correspondingly, Laycock reports that in a property marking project in the United Kingdom, “. . . the incidence of the non-use of stickers appeared in small clusters—i.e. it seemed as though neighbors had discussed whether or not to place stickers in the window and had decided not to do so” (1985, p. 6).

In deciding on participation in neighborhood watch, deemed relatively effective in deterring burglary, residents take into account the number of burglaries. But the activity also rests heavily on arrangements with neighbors, part of network attributes.

Like those of other activities, the security survey process involves communication, but it is the only one in which fear of burglary plays a role. Security survey varies directly, in fact, with such fear, apparently because, compared with the other activities, it, by nature, represents a greater degree of running and hiding from burglars.

These findings, obviously, do not imply that residents will participate in any kind of burglary prevention merely because program staff communicate with them by the procedures discussed in this book. Principles of community organizing make that unlikely (Alinsky 1946; Kahn 1982). Unless people consider burglary a threat to their homes and areas, and the potential remedy at least somewhat sensible, they usually will refuse to participate regardless of how many times or from whom they receive information about the problem and potential remedy (but see Podolefsky and DuBow 1981, pp. 106–108).

Communication's key role in all four processes enhances the importance of examining residents' contacts with particular neighbors rather than others. This volume is the first to look at the antecedents of those contacts in terms of the role of dyads in burglary prevention.

In the contacts of a dyad—a pair of neighbors—on a particular activity, the two most important elements are the proximity of their houses and the extents to which the two households see their neighbors participating in the activity. Less conclusively, evidence suggests that links on the Big Three may follow those on neighborhood happenings. Other comparisons reveal that with appropriate leadership and handling of issues, contacts develop into clusters. These clusters, in turn, eventually may link, a desirable outcome in organizing block clubs for a burglary prevention program.

Such clubs coordinate and encourage particular antiburglary activities, like home security surveys. These surveys prompt improvements that tend to discourage amateur burglars—the primary concern of the program in the Goodfields area and of many similar programs elsewhere. By implementing these two core elements of burglary prevention to an adequate degree, blocks show a reduction in thefts, compared with other blocks interspersed in the same area.

This finding complements the evaluations of the Hartford and Chicago programs by indicating that an effective unit for such programs may be as small as a face block, as well as a city area or neighborhood. Correspondingly, Brown and Altman (1981, p. 66), and particularly Taylor and Gottfredson (1986, p. 395), have noted that burglars' decisions on likely targets frequently are made, in part, at the block level.

These Goodfields results are consistent with the evaluation of a neighborhood watch program in London, England, that failed to reduce burglaries or other offenses (Bennett 1988). That effort, apparently, did not involve repeated meetings that could be considered equivalent to those of the Goodfields block clubs. In each of the two experimental areas, fewer than 6% of respondents said that their households had participated in security survey (Bennett 1988, Table 2).

Previous research has split on the extent to which carelessness with security contributes to a household's becoming a burglary victim. While neither Waller and Okihiro (1978, Table 5.5) nor Winchester and Jackson (1982, pp. 19–20) found that carelessness plays such a role, Pope (1977, p. 45), Scarr (1973, p. 107), and Repetto (1974, Tables 4.8, 4.13, 4.17) present data suggesting that it does (cf. Mayhew 1984, pp. 35–36, 41; Waller and Okihiro 1978, Table 5.6). The importance of block clubs in Goodfields supports the argument for such a role and extends it by suggesting that such clubs can help to remedy that problem—at least when the threat is from relatively amateur offenders.

The Kirkholt prevention program in England also reduced burglary after implementing property marking, neighborhood watch, and improvements in security (Forrester, Chatterton, and Pease 1988). Compared with Goodfields, Kirkholt apparently put less emphasis on non-crime-related activities in maintaining participation. But the project's operators may have had more crime to handle—which would have encouraged participation in those circumstances—and they certainly

did a far better job of using victims to stimulate participation by neighbors (Forrester et al. 1988, pp. 2, 17). After obtaining the victim's consent, crime prevention workers approached the victim's neighbors and urged them to collaborate in a "cocoon" neighborhood watch. Most neighbors agreed, and participation apparently expanded to include other residents, as well.

A program in South Wales showed a reduction in burglary by using only property marking, implementing it much differently than is usually done in the United States (Laycock 1985). The police made a far greater effort to persuade residents of effectiveness of the technique (cf. Laycock 1985, pp. 3–4). The Chief Constable sent a letter to all residents, telling them that the program was about to begin. The Chief Constable and Home Office officials also held a news conference. Local television cooperated. The police then visited houses one by one, explaining the program's benefits and offering to mark the household's valuables. One week after the initial visit, police revisited the households to record which valuables had been marked, offer help and to check on the placement of the sticker to announce to potential intruders that property had been marked. After three months, the Chief Constable sent residents another letter. Six months after the program began, police revisited participants to check on whether the sticker still was on display and to offer more stickers where needed. Roughly 72% of households cooperated—a very high rate—in an area where burglars apparently live (Laycock 1985, pp. 6, 12).

The South Wales and Goodfields results seem consistent in that both involved a perception of residents' vigilance. In South Wales, this was promoted by media and periodic contacts with police. In the Goodfields area, it was encouraged by block clubs coupled with security surveys, at least some of which were implemented. In both instances, communication persuaded residents to take action that potential burglars found dissuasive.

The data from the Goodfields area represent the first collected directly from residents whose world view on burglary prevention is decaying. Decay constitutes a complex phenomenon. Attending block club meetings, these data indicate, helps to maintain interest in burglary prevention. Yet, on some blocks, residents come to perceive the clubs and the Big Three as failing to live up to expectations and communicate this disillusionment to neighbors. Under these conditions, living on a block with an active club and talking with neighbors about neighborhood happenings encourage decay. These data indicate, moreover, that residents dissociate themselves from burglary prevention activities by the reverse of the same mechanism that in the computerized planning method would be used to encourage a variety of behaviors.

As discussed earlier, routine activities theory indicates that burglaries and other crimes are more likely to occur when motivated offenders and suitable targets come together in the absence of capable guardians (Cohen and Felson 1979). Cohen and Felson mention that "potential victims organize their resistance to . . . violations" but provide few details on the nature of that organizing (1979, p. 590). This book advances that premise by showing that, in encouraging such organized efforts, some messages are more effective than others and that guardians heed messages received through their network of contacts with organizers and especially neigh-

bors. Chapter 6 shows that these contacts have structure that appears to change in a describable way as contacts increase. Chapter 8 concurs with Cohen and associates that crime prevention activity may well fade unless it is part of a larger routine (1981, p. 510). This is significant because Chapter 8 proceeds from much different underlying theory and data.

## Overall Approach

Several premises underly this study's approach to understanding participation in block clubs and the three widely used antiburglary activities. Some are assumptions or methodological principles; some are propositions from research unrelated to burglary prevention.

Behavior is critically important as a dependent variable and as a point of comparison for other kinds of measures. Focusing on behavior also enhances the potential utility of the findings.

Several studies indicate that measures of behavior vary relatively strongly with a number of different measures of defining and modeling (Bersani et al. 1977; Gillham and Bersani 1976; Woelfel et al. 1974).<sup>3</sup> Defining and modeling, naturally, always are considered with other potential antecedents drawn from research on the behavior under investigation. When measuring defining and modeling, a researcher usually tries, for each, to include all—or, at least, as many as possible—of the sources for each to which a person may be exposed on a particular behavior.

Examinations of defining and modeling usually look, as well, at their antecedents, which, of course, depend on the topic of the research. A study of academic performance, for example, includes mental ability and socioeconomic level as antecedents of defining (Woelfel and Haller 1971a). In a study of school counselors and juvenile court personnel, Gillham and Bersani focus on physical closeness in the relative importance of various communication sources (1976).

Since behavior tends to relate weakly with many—though not all—unidimensional attitudes (Podolefsky and DuBow 1981, pp. 106–108; Wicker 1969), the approach underlying this study devotes considerable attention, instead, to world view. In line with previous research, the findings support a strong relation between the prevalence of particular behaviors and distances of the subject's self-concept from corresponding concepts in world view.

Several studies indicate that in world view, concepts converge according to verbal messages devised by the planning method described in Chapter 3 (Gillham 1983; Woelfel and Fink 1980). This method assumes that the more frequently an aggregate sees or hears one concept linked to a referent concept, the closer that concept will move toward the referent. This is particularly the case when the aggregate is more familiar with the referent than with the other concept. When such perceptions or statements link the first concept to two or more referents, it will move to a mathematically average position among them. Conversely, concepts move apart through a reversal of this mechanism, as indicated by the decay in

interest in burglary prevention. Unlike defining and modeling, no studies, as far as can be determined, have yet examined possible antecedents of influences on world view.

Besides examining behavior in terms of defining, modeling and world view, this study has added network attributes to the list. More specifically, Rogers and Kincaid argue that individuals change their behavior according to their connectedness and integration in networks (1981, pp. 225–226). Overlap was added to these network attributes because of the nature of communication in burglary prevention. Measuring these network attributes requires a fairly clear understanding of whether communicators oppose or favor the particular activity. When communication opposes a particular behavior, adopting the behavior, according to Rogers and Kincaid, varies *inversely* with connectedness (1981, p. 229). Gillham et al. report a similar phenomenon (1979). Experience in the Goodfields program area indicates that supporters of burglary prevention make their views known in various ways. Opponents, on the other hand, usually say nothing.

Finally, earlier work based on the approach underlying this book has employed the highest level of measurement deemed appropriate: ratio level rather than interval, interval rather than ordinal, and so on. More recently, Woelfel and Fink have argued that the precision and relative informativeness of ratio-level measurement make it particularly desirable (1980).

But these findings do not stop with theory. They hold a variety of implications for burglary prevention in practice.

## Notes

1. Titus (1984, pp. 103–104), as well as Greenberg et al. (1985, Chapter 9), summarize such recurring variables.
2. In retrospect, organizers probably should have done a better job of pointing out flaws and gaps in the measures households refusing to participate claimed to have taken. Done diplomatically, this might have facilitated the premise that program activities would advance the household's interest in burglary prevention.
3. This conclusion may not apply to attendance at a methadone clinic (McIlwain 1978).

# 10

## Burglary Prevention: Suggestions to Programs

This book has described a basic burglary prevention program, consisting of encouraging residents of the target area to attend block club meetings and participate in one or more of the Big Three activities. It also has covered combating the falloff, or decay, in interest that frequently, if not always, afflicts such programs. This chapter looks at approaches, based on the findings from this research, to help encourage those four activities and minimize decay. Some of these approaches already are well-known among burglary prevention practitioners, but are discussed for the sake of completeness. As mentioned earlier, some programs, of course, may find some approaches inappropriate or may need to modify them to meet local circumstances. In any case, programs should seek advice from local police, social welfare experts, attorneys and others before making decisions.

To begin with, someone must decide where a burglary prevention program should be undertaken. According to the experience of Goodfields and, particularly, the Seattle program, such programs tend to operate more successfully in particular kinds of areas:<sup>1</sup>

- Where the number of burglaries, over a long enough period of time, is high enough for residents to consider burglary worth fighting. This kind of program deters the “relatively amateur, local burglar who capitalizes on, rather than creates, criminal opportunity” (Ciril et al. 1977, p. 35).
- Where police can provide certain kinds of information. The experience in the Goodfields program indicates residents pay particular attention to the number of burglaries in their area. Figures from a victimization survey are rarely available for a particular program area, but police can make available the number of burglaries reported to them. Many burglary prevention practitioners would be skeptical of the value of simply telling residents that burglaries are “a problem” in their area, unless, perhaps, so many are occurring that the residents are likely to discover the number by themselves.

Police also can provide information on the burglars' typical methods of entering residential structures, which organizers find useful in talking with residents.

- Where most residents have moderate incomes and generally cannot afford household alarms connected to monitoring services or other private security services.
- Where—for neighborhood watch, rather than property marking or security survey—residents, in fact, can keep an eye on each other's homes. This argues against trying to establish a neighborhood watch program where houses are set far apart, as in rural areas, or are otherwise isolated, as with shrubs or high, opaque fences. Even when houses are lined up on an urban block, residents, except in unusual circumstances, cannot see the rears of adjacent homes from their own windows. So unless a neighbor hears breaking glass—or another neighbor across the back yard sees what's happening—neighborhood watch probably is relatively ineffective in preventing break-ins through rear doors or basement windows.
- Where economic circumstances encourage interest in preventing burglaries. Home owners, for example, tend to be more interested than renters in security surveys because they lead to permanent improvements in the dwelling. Renters hesitate to make investments that are not portable.
- Where neighbors already talk with each other (Ciril et al. 1977, p. 36). Such communication would be difficult if, for example, neighbors prey on each other—as by stealing—or the neighborhood turnover is so great that residents feel uncomfortable talking with and trusting each other.
- Where conditions have not reached the point where residents have lost hope. This is a diffuse consideration, but very real. To be interested enough in burglary prevention to take action, residents must be open to persuasion that their situation can be maintained or improved and their efforts can have an effect. No definitive list of such conditions is available, but an organizer in Dixon argues that such hope stems at least partly from a personal sense of control. Her experience suggests that if people feel they cannot control their children or other elements of their households, they will not try to control their neighborhoods, either. Wandersman, Jakubs, and Giamartino suggest that a sense of control encourages residents to know about a block organization (1981).

Besides selecting an appropriate area for a burglary prevention program, organizers need to formulate goals for participation. As mentioned earlier, the Goodfields program found reduction in burglary only on those blocks with a club in operation and participation in security survey of 11% or more at the end of the program. Block clubs, as described earlier, help to retain residents' interest in burglary prevention, while security surveys prompt measures to remove opportunities for burglaries.

Despite these results, other programs may want to impose other criteria. So for completeness, this chapter discusses encouraging all four burglary prevention

activities on which this book has focused. As is implicit earlier, telling residents the number of burglaries, by itself, rarely stimulates appreciable participation in particular activities. Additional efforts usually are needed.

## Encouraging Attendance

After setting goals for participation, the next part of the process involves persuading residents to attend a burglary prevention meeting. For the organizer, this is a two-part problem: (1) what to say to residents and (2) the kind of communication process to use as a vehicle. On what to say, a Michigan organizer emphasizes demonstrating commitment to the resident, particularly the elderly, and then appealing to guilt.

You have to be a friend of the person to the extent that they feel a little bit guilty if they don't do what you want them to do because you are their friend. . . . You're not going to do one thing for me unless you really feel you should. There has to be that element there or people won't do anything for you. On my block, for example, I would just say to the block club, "hey, get these people here because if we don't all come, the police will think that they don't need to come here any more, that we are not interested, and I don't want the police to think that we are not interested." So then I would get everyone there. But then it became "hey, Rita has worked so hard and she's done so much, we don't want to disappoint her and make her look dumb, we don't want to make her look bad." So they would come just to make me look good and that's the kind of thing you've got to do to get people out. (JG/1, p. 19).

While the evaluation of the Goodfields program did not cover this approach, it did look at several other possibilities. First, burglary prevention programs sponsored by community-action organizations may be tempted to organize on the basis of dissatisfaction with police. But this approach is probably unwise, for two reasons, in most circumstances. First, as Chapter 3 indicates and this chapter will discuss further, better messages are available. Second, basing an approach on such dissatisfaction easily could delay, or perhaps harm efforts in the long run. In our program, for example, some residents openly expressed such dissatisfaction. But it dissipated after police explained the limits of their efforts. Residents then tended to distance themselves from such dissatisfaction and, in turn, such dissatisfaction from burglary prevention activities. Organizers, therefore, might consider using dissatisfaction with police as an issue only if (1) residents are likely to remain dissatisfied after the police have had their say and (2) the reasons for such dissatisfaction—such as an unusual lack of success in arresting burglars—can be shown to encourage burglary. This, correspondingly, would help to keep the residents' notion of self close to dissatisfaction and, in turn, dissatisfaction close to particular burglary prevention activities. Police, obviously, would want to give residents no such reasons for dissatisfaction.

Second, the Goodfields data indicate that, overall, the best approach involves describing how taxpayers discourage burglary by each of the four activities.



Fleshing out the notion of taxpayers should include reminding residents that, as is usually the case, their tax dollars are paying for the program being offered; so residents might as well take advantage of it. Mentioning other area taxpayers who participate in burglary prevention—especially opinion leaders, to whom residents look for information and advice—also might be helpful. This could include providing names or addresses, if those neighbors approve, and the number, if large enough, of such taxpayers who are participating.

Organizers can explicate discouraging burglary, obviously, by describing how particular activities accomplish that objective. While block club meetings are not intended to discourage burglary directly, they organize opposition to it. Organizers use block club meetings to describe how burglars seek out and use opportunities to their advantage, as well as to alert residents to recent burglaries in the neighborhood. Such meetings are also used, in some programs, to discuss how the Big Three supplement each other and to encourage participation.

The message-planning method, however, can help organizers go beyond the taxpayer-discouraging burglary approach. The roots of this method also offer a way to clarify what is happening when residents cannot be persuaded to participate. The Goodfields organizers usually could not specify the reasons for such failures and, therefore, could not analyze their mistakes. This is probably a common problem in many parts of the country.

As the method suggests, making messages more effective involves (1) finding an appropriate referent, some concept that the residents associate as closely as possible to their concept of self; (2) showing that the particular burglary prevention activity is closer to that referent than residents had realized.

Some residents may lack interest in the rationale linking taxpayer and discouraging burglary. In these cases, organizers might consider two possibilities. First, these residents' notion of self may be widely separated from the concepts taxpayer and discouraging burglary, indicating they apparently don't care about paying taxes or discouraging burglary.<sup>2</sup> Organizers, therefore, might try to find out what the residents do care about. Besides asking this question outright, organizers can inquire how the residents spend their time. They then can argue that particular burglary prevention activities are naturally part of what the residents do anyway or that such activities will enhance those other interests. If, for example, residents say they are too busy taking care of children to attend a block club meeting, the organizer might discuss how burglary prevention protects children, then look for baby-sitting arrangements. Incidentally, some residents may claim they do not need the program because they have already taken other burglary prevention measures. An organizer might respond by analyzing the gaps left by those measures and recommend accordingly.

Second, the residents already may closely associate the concepts, so the organizer's efforts to link them would have little impact. In other words, the concepts already may lie near each other, allowing little opportunity for change. Residents, for example, might associate block clubs with discouraging burglary. But that might not provide a strong enough motive—take block clubs close enough to self—for

these residents to participate. In such cases, the organizer should look for some referent other than discouraging burglary that residents see closer to themselves and has a closer relation to block clubs than they realize.

This may reveal strategies that work better than common sense would indicate. The taxpayer approach, in fact, developed from this procedure. As far as can be determined, this approach—as distinguished from those using the notion of “your neighborhood”—rarely has been used in burglary prevention. While this study was being planned, a respected colleague said that he believed the taxpayer message would fail because it was so uncommon. For that reason, in fact, it is more likely to succeed—if people think of themselves as taxpayers yet generally remain unaware of its relation to burglary prevention until program organizers help them see the connection.

The search for new and better messages must be continuous. This is particularly important if residents are contacted more than once, as in a block club, or if residents spread the message faster than the organizer. Even successful messages have room for improvement. According to the message-planning computations described in Chapter 3, the taxpayer-discouraging burglary approach would reduce the distances between the residents’ notions of self and each of the activities by only about half.

Obviously, by the way, a message never should be used blindly, even initially, but rather with some thought. As one organizer speculated, for example, the “taxpayer discourages burglary by. . .” message would be ineffective among renters in a low-income area because they do not pay property taxes directly and, thus, she believed, would not be as likely as higher-income groups to think of themselves as taxpayers.

In addition to devising an appropriate message, organizers must decide how to convey it to residents. Part of this consists of planning their work to involve multiple contacts with residents, shown in Chapter 4 to have considerable importance. The same Michigan organizer notes that she creates these contacts somewhat differently in middle-class areas than in lower-class ones:

I come from a middle-class, professional neighborhood. They put things on their calendars but sometimes they forget to read the calendar or they get involved with kids and schools. So they may not do it or if they don’t feel involved with the community, they might not come. So what I did was I invited them two weeks ahead of time. Then I called them a week ahead of time. The night before, I got on the telephone and I called and said “Gee, I ’m sorry to bother you again, but I forgot to find out how many were coming because I need to know for the coffee count because I don’t know how much coffee to make.” That gave me my last-chance pitch to talk with each person. When they said, “Oh, I don’t think I’m coming,” I said, “What do you mean you don’t think you’re coming? Don’t you think you could make it for awhile? It’s only going to take an hour. I’d really like you to come. I don’t want to be embarrassed when the police come.” That’s where the guilt comes in—you make them feel responsible to you—and they say, “Well, I guess I could make it for an hour.” Well, I got a sign up in their house. That is what I wanted.

We have organizers in another neighborhood where people don’t mark things down on calendars. They don’t live on a two-week basis. They live on an hour-to-hour,

day-to-day basis. Then what you have to do is let them know a week ahead of time that you are going to have a meeting and then you call them or if they don't have a phone, you knock on the door and say, "You are coming tomorrow night, aren't you?" The night of the meeting, I tell my organizers to get there an hour and a half early and to go door-knocking. I tell them to pull people out of the house and say, "Hey, John, get your coat. It's time for the meeting." This would not work in a middle-class neighborhood. (JG/1, pp. 39–40, 42–43)

Another Michigan organizer insists that at least half the block attend the first meeting for her to continue her organizing efforts there. Besides illustrating the dictum that "what you expect from people is what you get," this ingeniously combines the use of network attributes and modeling. As this organizer's supervisor explains:

We had a case in one of the neighborhoods where the worker was going to have a watch meeting, and only three people showed up. So she decided that would be a pre-planning meeting. She told each of them that she simply couldn't give stickers for this kind of meeting and that proceeding with crime prevention was going to require them to get their neighbors out. So she said, "I want each of you to go out and get somebody" and she didn't leave much time. That's one of the critical things we are finding, especially in inner cities. And so, within two or three days they were to do whatever it took—picking people up in cars if necessary—to return with two or three neighbors. By the time she finished, she got most of the families on the street. (JG/1, p. 23)

As a block club continues to meet, organizers often have difficulty persuading more than one person in a household to attend. Chapter 4 indicates that such attendance is partly a response to defining within that household. To counter this trend, a club can encourage such defining. Members, for example, can be asked to consult with their households before the club undertakes major projects. The attending member could report their opinions at the next meeting, then report on the club's discussion or action to the people at home. Eventually, the others in the household might also attend meetings.

For more than one club, attendance consists mostly of older women but few of their spouses. One club handled this problem by making one of the few men who did attend its vice president. Then he talked some other men in the neighborhood into attending. One person suggested that in states where it's legal, a football or other sport betting pool might draw men in the neighborhood to block club meetings. Another club sells raffle tickets on its block: half the proceeds go to the club, and the rest to the winning ticket holder.

## Encouraging the Big Three

As with block club attendance, promoting the Big Three is a matter of determining what to say, then structuring communication among residents. As mentioned earlier, the basic message—"taxpayers discourage burglary by. . ."—applies in these efforts in areas like Goodfields, as well.

Although security survey shows a statistically appreciable relation with fear of burglary, a fear-based approach offers little promise for organizing. First, the results of the planning method discourage it. Second, none of the other three activities shows a parallel relation with fear. To some extent, therefore, a fear-based argument would be wasted.

Third, preliminary research suggests that if such fears are so unstable that organizers can increase them with little effort, someone else probably can decrease them just as easily (Gillham 1983). Again, the argument would have been wasted.

Fourth, and much more importantly, if organizers do manage to arouse a relatively permanent fear of burglary, doing so might fracture communication and lead residents to distrust each other (cf. Conklin 1975, pp. 85–91). That would be undesirable.

Besides tailoring the message and working for frequent contacts, organizers probably will be more effective if they also try to structure neighbors' communication with each other. This includes strengthening network attributes and modeling, which play a relatively strong role in residents' participation in the Big Three.

First, organizers can strengthen network attributes by directing residents how, most effectively, to persuade neighbors to participate in the activities. The message-planning aspect of this process already has been described. Second, organizers can set up situations in which residents tell each other that "everybody has to participate." This would include, for example, offering to provide street signs that the block participates in burglary prevention if at least a minimum proportion of residents gets involved. Organizers also can stress the importance of "no weak links" for the block.

A third way to encourage network attributes involves bringing residents together to plan how to participate in a particular activity. A block club, for example, might make a checklist of the kinds of valuables to be marked or aspects of household security to be surveyed. The organizer could explain this by telling the club, "All areas are a little different. While such differences are usually ignored or seen as trivial, we want to be sure our list is right for this club." An organizer could obtain such a list from the police department or other legitimate source, then go over it with the club and reach a consensus on modifications. This combines the expertise of the organizer and residents in forming a list that probably would vary somewhat, in minor ways, from lists of other clubs. But by handling the group with moderate skill, the organizer could avert negligence in the process.

To an organizer who expects residents to participate in the Big Three only because of the threat of burglary, developing checklists may seem a pointless exercise. But as has been demonstrated, participation—particularly in property marking—rests heavily on communication. Through group discussions, residents talk about the activity with more persons than they would otherwise and presumably encourage each other, as well.

A fourth approach to encouraging network attributes lies in developing clusters, each with roughly four, or five, or occasionally more houses that interact more often

with each other than with other neighbors on whatever is going on in the neighborhood. This takes advantage of the effects of distance among houses to form links for encouraging burglary prevention and fighting decay.

Spatially, a cluster might envelop one or more non-participating houses, which probably should not be forced to join. Setting up clusters would be less a matter of consciously drawing lines than of looking at who interacts with whom. Cluster boundaries would not be so firm as, intentionally, to exclude adjacent households. Some households might choose to be part of two adjoining clusters. A cluster might form among neighbors who have had relatively little contact but come together for burglary prevention reasons. Much more commonly, perhaps, neighbors who already have contacts with each other might form a cluster simply by adding burglary prevention to the topics they discuss.

Establishing clusters need not be difficult. An organizer basically must look for neighbors who will show a modicum of friendliness and stop and talk to each other once in a while. The arrangement could be sold to residents by calling it a necessary part of the burglary prevention program and saying it will make the neighborhood a friendlier place to live.

Besides encouraging friendliness, clusters have several, more direct uses for encouraging burglary prevention:

(1) An elderly woman, living alone, for example, might be willing to buy better locks but cannot afford to pay full price to have them installed. Some organizers might argue that finding someone to install the locks would be more *efficient*. But in the long run, using the opportunity to renew the burglary prevention network among neighbors would probably be more *effective*. The organizer, in that case, would encourage several block club members—particularly those living in the nearest cluster—to discuss the matter and to find someone to help her.

(2) The club at a meeting could agree that for greater safety, a minimum number of neighbors should watch each house in the club's area. The organizer then can check, privately, with each household in the club and put those that have not arranged for the minimum number of watchers in contact with the appropriate cluster. As word of the practice spreads, other neighbors would probably be encouraged to attend the block club meeting. They then can be added to the appropriate cluster. New clusters would probably result, as well.

(3) A particular household may refuse to participate in burglary prevention, even though neighbors on both sides do. The organizer can urge neighbors to look out for the recalcitrant household, despite lack of reciprocity, and to talk with the household occupants about goings on in the neighborhood or whatever they have in common. The cluster may be able to help with such an arrangement. If burglaries remain a problem and the household has no other defense, knowing that neighbors are watching may lead the household to reciprocate eventually and become more active in other ways.

(4) Members of a household in a cluster may be going away for a prolonged time—or even for only a weekend soon after a burglary nearby. Household members might want as many neighbors as possible to keep an eye on their house, but may not know people up and down the rest of the block. Others in the cluster,

however, might and could solicit help in keeping an eye on that particular house. This also would be particularly appealing if members of the cluster are away from home much of the day. Such an arrangement would require a large degree of trust among neighbors and, therefore, might be more appropriate for a more mature block club.

Once clusters have been established on a block, bringing them into contact at meetings or other joint activities can enhance network attributes overall. Except in unusual circumstances, however, expecting residents to have much contact with neighbors at the other end of a block is probably not realistic.<sup>3</sup> While a desirable goal, such contacts probably evolve only in the long run in most areas.

Like network attributes, modeling, despite its effectiveness, seldom has been used systematically in burglary prevention. After making sure that a club includes no burglars or their contacts, organizers can use modeling in several ways. Appointments for property marking and security survey, for example, can be made as openly as possible. Then, when feasible, the activities themselves can be carried out in a way that allows neighbors to see what is going on.

Organizers, likewise, can encourage neighborhood watch participants to ask each other about anything they notice—like unusual noises or strange vehicles—that may seem suspicious. This can reassure a neighbor that others actually have been vigilant and encourage him or her to reciprocate.

Neighborhood watch participants also can be encouraged to find out who else is keeping an eye on the same ones. Sharing information with these people—so long as the conversation does not turn gossipy or malicious—then not only exemplifies such vigilance, but also develops clearer indications of when something might be wrong.

To demonstrate participation in security survey, an organizer—again, after making sure a club includes no burglars or their contacts—can take members on a tour of a well-secured home. For the example to have the strongest impact, the household should be liked and respected (Schwitzgebel and Kolb 1974, p. 140). While the organizer should also select a household that requires very little persuasion, he or she could reassure it by saying that if a break-in occurs later, everyone will know who was there and by asking a police officer to be present, as well.

Specifically, the organizer, or police officer, should lead the group around the outside of the house, looking for ways to break in. The leader should make sure that the group pays particular attention to methods employed in any recent burglaries in the area. The exercise even might incorporate the “four-minute rule”: burglars tend to avoid residences that will require more than four minutes to enter. It also should take into account time of day, and the likely watchfulness of neighbors. Besides showing residents the difficulty of breaking into a secured house, such a tour might turn up some weaknesses that the household could remedy.

## Combatting Decay

As a burglary prevention program gets under way, residents become more conscientious about taking particular precautions, and burglaries decline. This can lead

to a decline in vigilance. Residents may begin leaving doors unlocked once more, or not finish implementing recommendations from a security survey. Once burglars become aware of this, the number of burglaries can rise again.

According to a common conception, no club can or wants to spend all its time on burglary prevention; it has to engage in other activities as well. If burglary becomes a problem once more, the club can renew its efforts.

But a somewhat different approach can help a club prevent its block from being victimized by a new rash of burglaries. This involves selecting other activities that can indirectly or occasionally encourage continued vigilance against burglary.

As argued in Chapter 8, generally speaking, decay increases as particular referents become more distant from self and activity; it decreases as particular referents become less distant. Certainly, as was implicit earlier, police would be expected to do whatever they can to allay residents' dissatisfaction. If they do not, remedies are beyond the scope of this book. This leaves basically three referents with which to work: discouraging burglary, your neighborhood, and solving problems. To curtail decay, therefore, a program, at least, should keep discouraging burglary and solving problems from moving away from the concepts of self and activities. Ideally, it should strive to bring both these referents, plus your neighborhood, closer to self and the activities to prevent burglary. This implies, in turn, that programs need a particular mix of activities that will lead residents to associate these referent concepts with themselves, block clubs and the Big Three.

Naturally, the scope of many programs—certainly those limited to the Big Three—is probably too limited to have lasting effects. In a review of such programs nationwide, Garofalo and McLeod report the percentage of groups engaged in any of 10 activities directed beyond crime prevention (1987, Table 10). Examples include victim-witness assistance, court monitoring, and improving the physical environment—such as by working against graffiti or abandoned vehicles. None of the 10 activities were found in more than 39% percent of the groups; seven were found in fewer than 4%.

Efforts in Grand Rapids, Michigan, however, exemplify selecting activities to maintain interest in burglary prevention. Although data on decay are not available for the Grand Rapids program, it is similar in some ways to others and consistent with what the findings on referent concepts indicate needs to be done.

Table 10.1 diagrams the program's three levels as conceptualized by Karen Larsen, its coordinator. It reads from bottom to top, because the activities proceed in that order.

Virtually all the additional activities—those that follow the Big Three—have been used in programs elsewhere. Other programs, however, generally offer them merely as options (see, e.g., Lavrakas 1980, p. 152). Organizers, admittedly, may have a difficult time finding effective rationales to encourage participation in these other activities. If residents choose not to participate—as, apparently, often happens—the block club probably will do nothing and die.

Grand Rapids, on the other hand, actively encourages participation in these activities. As a rationale, the program portrays them as part of a caring neighborhood. "What we really do is take care of each other," a block club member

TABLE 10.1. Burglary prevention in Grand Rapids, MI.

Categories of Activities	Burglary Preventive Activities		
Maintenance of program	Victim follow-up Meeting with police officer Bicycle licensing Bike-a-thon	Court monitoring Block captain meeting Rewards program	Social events Cardio-pulmonary resuscitation Neighborhood issues
Improve crime reporting and response	Telephone chain	Child watch	Crime log
Reduce crime opportunities survey	Property marking	Block watch	Home security

*Note.* Adapted from *Crime prevention: Principles and practices*, by Karen Larsen, 1983, p. 52.

explained. As Grand Rapids’ organizers add each activity, they depict previous activities and the new ones as instances of caring. This creates a referent for persuading recalcitrant residents to participate in a particular activity. A household, for example, may object to having its burglary recorded in the club’s crime log. The log keeper then can discuss some ways that neighbors could help if the victimized household reports the incident for the log. In keeping with the victim’s rights to privacy, of course, such help must be discrete.

Block clubs, therefore, probably will be able to combat decay more effectively by encouraging members—most easily in clusters, probably—to take care of each other. A household, presumably, would have more frequent contact with its cluster than with other houses on the block. Other members of the cluster also would be physically closest, probably, if a household needs help.

Some of the activities in the Grand Rapids program, of course, could pertain to more than one of the three referents—discouraging burglary, your neighborhood, and solving problems—that the Goodfields research indicates would be effective in helping to prevent decay in burglary prevention. Those findings, as noted in Chapter 8, include a number of exceptions to the overall pattern. No suggestions, however, readily present themselves for modifying an established program, like Grand Rapids’, to take these exceptions into account. More research and experience probably would refine such ongoing programs.

Of the decay-combating activities incorporated in the Grand Rapids effort, meetings with police, victim follow-up, court monitoring, telephone chain and the crime log would help the referent *discouraging burglary* remain close to self as well as activities. Meetings with police officers, for example, can make residents aware of particular patterns of burglary, thereby encouraging participation in prevention activities.

Victim follow-up and court monitoring should be undertaken in cooperation with victim-witness assistance programs and others specializing in such functions



(cf. Finn 1986). In many places, burglary prevention programs would seem to be able to provide a large number of volunteers for such efforts. If crime is relatively rare in an area, opportunities to aid victims may be limited. But the effort still would remind those providing such aid of the value of preventing crime in the first place. Monitoring courts might contribute to the belief that offenders are treated too leniently. But it also could lead the monitors—and the club to whom they may relate their experiences—to consider the Big Three activities of more value in discouraging crime than postponed hearings, plea-bargained sentences, and other elements of the criminal justice system.

To minimize decay in burglary prevention, by the way, those involved in victim follow-up or court monitoring also should be active in the club. Autonomous programs—involving participants who don't report back to clubs—probably would be less helpful against decay.

In a telephone chain, each household is assigned to call particular neighbors when necessary, relieving club officers of doing all the calling themselves. It also allows all residents on a block to be contacted quickly. Several years ago, for example, a Grand Rapids block club used its telephone chain to stop a burglary at 4:30 a.m.

Reviews of burglary prevention efforts nationwide show virtually no other program maintaining crime logs of the type kept in Grand Rapids (Feins 1983, p. 16; Garofalo and McLeod 1987, Table 10; Yin 1979, pp. 114–115). These logs, kept by a resident on behalf of the club, contain reports not only of neighborhood crimes, but also of police and court responses in each case. The record includes the date and location of the incident, the date it was reported to the block club, date reported to the police, who reported it, a description of the incident, whether the property had been engraved (marked) or locked up, whether descriptions of the property and suspect were available, response time of the police, whether the resident who reported the offense to police was satisfied with their response and attitude, court date, name of the judge and status of the case (Larsen 1983, p. 53).

Residents, obviously, have to be trained to report incidents to such a log. When Larsen finds an incident has been reported to police but not the club, she contacts the people who filed the report. “We can't help you if we don't know what's happening,” she tells them (Karen Larsen, interview with James Gillham, 1984). In reporting incidents to the club as a whole, the program forbids giving out names or house numbers. “Neighbors must trust you if you expect their cooperation,” explains Larsen (1983, p. 50).

Over a period of time, such a log helps to diminish decay by showing that by their activities, residents are discouraging burglary. Along these lines, the National Crime Prevention Council urges neighborhood organizations to “emphasize success” against “crime and social problems” to maintain a neighborhood watch program (1986, p. 4).

In combination with a telephone chain, a crime log also can prompt a block club to act if burglary returns to an area. In many cities, at least, a club may be able to respond much more quickly and suffer fewer additional burglaries than if it waited for the police department to bring them to its attention. Under these circumstances,

the log keeper would alert the person charged with initiating the telephone chain. That person, in turn, would make the specified contacts, urging renewal of anti-burglary efforts. Through this process, residents affirm to neighbors that they associate themselves with burglary prevention and that particular activities accomplish that objective.

Other elements of the Grand Rapids program reflect the referent “your neighborhood.” As one organizer, from outside the Goodfields area, noted: “You cannot, every month, thump crime, crime, crime into their (residents’) heads. You have to offer something else” (JG/2, p. 5). This “something else,” in the Grand Rapids plan, includes rewards programs and social events. These not only would provide immediate diversion but also could stimulate discussions of neighborhood happenings, thereby facilitating *subsequent* contacts on burglary prevention (Chapter 6). So, to the extent that reward programs and social events lead residents to associate themselves with their neighborhood, they would help to hinder decay in any burglary prevention efforts that the neighborhood may have under way.

The third referent—solving problems—underlies a number of elements of the Grand Rapids program. One organizer commented, in fact, that “Whatever the problems are, they must be addressed.” Successful action on such neighborhood issues as street lighting or garbage collection would lead residents to associate themselves with solving problems and, in turn, solving problems with block clubs. Victim follow-up, court monitoring and meetings with police, in themselves, might solve some problems. But they would also, under some circumstances, link the Big Three to solving problems by showing that preventing the original burglary forestalls subsequent problems with the criminal justice system.

Systematic training for block club leaders, lastly, may hold the key to keeping block clubs—and their burglary prevention efforts—alive. Such training certainly is not a new idea in burglary prevention, but probably many neighborhood leaders still lack it. Successful leadership, in such circumstances, is more difficult than most people realize. If Goodfields had trained its leaders better, in retrospect, probably fewer of its clubs would have died during the program.

None of the preceding, moreover, will have much effect unless the community organizations that are involved—including, hopefully, the police—work together. According to many observers, a coordinated approach that includes agreement on such things as goals, effective ways to achieve them, and a division of labor is highly desirable.

Burglary prevention programs, in summary, operate more effectively in moderate-income, relatively homogeneous, demographically stable areas where burglary has been a significant enough problem to concern residents. But the situation should not have deteriorated to the point of seeming hopelessness.

The experience of the Goodfields program indicates the usefulness of focusing on block clubs and security surveys as goals for participation. Organizing efforts, moreover, can be made more effective by paying careful attention to (1) the basic message to residents, (2) communicating that message—from the organizer to residents and among the residents themselves—to encourage participation, and (3) encouraging participation in activities that counter decay of interest in preventing burglaries.

## Notes

1. This discussion relies heavily on Ciril et al. 1977, pp. 35–38.
2. Knowledgeable RMDS researchers always try, by the way, to be familiar with the substance of the domain they measure. Those circumstances can lead to preliminary guesses about distances by using a couple of assumptions. First, in particular situations mentioned in Chapter 3, distances between self and behaviors decrease as the relative frequencies of the corresponding actual behaviors increase. Second, distances among concepts often decrease to the extent persons would think that one concept implies the other, regardless of circumstance (cf. Gillham 1983, p. 90).

Such guesses, however, are not always accurate and are *never* a substitute for data and computations. If the guess is inaccurate, no one really knows what the practical outcome might be. So an organizer attempting to use this conceptual technique to analyze messages must be careful to avoid unintended results.

3. Without doubt, such contacts occur on some tightly integrated blocks across the country. Residents of some of these blocks may not need programs like Goodfields.

# Appendix A: Tables

TABLE A4.1. Pearson correlations involving block club attendance.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Married	(1)					
Number of burglaries known	(2)	20				
Black	(3)	12	-.04			
Contacts with organizers	(4)	16	17	08		
Network attributes and modeling	(5)	09	33	18	52	
Defining with co-occupants	(6)	27	25	10	27	61
Attendance at block club meetings	(7)	06	28	05	51	56 41

*Note.* For ease of reading, decimal points have been omitted from correlations. In this table, correlations are computed in numbers of cases ranging from 204 through 243; correlations of .12 or larger have probability levels less than .05 one-tailed.

TABLE A5.1. Pearson correlations involving property marking.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Activism	(1)								
Married	(2)	08							
Number of persons in household	(3)	03	15						
Elderly	(4)	-.01	07	-.32					
Contacts with organizers	(5)	16	14	11	-.03				
Network attributes	(6)	34	09	13	-.02	18			
Modeling	(7)	24	-.04	-.01	00	11	47		
Defining with neighbors	(8)	09	15	06	14	09	43	33	
Defining with co-occupants	(9)	-.03	19	14	12	12	30	23	36
Participation in property marking	(10)	18	01	12	01	10	21	25	23 22

*Note.* For ease of reading, decimal points have been omitted from correlations. In this table, correlations are computed in numbers of cases ranging from 200 to 243; correlations .11 or larger have probability levels less than .05 one-tailed.

TABLE A5.2. Pearson correlations involving neighborhood watch.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Activism	(1)								
Black	(2)	05							
Attendance at block club meetings	(3)	34	-01						
Married	(4)	08	12	06					
Number of burglaries known	(5)	28	-04	32	20				
Contacts with organizers	(6)	29	13	30	15	21			
Network attributes	(7)	50	01	33	23	33	44		
Modeling	(8)	34	08	27	12	12	19	48	
Number of neighbors' houses watched	(9)	22	06	19	15	27	36	53	36

*Note.* For ease of reading, decimal points have been omitted from correlations. In this table, correlations are computed in cases ranging from 193 through 243; correlations .11 or larger have probability levels less than .05 one-tailed.

TABLE A5.3. Pearson correlations involving home security survey.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	
Activism	(1)													
Black	(2)	05												
Attendance at block club meetings	(3)	34	-01											
Married	(4)	08	12	06										
Number of burglaries known	(5)	28	-04	32	20									
Number of persons in household	(6)	03	06	-04	15	02								
Home ownership	(7)	12	07	14	59	21	00							
Contacts with organizers	(8)	34	04	26	20	12	11	14						
Network attributes	(9)	28	-05	13	07	34	14	06	27					
Modeling	(10)	38	19	32	09	13	08	14	16	25				
Defining by TV/radio	(11)	-05	04	05	09	03	16	11	06	-04	-01			
Perceived risk of burglary	(12)	11	01	09	13	21	18	18	18	14	02	07		
Fear of burglary	(13)	08	03	03	13	13	04	21	04	08	03	20	33	
Participation in security survey	(14)	16	07	25	03	36	11	19	06	13	26	15	19	19

*Note.* For ease of reading, decimal points have been omitted from correlations. In this table, correlations are computed in cases ranging from 194 through 243. Except for the correlation between *activism* and *perceived risk*, all other correlations in this table .11 or larger have probability levels less than .05 one-tailed.

TABLE A6.1. Pearson correlations among antecedents of dyadic contacts.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	
Contact on neighborhood happenings	(1)											
Contact on property marking	(2)	.45										
Contact on neighborhood watch	(3)	.52	.65									
Contact on security survey	(4)	.44	.71	.69								
Distance	(5)	-.38	-.29	-.41	-.31							
Modeling on block club attendance	(6)	.41	.18	.11	.16	-.07						
Modeling on property marking	(7)	.31	.46	.31	.35	-.08	-.34					
Modeling on neighborhood watch	(8)	.31	.29	.33	.24	-.10	.41	.45				
Modeling on security survey	(9)	.30	.41	.27	.37	-.05	.44	.74	.49			
Communication with Program Coordinator on block club	(10)	.22	.17	.07	.11	.00	.36	.25	.23	.23		
Both white	(11)	.22	.14	.16	.15	-.14	.28	.15	.28	.26	.16	
Difference in age	(12)	-.07	-.08	.00	-.02	-.01	.00	.02	.09	-.04	.00	.14

*Note.* For ease of reading, decimal points have been omitted from correlations. In this table, correlations are computed among 524 cases; correlations with absolute values of 7 or larger—and 9 or larger—have probability levels less than .05—and .025—one-tailed, respectively. A note in the text describes the reason for using the .025 level in this data set.

TABLE A8.1. Pearson correlations between distances and particular independent variables.

	Attendance	Active Block	Linkage
Block clubs/You	-.12	.30	.53
Property marking/You	-.35	.50	.34
Neighborhood watch	-.30	.21	.60
Home security survey/You	-.15	.50	.53
Dissatisfaction with police/You	-.07	.38	.44
Fear of burglary/You	-.39	.19	.23
Your neighborhood/You	-.47	.39	.51
Solving problems/You	-.19	.36	.48
Discouraging burglary/You	-.35	.55	.43
Dissatisfaction with police/Block clubs	.12	.39	.64
Dissatisfaction with police/Property marking	-.08	.41	.60
Dissatisfaction with police/Neighborhood watch	-.20	.51	.50
Dissatisfaction with police/Home security survey	-.24	.46	.64
Fear of burglary/Block clubs	-.20	.15	.42
Fear of burglary/Property marking	-.15	.34	.26
Fear of burglary/Neighborhood watch	-.23	.30	.45
Fear of burglary/Home security survey	-.30	.49	.46
Your neighborhood/Block clubs	-.28	.05	.15
Your neighborhood/Property marking	-.40	.34	.28
Your neighborhood/Neighborhood watch	-.48	.25	.23
Your neighborhood/Home security survey	-.40	.31	.29
Solving problems/Block clubs	-.31	.26	.50
Solving problems/Property marking	-.35	.31	.45
Solving problems/Neighborhood watch	-.29	.18	.62
Solving problems/Home security survey	-.19	.54	.48
Discouraging burglary/Block clubs	-.48	.17	.18
Discouraging burglary/Property marking	-.52	.45	.09
Discouraging burglary/Neighborhood watch	-.33	.32	.37
Discouraging burglary/Home security survey	-.34	.46	.45

*Note.* These correlations were computed among 22 cases. Correlations .36 and larger in absolute value—as well as the -.35 between attendance and discouraging burglary's distance from you—have probability levels less than 5 percent one-tailed.

Correlations among the distances range from -.06 to .93; virtually all these correlations are positive. For reasons that are not particularly important here, such correlations tend to run fairly large in many RMDS data sets. Among these correlations, similarly, more than three-quarters have absolute values .40 or larger. Significance tests on such correlations among distances, on the other hand, have no known substantive importance.

Among the independent variables, only the correlation between time and linkage ( $r = .37$ ) has a probability level less than .05 one-tailed.

# Appendix B:

## Research Methodology

### Sampling

The population frame for the interview surveys in this research came from city directories updated with information on college students living in the program area. The area has a low enough rate of turnover to make such directories useful for owner-occupied dwellings and nonstudent renters. Such renters average more than 5 five years in their residence. The information on students was provided by the institution they attended. After completing the update and counting the entries, the researchers concluded the project area—including control blocks—contained 1,999 households.

Next, systematic sampling was used to divide this frame into four sampling subframes to be used in corresponding data collections: two in late November 1981, one in April 1982, and a fourth, longitudinal data collection from February 1982 through mid-May 1982.<sup>1</sup>

Systematic sampling procedures then removed cases from each subframe to pretest the corresponding questionnaire before administering it to the rest of the subsample. The natures of these pretests forced pretesting with more households in some circumstances than in others. This resulted in four sampling subframes ranging from 411 to 485 households. This difference averages only one or two houses per block and, therefore, is too small to affect the representativeness of a subsample either on any block or as a whole.

### Data Collection

For each of the surveys—including a last one in November 1982, described in Chapter 7—the Goodfields Community Center sent each household in the subsample a postcard to introduce the interviewer's call. Unless the postcard was sent beforehand, a pretest revealed that only about a third of the sample would answer interviewers' questions over the phone.



The postcard asked respondents to cooperate with the interviewer “to help the Center use a federal grant to reduce burglaries.” This appeal to respondents’ altruism and their natural interest in reducing burglaries in their own neighborhood was intended to keep them from thinking that they were being evaluated, as well as to make it clear that the research had no expectancies for their behavior.

With the exception of multidimensional-scaling data described in Chapters 3 and 8, this book uses phone-interview data collected almost exclusively by students in research methods classes in a criminal justice program. While somewhat unusual for a project of this scope, student interviewers have the advantage of being very inexpensive.

Compared with previous research and the experiences of various persons, the data, as will become apparent, have considerable validity. Part of the reason lies in the careful training and supervision of the students. The training began by telling the students the importance of the study, its potential for influencing national policy in the area of community crime-prevention, and the reasons for that potential. The professor in that class then told them that he would check on the quality of their work and that he would fail any student caught forging data. He told of an incident about three years earlier in which he had discovered such problems and failed three students; he said that he also remembered whom he failed and considered it his obligation to convey that information to investigators inquiring into the suitability of such persons for work in criminal justice. (The professor did not say that, fortunately, no such investigators had inquired about those persons yet!) The professor made it clear to the students that he was warning only against lying about what they had done, that he expected them to have certain kinds of problems and to confer with him on how to handle them. They would have no problem with him if they kept him informed. He also reminded them that successful completion of the interviews constituted half their grade in the course.

Such controls—importance, future career, grade—are probably at least as strong as those on interviewers, who work mainly for pay, in many commercial firms. Unlike such firms, moreover, these students faced no pressure to finish a contract and go on to the next.

The professor discussed the tentative questionnaire, item by item, with the students and conducted a sample interview in front of them. Then each student role-played administering the interview to another member of the class and acting as a cooperative interviewee. Each student’s performance was critiqued by the professor and by other students; suggestions were made for improvement. Next, the professor discussed how to handle difficult respondents and how to deal with various objections to being interviewed. This discussion also stressed the importance of the human protection regulations. Each of the students then acted as a difficult interviewee while another interviewed him or her. Again, criticisms and suggestions were made. After doing one more practice interview each on a friend over the phone, students began pretesting the questionnaire with residents in the area.

Most of the questionnaires went through at least two revisions. After students understood the considerations in assembling a valid questionnaire, they were much more helpful than initially might be expected in suggesting ways to remedy the problems they had discovered in their interviews.

For the actual data collection, students were assigned systematically to interviewees, so that interviews on each block were performed by as many different persons as possible and that interviewing, from one block to the next, would be as similar as possible.

When the data collection began, students completed a small portion of their interviews, then met to discuss problems. Such problems were few and minor.

Interviewers asked to talk with the “man or woman of the house.” They spoke with whichever of those persons came to the phone. Interviewers followed this procedure mainly to secure information from the household member who was either most knowledgeable about its burglary prevention efforts or most likely to participate. Sometimes one adult would answer the phone, learn what the call was about, and say, “just a minute. You should talk to my wife about this,” or “you should talk with my husband.” In other houses—particularly on blocks our program did not service (more on that later)—interviewers probably talked with those persons most available, since they probably would have been most available to help in burglary prevention, as well.

This research, therefore, selected interviewees by a process that parallels, to some extent, the way that burglary prevention organizers work. Organizers rarely deal directly with every member of a household, since that would be too inefficient. Nor do organizers deal with a household member chosen in a carefully random manner. Usually, though not always, organizers in this program worked with a household through a particular member—usually the person most willing to help.

After the interviews were completed, students edited their own questionnaires. This resulted in a very few students calling respondents a second time to clarify particular information before completing the editing.

As a further check on the quality of interviewing, the professor gave the edited questionnaires, for one of the surveys, to a single trusted student who called roughly every third case to verify the interview. On interviews with which problems seemed possible, every case was called. This student turned up only very minor problems and, basically, confirmed the quality of the work.

The multidimensional-scaling data, discussed later, were collected in a corresponding manner by students of communication in a course on interviewing.

If the completion rate is defined as the number of completions divided by the sum of completions, refusals and “no answers,” the rate ranges from .523 to .697 in the four subsamples and appears to run lower with longer questionnaires that would look less “relevant” to respondents. Babbie contends that if the response rate is 50% or better, data can be analyzed and reported legitimately (1979, p. 335). Defined in the same way, the completion rate was .869 for the November 1982 theft survey, which was much shorter than previous ones and, as discussed in Chapter 7, was used to assess the effects of the treatment.

Response rates do not differ between treated and control blocks in any of the surveys, including the one testing the program’s effect on theft ( $p > .05$  two-tailed). This remains the case even when the comparisons exclude blocks on which clubs had died.

While the block club leaders supported this project's distribution of questionnaires in their meetings in June and July 1982—a time of year when attendance tended to be among the highest—information was not available to compute a formal response rate. All the groups were fairly small—probably fewer than 30 persons—and visual inspection suggested that probably fewer than one household in 10 refused to cooperate. Most were very willing, and a few were eager. The clubs differed little, if at all, on such cooperation. Chapter 4 would suggest that residents who did not attend these meetings (1) had little contact with neighbors and were unaware that their neighbors attended block club meetings or (2) had fewer contacts with organizers, perhaps because they often were not at home and, therefore, could not be contacted. If residents did not attend the meeting where these data were collected but had talked with others who attended, the chances are excellent that those others would have reported the contacts. Not surprisingly, the findings in Chapter 6, based on these data, are consistent both among themselves and with those in other chapters.

## Data Reduction

While this research did not collect all structural items in each subsample, they were collected enough times to confirm the similarity in their respective distributions and to be fairly confident about our pool of respondents.

Unlike the federally funded victimization studies, this study does not present standard errors separately. The main purpose of those studies was estimating the extent of various kinds of victimization, while this book presents the results of testing various hypotheses. Significance tests, obviously, incorporate measures of sampling variance; information on sampling variance is presented in that form.

Most of the questionnaire items in this research have ratio-level responses. While such measurement allows an unlimited number of different responses and, therefore, is precise, it also gives respondents no criterion for the largest number with which they can respond. Consistent with others' experience, this research found that a relatively few respondents answer such items with responses considerably larger than those provided by others. Many researchers consider such responses, called outliers, a problem because, in data analyses, they can distort correlations and regression coefficients to the point that they no longer adequately represent the relationships among the rest of the cases.

Following the position advocated by Barnett and Lewis (1978, Chapter 2), this research, overall, included those values judged valid and rejected those deemed otherwise (cf. Cody 1978; Winer 1971, p. 51). More specifically, before computing coefficients, frequency distributions were examined to define the outliers in each variable. On some items, previous research suggests a clear precedent for handling outliers. Previous practice, for example, was followed in trimming responses above 100 for the ratio-level multidimensional scaling data.

In other data, particularly those reported in Chapters 4 and 5, handling the outliers was more complex. First, it took the particular item into consideration.

Property marking, for example, was held in too little regard for any resident to say, believably, that he or she had discussed it with neighbors 50 times during the last four months. Yet researchers knew that some residents did, in fact, keep an eye on all the houses on their respective blocks. So when a resident reported that he or she keeps an eye on the houses of 80 neighbors, this response was retained, if other facts were consistent.

A second main consideration in this trimming was the widespread belief in social science that accords more value to theoretical relationships with stronger support. When researchers have to choose between two variables to correlate with a third, the stronger correlate, all else equal, usually is selected. Researchers commonly use the amount of explained variation, with other criteria, to select one transformation of a variable over another. While theoretical considerations obviously are important, variables often are deleted if they fail to contribute sufficiently to explained variation in stepwise multiple regressions. One reason why researchers try to make measures reliable is that unreliability detracts from any correlation into which the measures are entered (Bohrnstedt 1970).

So, when other constraints left alternative viable points at which to trim for a particular variable, this research selected the one that resulted in the highest correlation with some other variable that, according to theory, should correlate. Such trimming occurred, more specifically, where the number of trimmed cases was not too large, the untrimmed values looked believable, the correlation did not hinge on an extreme point—a score of 55, for example, when the next lowest value reported by any other respondent was 40—as well as when moving the trim to the next higher or lower value resulted in a similar, though perhaps slightly lower correlation. Sometimes, when the choice involved trimming beneath either of two adjacent values, the smaller one was chosen to reduce the likelihood of including values with error. This practice resulted from the belief that when respondents had to count occurrences—such as number of communication partners or instances of some particular kind of communication—errors often were more likely with large numbers than with small ones.

Third, based on conversations and interviews with Bennett and various residents, diaries and term papers written by the organizers, as well as events in block club meetings, this research examined the plausibility of particular outliers in light of the particular respondents who provided the responses. Often, this involved comparing the outlier with how the respondent answered other questions and examining whether the pattern is consistent with those of other respondents.

Most of this more complex trimming occurred for the variables in Chapters 4 and 5. Footnote 11 in Chapter 4 discusses its dimensions in terms of numbers of variables and cases trimmed. Similar procedures were followed in the other chapters for parallel kinds of variables. A handful of items were secured for more than one set of data. In virtually all those situations, the same items were trimmed in the same place. But in two variables—the components of “linkage” in Chapter 8—these criteria resulted in using two particular values as legitimate in one chapter but missing in another. This involved, however, completely different samples of people, and trims are somewhat relative to the particular people and distributions of values.

While researchers paid close attention to creating items that would be as reliable as possible, no formal tests of reliability are reported. Extensive use of unidimensional concepts allowed most to be measured by single items or single products of conceptually different items. The widely used tests for the reliability of multiple-item scales are inappropriate for such variables. No appreciable value was apparent in using such tests on the summated scales rarely used in this research and comprising only three or four items. Particularly with the large number of reported items and the practicalities of cooperation with the Goodfields Development Association, researchers judged longitudinal tests, such as the Wiley's otherwise useful three-point-in-time procedure, more trouble than they were worth (Wiley and Wiley 1970). The price of unreliability, of course, would be direct reduction in the magnitudes of correlations (Bohrnstedt 1970, p. 97). As is well known, however, data are only as valid as the theory and procedures that generate them. As is apparent elsewhere, the data in this study show considerable consistency with diverse traditions of research and the experience of this program's organizers, as well as that of other programs.<sup>2</sup>

## Statistical Considerations

Obviously, where theoretically sensible, statistical interactions appear—such as with the defining measures discussed in Chapters 4 and 5—this book reports such results.

Some researchers consider Pearson correlations appropriate only for data at the interval and ratio levels; except for a few categorical variables—such as marital status and race—virtually all the data are ratio level. Consistent with much current usage, Hays (1963, p. 510), in fact, reminds us that Pearson correlations may be computed properly as descriptive statistics so long as at least two variables are observed independently (cf. Labovitz 1970). In such circumstances, a correlation describes the extent to which those variables are associated in a linear way. This book, similarly, reports each of a couple of kinds of multiple regressions as descriptive statistics.

Inference is another matter. No reason could be found for thinking that respondents in this study differ in any noteworthy way from the other residents in our program area or from those—except for the differences discussed in Chapter 2—in most other areas served by similar programs. But the sampling procedure here does not, technically, meet the principle of probability sampling underlying significance tests. Probability levels, therefore, must be interpreted with caution. But such levels—one-tailed, unless otherwise noted—may be of interest to some readers.

## Notes

1. Sudman (1976, pp. 56–57) suggests that while the mathematical properties of systematic samples are unknown, they tend to behave in the same ways that

random samples do and to have equal precision in almost all human populations.

Student records for spring semester 1982—from the same institution—were used to update, again, the two subframes to be used that year.

2. Some responses during interviews may partially reflect lack of recollection. Under at least some circumstances, unreliability would include such effects. Regardless, again, the findings are consistent with much practical experience in burglary prevention and diverse research.

## Appendix C: Layperson's Simplified Glossary<sup>1</sup>

**Activism.** The extent of a block club member's experience as an officer in a club or church, school, neighborhood or fraternal organization. If a resident fails to meet both the block club and officer criteria, by this definition, he or she is not active.

**Aggregate.** Some number of people who share a characteristic, such as living in a particular area, but who do not necessarily talk with each other.

**Appreciable.** A word that in this book indicates that data show particular relationships. If particular residents have relatively high levels on one measure, for example, they may have high levels on another, as well. When describing a correlation or regression coefficient or a difference between means (averages), the word appreciable indicates that it is large enough to meet particular statistical criteria commonly used by researchers. Even if a pattern is pronounced enough in data to be appreciable by statistical criteria, it may still be too weak to perceive in practice. Many researchers use the term *significant* in much the same way that the term appreciable is used here. But the term significant is tied up in particular controversies that this book tries to avoid.

**Big Three.** The three most common activities in burglary prevention programs: property marking, neighborhood watch and security survey.

**Block club.** An organization of neighbors for the purpose of advancing the area in which they live. These neighbors may live on a particular block or on several adjoining ones. Organizations to advance larger geographical areas are sometimes called community development associations.

**Change agent.** A person who tries to produce some kind of change—hopefully beneficial—in a particular area. One change agent might try to persuade farmers to change the sort of corn they plant. Another might try to persuade residents to make their homes more secure.

**Channel.** A structure through which information passes to residents. Basically, a channel can be envisioned as a pipeline of what people hear or see because of the kind of life they lead, e.g., where they live, who lives next door, where they work.

- Computation.** Use of data collected from residents in a series of complex mathematical procedures.
- Connectedness.** The number of neighbors with whom a resident discusses a particular burglary prevention activity.
- Correlation.** A number indicating the extent to which the level of one measure is predictable from knowledge of another. An appreciable positive correlation indicates that one measure increases with another. An appreciable negative correlation indicates that one measure decreases as the other increases.
- Defining.** Verbal messages—measured in terms of their frequency and content—to a person on what constitutes appropriate or desirable behavior.
- Diffusion of innovations.** The spread of new ideas, practices or material objects from person to person or group to group.
- Effect percentage.** A percentage representing the portion of the distance between two concepts—such as home security survey and the residents’ notion of self—that will remain after a particular message is used to bring them closer together.
- Entropy.** The name of a principle that says information tends to flow from more informed persons to the less informed. When, for example, residents know about something happening in the neighborhood—such as a block club—they are likely to inform other members of their households.
- Face block.** The houses on both sides of a street extending between two cross streets.
- Integration.** The resident’s estimate of the number of neighbors with whom he or she discusses a particular burglary prevention activity who also talk with each other about it.
- Intuitive approach.** The reasoning that a burglary prevention organizer uses to decide how to persuade residents to participate.
- Logistic regression coefficient.** See regression coefficient.
- Matrix.** Numbers arranged in rows and columns so that they form a square or rectangle. Each number is at the intersection of a row and a column.
- Modeling.** A form of influence in which a person learns by watching someone else’s behavior and imitating it.
- Neighborhood watch.** An activity in which a group of neighbors communicate with each other about the neighborhood, watch it—usually from the safety of their own homes—and report suspicious or illegal behavior to the police.
- Network attributes.** A combination of connectedness, integration and overlap pertaining to a particular burglary prevention activity.
- Organizer.** A person who tries to persuade residents of a particular area to participate in burglary prevention. After achieving all he or she can, an organizer usually repeats basically the same process in another area. Organizers usually are paid, such as with money from a community development association.
- Overlap.** The number of neighbors with whom a resident talks about both what is going on in the neighborhood and a particular burglary prevention activity.
- Path model.** A diagram which, based on statistical analysis and other considerations, shows the sequence in which particular aspects of threat, structural position, and communication affect each other and an activity.



- Posttest.** Data collected from residents after cessation of a treatment, such as a burglary prevention program.
- Pretest.** Data collected from residents before another event. In the pretest for this study, preliminary versions of each questionnaire were administered to a small number of households to make sure that respondents would understand questions properly and that other criteria would be met. The word pretest also commonly refers to a collection of data before persons receive a treatment in an experiment, but this study did not administer such a pretest.
- Property marking.** Engraving an identification number—such as the one from a driver’s license—on personal property so that if the item is stolen, then recovered by police, the number can be used to return it to the owner.
- Ratio-level.** A level of measurement in which responses are expressed in terms of equal units and have a zero point that indicates the absence of whatever is being measured.
- Ratio-level multidimensional scaling (RMDS).** A procedure for measuring world view as relations among the concepts through which an aggregate perceives and labels its environment.
- Referent.** A category of concepts in a ratio-level multidimensional scaling. In this study, such concepts—fear of burglary, your neighborhood, and the like—are important primarily because residents use them when thinking about burglary prevention.
- Regression coefficient.** As used in this study, a number that tells how much a dependent variable—a measure of an outcome—can be expected to change when an independent variable—a predictor—changes by a particular amount. Coefficients associated with one dependent variable in this study must not be compared with those associated with another.
- Relation.** Association. (1) Two measures might be related, for example, if persons with high scores on one measure also tend to have high scores on another, and people with low scores on one also tend to have low scores on the other. In a different kind of relation, low scores on one measure would be associated with high scores on the other. (2) Applied to concepts in a ratio-level multidimensional scaling, the term relation pertains to distance: closer concepts are said to be more closely related.
- Salience.** Importance.
- Security survey.** Also home security survey. Inspection of a residence and its surroundings to find weaknesses in doors, windows, locks or other aspects of physical security and to recommend remedies.
- Sequence.** Order.
- Slinger.** A printed message left on doorsteps in an area.
- Structural position.** A person’s social position as evaluated by such criteria as home ownership, race, marital status, age, income, level of education, parents’ occupational prestige.
- World view.** An aggregate’s general outlook about a particular topic, such as burglary prevention. This outlook includes such things as attitudes, feelings, perceptions, beliefs and values.

## Note

1. For clarity, some words are defined more narrowly than might be appropriate for purposes beyond understanding this book.

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# Index

- Active blocks, 126, 128–131
- Activism, 48  
  modeling and, 76–77
- Age, difference in, 91
- Aggregate, 29
- Ajzen, Icek, 26–27
- Alinsky, Saul D., 144
- Altman, Irwin, 145
- Approach, this book's overall, 147–148
- Archer, Dane, 47
- Avery, D'Aunn W., 117
- 
- Bandwagon effect, 67, 71
- Barnett, George A., 37, 41
- Barnett, Vic, 170
- Beals, Ralph E., 122–123n
- Bennett, Trevor, 5, 8, 109, 145
- Berkowitz, Leonard, 82
- Bersani, Carl, 27, 50–52, 106n, 140, 143,  
  147–148
- Bickman, Leonard, 74
- Blacks, 47  
  modeling and, 59, 77  
  network attributes and, 59  
  organizer contacts and, 72
- Block club, 5, 95  
  effects on theft, 117–120, 145  
  leadership in, 95, 102–103, 151–161  
  less successful, 23  
  meetings in Goodfields, 23–26  
  in world view, 33–36
- Block club (*cont.*)  
  *see also* block club attendance, encouraging
- Block club attendance, 48, 53, 84, 131,  
  144  
  burglaries known by residents and, 60  
  defining with co-occupants and, 61  
  effects on decay, 131–138, 146  
  encouraging, 151–154  
  modeling and, 61, 73–74, 77  
  network attributes and, 61  
  organizer contacts and, 60–61, 72–73,  
  76  
  path model for, 55–62
- Block, M. K., 77
- Blumstein, Alfred, 3
- Bohrnstedt, George, 171–172
- Boneau, C. A., 123–124n
- Boruch, Robert F., 110, 120
- Brantingham, Patricia L., 15, 119
- Brantingham, Paul J., 15, 119
- Brown, Barbara B., 145
- Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2, 3, 8, 27n,  
  109
- Burglar alarms, 5
- Burglaries, known by residents, 46–47  
  network attributes and, 73, 76
- Burglars, 4–5, 14–15, 109, 141, 157
- Burglary prevention programs, 2, 5  
  locations appropriate for, 149–151  
  participation in, 6
- Burglary, 2, 8  
  and employment, 4

- Campbell, Donald T., 110, 122n  
 Cantor, David, 4  
 Channel, 130  
 Chatterton, Mike, 145–146  
 Chicago, IL, 21, 22, 23, 56, 83, 109, 110, 120, 145  
 Ciril, Paul, 2, 11, 13, 46, 119, 121n, 126, 149, 150  
 Clarke, Ronald V., 4  
 Clusters, 155–157  
 Cody, Michael, 37, 39, 170  
 Cognitive dissonance, 59–60, 70  
 Cohen, Lawrence E., 4, 146, 147  
 Coleman, James, 50  
 Communication addressed to one behavior, 80  
 Communication with program coordinator, combined, 91  
 Conceptualization, 26–27  
 Conklin, John, 3, 155  
 Connectedness, 49, 63n  
 Contact, dyadic, 90, 92, 145  
     antecedents in pairs of neighbors and, 89–94  
     block club dynamics and, 95–105  
     *see also* Dyad  
 Contacts on neighborhood happenings, 92, 95–105, 106–107n,  
 Cook, Thomas D., 122n  
 Criminal justice, change in structure of, 1  
 Cromwell, Paul F., 117
- Data**, 27  
     collection of, 32–33, 53–55, 90, 127–128, 167–170
- Decay, 125–126, 146  
     active block, linkage, block club attendance and, 132–138  
     combatting, 157–161  
     as three-legged process, 130
- Defining, 51–53  
     by newspapers and magazines, 86n  
     by radio and television, 52–53
- Defining with neighbors, defining with co-occupants and, 70–71
- Dinkelacker, James, 39  
 Discussions on differences of opinion, 132–134
- Displacement, 119–120  
 Distance between houses, 91–92  
 Dixon, description of 7  
 Dogs, 5  
 Doob, Anthony N., 52  
 Draper, N. R., 64n  
 DuBow, Fred, 13, 15, 30, 47, 48, 87, 141, 144, 147  
 Duncan, J. T. Skip, 2  
 Dyad, 7
- Education**, 65n  
 Effectiveness of activities, perceived, 67, 86n  
 Elderly residents, 47  
     defining with neighbors and, 69  
 Emotion, 82  
 Entropy theory 59, 82, 91  
 Evans, Patricia, 2, 11, 13, 46, 119, 121n, 126, 149, 150
- Fear of burglary**, 47  
     defining by television and radio and, 78  
     home ownership and, 77–78  
     home security survey and, 79  
     as message, 40, 155  
     perceived risk of burglary and, 78  
     in world view, 33–36
- Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2, 3  
 Feins, Judith, 6, 10n, 160  
 Felson, Marcus, 4, 146  
 Fink, Edward L., 26, 32, 37, 41, 42n, 59, 70, 71, 130, 134, 143, 147, 148  
 Finn, Peter, 160  
 Fishbein, Martin, 26–27  
 Fishbine, Glenn, 3, 120  
 Foner, Anne, 47  
 Forrester, David, 145–146  
 Fowler, Floyd J., Jr., 109, 119, 126, 138n  
 Friends of third person, becoming acquainted and, 58  
 Frisbie, Douglas W., 3, 120
- Garofalo, James, 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9n, 11–16, 121n, 125, 158, 160  
 Gerbner, George, 52, 63n

- Giamartino, Gary A., 150  
 Gibbs, John J., 4  
 Gill, Allen D., 123n  
 Gillham, Darlene, 27, 51, 52, 106n, 140, 143, 147, 148  
 Gillham, James, 27, 32, 37, 41, 42n, 50–52, 106n, 110, 140, 143, 147, 148, 155  
 Gomez, Hernando, 110, 120  
 Goodfields, 7  
   block club meetings in, 23–26  
   identities in, 10n  
   message planning in, 17–26, 138n, 148n  
   networks of households in, 95–104  
   organizing and responses in, 17–26  
   research design in, 26–27, 110–118, 167–173  
   as typical, 11–17  
 Gottfredson, Stephen, 111, 145  
 Gould, Leroy C., 4  
 Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control (MN), 47, 48  
 Grand Rapids, MI, 158–161  
 Grant, Jane A., 8, 23, 109, 110, 118, 120  
 Green, Gerson, 126  
 Greenberg, Stephanie W., 142, 143, 148n  
 Gross, Larry, 52, 63n  
 Guardians, 5, 146–147
- Haller, Archibald, 51, 55, 147  
 Hartford, CT, 109, 110, 120, 126, 138n, 145  
 Hays, William L., 43, 122n, 123n, 172  
 Heller, Nelson B., 123n  
 Henig, Jeffrey R., 118, 119  
 Henry, Neil W., 55  
 Hereid, Hilda, 28n  
 Herrnstein, Richard J., 4  
 Hindelang, Michael J., 121n  
 Hintz, Richard, 3, 120  
 Hirsch, Paul M., 14  
 Hirschi, Travis, 55  
 Holmes, Richard, 37  
 Holzman, Harold, 4  
 Homans, George, 91  
 Home ownership, 6, 48, 53, 72, 84, 144  
   burglaries known to residents and, 78  
   modeling and, 78
- Home security survey, 6, 53  
   burglaries known to residents and, 78  
   decay on, 131–138, 146  
   encouraging, 154–157  
   fear of burglary and, 79  
   modeling and, 78  
   path model for, 75–79  
   perceived effectiveness of, 67  
   in world view, 33–36  
 Household, number of people in, 48  
 Hummon, Norman P., 55  
 Hunter, Albert, 141
- Identities, 10n  
 Implementation, success of, 117–118  
 Income, 65n  
 Integration (communication notion), 49, 63n  
   a sociological notion of, 63n, 83  
 International Training, Research and Evaluation Council, 17
- Jackson, Hilary, 5, 145  
 Jackson-Beeck, Marilyn, 63n  
 Jakubs, John F., 150  
 Jeffries-Fox, Suzanne, 63n  
 Joelson, Mitchell, 3, 120
- Kahn, Si, 29, 131, 144  
 Kaplan, Gail, 47  
 Katz, Elihu, 50  
 Kincaid, D. Lawrence, 7, 48, 49, 74, 91, 105n, 148  
 Kirkholt program (England), 145–146  
 Klaus, Patsy A., 3, 15  
 Kluegel, James R., 4, 147  
 Kmenta, Jan, 64n  
 Knotterus, J. David, 144  
 Kolb, David, 50, 157  
 Kolde, Richard, 123n  
 Koppel, Herbert, 2
- Labovitz, Sanford, 172  
 Land, Kenneth C., 4, 45, 55, 57, 60, 147  
 Larsen, Karen, 158, 160



- Larusch, James, 95–103  
 Lavrakas, Paul J., 15, 21, 22, 30, 47, 56, 158  
 Laycock, Gloria, 144, 146  
 Leitkemann, Peter, 15  
 Lewis, Dan A., 8, 23, 109, 110, 118, 120  
 Lewis, Toby, 170  
 Linkage, 131–132  
 Logistic regression, 55, 64n  
 London, England, 145  
 Long, G. J., 77  
 Long, J. Scott, 4
- Maccoby, Nathan, 53  
 Macdonald, Glenn E., 52  
 Maguire, Mike, 3, 5  
 Mangione, Thomas W., 109, 126, 138n  
 Married residents, 47  
   defining with co-occupants and, 59, 70  
   defining with neighbors and, 69  
   organizer contacts and, 76  
 Martinson, Robert, 2  
 Marx, Gary T., 47  
 Maxfield, Michael G., 3, 4, 30, 46, 47, 52,  
   77, 83, 85, 87, 117  
 Mayhew, Pat, 15, 145  
 McCabe, Edward, 47  
 McGillis, Daniel, 2, 11, 13, 46, 119, 121n,  
   126, 149, 150  
 McGuire, William J., 30, 130  
 McIlwain, Nadine, 148n  
 McLeod, Maureen, 1, 2, 6, 8, 9n, 11–16,  
   125, 126, 158, 160  
 McPhail, Thomas, 50, 51, 52, 143, 147  
 McPherson, Marlys, 48, 121n  
 Menzel, Herbert, 50  
 Message planning, 37–41, 143  
   in Goodfields, 17–26, 138n, 148n  
   need for caution in, 162n  
   traditional, 29–30  
   *see also*: block club attendance,  
     encouraging  
 Messages, 29  
 Miethel, Terance D., 4  
 Minneapolis, MN, 3  
 Minneapolis Special Project, 121n  
 Modeling, 50–51, 91, 105, 145  
   burglaries known by residents and,  
     57–58
- Modeling (*cont.*)  
   defining with co-occupants and, 59–60  
   defining with neighbors and, 70  
   dyadic contacts and, 93–94  
 Morgan, Michael, 52  
 Moriarty, Thomas, 74  
 Moscovici, Serge, 65n  
 Multiple regression, 55, 63–64n, 139n
- National Crime Prevention Council, 126,  
   131, 160  
 National Institute of Law Enforcement and  
   Criminal Justice, 2  
 Neighborhood issues, 106n  
   handling of, 95  
 Neighborhood watch, 6, 53, 84, 144  
   burglaries known to a resident and,  
     74  
   contacts with organizers and, 74  
   decay on, 131–138, 146  
   encouraging, 154–157  
   modeling and, 74  
   network attributes and, 74  
   path model for, 71–75  
   perceived effectiveness of, 67  
   use of term, 6, 9–10n  
   in world view, 33–36  
 Neighbors, number with whom resident  
   discusses neighborhood happenings,  
     63n  
 Network attributes, 49–50  
   activism and, 68–69, 73, 76  
   burglaries known by residents, 57–58  
   defining with co-occupants and, 59–60,  
     70  
   defining with neighbors and, 70  
   married residents and, 73  
   modeling and, 69, 74, 77  
   organizer contacts and, 69, 73, 76  
   persons, number of in household and,  
     69  
 New York State Office of Crime  
   Prevention, 6  
 Norm formation, 59–60, 61, 82–83  
 Northwestern University, 83, 85  
 Norusis, Marija J., 64n  
 Nutone Housing Products, 2  
 Nutter, Julia Brown, 3, 120

- Okiihiro, Norman, 5, 48, 145
- Olson, James N., 117
- Organizational involvement of residents, 48, 67–68, 71–76, 80
- Organizer contacts, 48–49
- activism and, 67–68, 72, 76
- burglaries known to residents and, 56–57
- married residents and, 57, 68
- modeling and, 58–59
- network attributes and, 58–59
- Organizing, 13, 17–26
- appropriateness of an area for, 149–150
- responses to, 6
- necessity of hope in, 19, 150
- suggestions for improvement in, 151–161
- Outliers, trimming, 42n, 63n, 170–172
- Overlap, 49, 63n
- 
- Path analysis, 57, 61, 65n, 80, 81
- control variables in, 65n
- Path model, 45, 53–55
- Pease, Ken, 145–146
- Petersilia, Joan, 2
- Philadelphia, PA, 83
- Pindyck, Robert S., 64n
- Podolefsky, Aaron, 12, 13, 15, 30, 47, 85, 87, 141, 144, 147
- Police, dissatisfaction with as message, 40, 151
- Pope, Carl E., 145
- Portland, OR, 21, 121n, 126
- Power, 110
- Property marking, 6, 53, 84, 144
- decay on, 131–138, 146
- defining with co-occupants and, 71
- encouraging, 154–157
- modeling and, 71
- path model for, 67–71
- perceived effectiveness of, 67
- in world view, 33–36
- 
- Quasi-experimental design, 110–114
- threats to validity in, 114–116, 118
- 
- Racism, 90
- 
- Ratio-level multidimensional scaling, 31–32, 162n
- behavior with, 36–37
- Regan, Katryna J., 6
- Regression, *see* Logistic regression, Multiple regression
- Repetto, Thomas A., 5, 15, 119, 125, 145
- Riley, Matilda White, 47
- Risk of burglary, perceived, 47
- burglaries known by residents and, 77
- fear of burglary and, 62n
- home ownership and, 77
- number of persons in a household and, 77
- organizer contacts and, 77
- Risk-efficacy-resources theory, 142–143
- Roberts, Donald F., 53
- Rogers, Everett M., 7, 48–49, 60, 74, 91, 105n, 137, 148
- Rohe, William W., 142, 143, 148n
- Rosenbaum, Dennis P., 8, 23, 74, 109, 110, 118, 120
- Rotondo, Jeanne, 125, 129
- Routine activities theory, 4, 146–147
- burglary and, 4–5
- Rubinfeld, Daniel L., 64n
- 
- Sampling methods, 127–128, 167
- San Francisco, CA, 83
- Scarr, Harry A., 5, 15, 46, 145
- Schacter, Stanley, 82
- Schimerman, Stanley, 123n
- Schneider, Anne L., 21, 46, 47, 77, 118, 121n, 126
- Schwitzgebel, Ralph, 50, 157
- Seattle, WA, 2, 11, 118, 121n, 126, 149
- Security survey, *see* Home security survey
- Segal, Mady W., 91
- Selvin, Hanan C., 55
- Sequence of influences, 55–61, 79–83, 94, 132–134
- Serota, Kim B., 37, 41
- “Shakers,” 60, 81
- Shelly, Peggy L., 4
- Shenk, J. Frederick, 3, 15
- Sherif, Carolyn A., 59, 65n, 70, 82
- Sherif, Muzafer, 59, 65n, 70, 82
- Shover, Neal, 5, 15

- Signorielli, Nancy, 52, 63n  
Silloway, Glenn, 48, 121n  
Skogan, Wesley G., 3, 30, 46, 47, 52, 77,  
83, 85, 87, 117, 121n, 125  
Smith, H., 64n  
Social control, 150  
South Wales, 146  
Stafford, Mark C., 4  
Stanley, Julian C., 110  
Statistical inference, 172  
Stenzel, William W., 123n  
Sudman, Seymour, 172–173
- Tannenbaum, Percy, 82  
Taylor, James, 37, 41  
Taylor, Ralph B., 111, 145  
Telescoping, 113, 114  
Television, 63n  
Theft, 8, 109, 113  
    effects on, 117–119, 120, 145–146  
Titus, Richard M., 5, 45, 47, 48, 77, 143,  
148n
- United Press International, 2
- Vesalo, John, 140, 148
- Waller, Irvin, 5, 48, 145  
Waller, John D., 6
- Walpole, Ronald, 64n  
Walsh, Dermot, 5  
Wandersman, Abraham, 150  
Washington, DC, 118, 119  
Washnis, George J., 48, 77  
West, W. Gordon, 4, 5  
Whitaker, Catherine J., 12, 13, 16, 17, 72  
Whitcomb, Debra, 2, 11, 13, 46, 119,  
121n, 126, 149, 150  
White, both respondents, 90–91  
White, Thomas W., 6  
Wholey, Joseph S., 6  
Wicker, Allan W. 30, 147  
Wild, Laura, 27n, 28n  
Wiley, David E., 172  
Wiley, James A., 172  
Williams, Jay R., 142, 143, 148n  
Wilson, James Q., 4  
Winchester, Stuart, 5, 145  
Winer, B. J., 170  
Woelfel, John, 50, 51, 52, 143, 147  
Woelfel, Joseph, 26, 32, 32, 37, 39, 41,  
42n, 50, 51, 52, 55, 59, 70, 71, 130,  
134, 143, 147, 148  
World view, 7, 29, 143  
    residents', 33–36  
Wright, Richard, 5, 8, 109
- Yin, Robert K., 1, 2, 160
- Zillmann, Dolf, 82