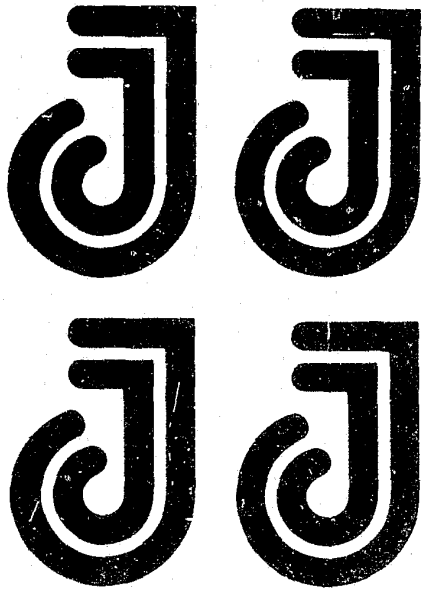

CITY LIFE AND DELINQUENCY — VICTIMIZATION, FEAR OF CRIME AND GANG MEMBERSHIP

National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
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LEONARD D. SAVITZ
MICHAEL LALLI
LAWRENCE ROSEN

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Abstract
City Life and Delinquency

Over 500 black and 500 white boys (our probability sample panel) born in 1957 and attending schools in a large city were interviewed with their mothers. The data were analyzed to discover how educational aspirations, social values, "quality of life," fear of crime, victimization, family structure, father-son interaction, social attachments, and gang affiliation affected the development of delinquent behavior measured by police contacts and arrests. Demographic and social psychological data were also collected.

Mothers and sons who limited or lowered their educational goals to high school included youths with much higher delinquency rates than those whose aspirations-expectations were college-oriented. Social class, however, accounted for more differences in delinquency rates than educational aspirations. Almost half the black households reported being victimized during the first year of the study and the same was true for the second year; one-quarter were victimized in both years. Official delinquency was not related to victimization.

A high proportion of all subjects expressed considerable fear of many "dangerous places." Nearly half the black youths thought streets to and from school and school yards were dangerous. School rooms were rated as dangerous by one out of five. Whites thought their neighborhoods and schools far less dangerous. Juveniles in "functional gangs" had lesser fears of local areas and social settings, fewer criminal victimizations, lower levels of fear, and fewer behavioral changes than non-gang members.

For blacks as compared to whites, family size and father-son interaction were more important in determining delinquency rates. It should be stressed that structural matriarchy was of little importance for either blacks or whites. Black youths with the lowest delinquency rates came from families, intact or broken, reporting a high quality of neighborhood life. Such reports were rare in the lower class.

The data on education and the family are in greater accord with social control than with strain theories, although some subgroups have been identified for which "strain" may be the better explanation for high delinquency rates.

Introduction

When this project was originally undertaken it was envisioned that a large cohort of young Philadelphia males and their families would be closely and continuously examined (and re-examined), described, and analyzed for an *appreciable number of years.* The primary focus of such an extended investigation would be on entry into delinquency and viable alternatives to delinquency as they occurred for a large urban population of relatively susceptible males. It was anticipated that entry into and continuing contact with official juvenile delinquency agencies could be related to family structure and interaction patterns, to the child's role in the educational institution (with attention to be paid to pre-existing factors resulting in "drop-outs"), and to the general "quality of life" experienced by the young males and their families.

In fact, it was not possible to carry out all of the goals because the project did not continue long enough to secure information on several original objectives (e.g., school drop-outs); nevertheless, a very sizable body of extraordinarily interesting and valuable information was secured for our subject population. The three sections of the *Delinquency and City Life* project selectively have concentrated on three variables, which a number of years of data acquisition and more years of data analysis clearly confirm to be vitally related to the focus of our concern: delinquency.

The very methodological design of the project (interviewing a juvenile and one of his parents) indicated our

a priori belief in the centrality of "family" life in the life of the young male subjects. Accordingly, one section concentrates on that crucial variable.

From the very outset, it was also apparent that the boy's complex relationship to the entire educational institution required securing a considerable body of information on juvenile and parental views on the school enterprise (and changes that take place over time) as well as securing all relevant official educational data from a cooperative local public Board of Education.

Finally, it was our belief that in such a study (focusing on delinquency within an urban context) the most crucial single dimension of the amorphous concept, "quality of life," was probably that of criminal victimization, i.e., the crime "consumed" by the subject families, as well as closely related phenomena: fear of crime and altered behavior. This report, therefore, deals with these variables (victimization, fear, and altered behavior), as well as gang membership (particularly as it related to the three basic phenomena under consideration).

A. Sampling Design

This project aimed at studying a large population of boys born in 1957 (and residing in Philadelphia at the time of the study) and their families. At the initial phase of the project (early 1971) the basic population consisted of black males 13 years of age. In the second phase of the project (early 1972) the subject population was expanded to include both black and white youths. Due to limitations in resources, somewhat different sampling strategies were utilized for our first (black) and second (white) populations. For the blacks, the universe was all boys born in 1957 and officially enrolled in a Philadelphia public school in October 1970. For the whites, the relevant universe was all boys born in 1957 and either officially enrolled in a Philadelphia public school or in the ninth grade in a Philadelphia Catholic school in the fall of 1971. Excluded, therefore, were all youths attending private schools. For blacks this is a very small number. However, the relative proportion for whites is undoubtedly substantially larger. In addition, youths who were institutionalized because of delinquency, illness, etc., were also omitted.

In addition, because of sampling differences, the black and white subjects are not strictly comparable; a different sampling technique was used for each group; the whites were sampled one year later than the blacks; no black Catholic students were sampled; and it was not possible to sample all fourteen-year-old whites attending Catholic schools. While any comparisons of blacks and whites should be made with some caution, it is our considered opinion that the two samples are sufficiently comparable to warrant the types of comparisons made in this exploratory study.

Sampling of Blacks

A complete enumeration of black boys born in 1957 (N = 6791) was obtained in the fall of 1970 from the Philadelphia Board of Education. The list contained each boy's name, school identification number, school of enrollment, school district, address, and telephone number. The list was stratified into two groups according to the median gross income of 1966 Federal Income Tax returns of the boy's school district. The first stratum, with a median income of under $4,500, contained 3,702 boys and the second stratum, with a school district's median income of above $4,500, contained 3,089 boys. This strategy was used to insure a reasonable number of middle-class blacks in the sample. Utilizing a stratified replication sampling technique (Deming, 1960) 396 boys from the lower stratum *and* 297 from the upper stratum were drawn. Of these 693 boys, 20 were found to be ineligible (female, white, not born in 1957, etc.), and 12 were used for a pre-test, leaving a total of 661 eligibles. Ninety-eight, or approximately 15 percent of the 661, refused to be interviewed and another 31 (4.6 percent) could not be located. This left a total of 532 respondents who were successfully interviewed, i.e., there was a completed interview secured from the boy *and* one adult in the boy's household in the first year of the study (1971), or a completion rate of 80.6 percent.

All interviews were conducted by trained black interviewers from December, 1970 to May, 1971. All interviewing was completed in the home of the boy and included the boy and his mother; if the mother was not available, the adult responsible for the boy's welfare was interviewed.

In the second year (1972) of the study, attempts were made not only to interview again the 532 families interviewed in the previous year, but also the 129 who had *not* been interviewed in 1971. Four hundred and fifty-two (or 85 percent) of the 532 previously interviewed and 56 (43 percent) of the 129 not previously interviewed were interviewed in the second year (N=508). The same interviewing procedures were used as for the first year and all interviewing was completed in the spring of 1972. Three different black samples are therefore available for study: 532 interviewed in 1971 (Time One), 508 interviewed in 1972 (Time Two) and 452 who were interviewed both in 1971 and 1972. [The latter will be referred to as the "black panel."]

Sampling of Whites

Although it would have been highly desirable to employ an identical sampling procedure for whites as was used for the black populations, it was not possible. However, because of the large number of whites enrolled in Catholic schools, to insure any semblance of representativeness for white youths, we had to utilize a somewhat different strategy. In essence, two distinct sampling frames were generated: a list of boys enrolled in public schools and another list of boys enrolled in Catholic schools.

As with blacks, a list of white boys born in 1957 and attending a public school in 1971 was obtained from the Philadelphia Board of Education. Since such a central list of students did not exist for Catholic schools in Philadelphia, we had to seek the cooperation of individual schools within the Philadelphia Archdiocese to generate a viable list. The initial aim was, as in the case of the public school student, to create a list of all boys born in 1957. However, it soon became clear that the time, expense and difficulty were sufficiently large to make this aim infeasible. As a compromise it was decided to sample only boys born in 1957 and enrolled in the ninth grade in a Catholic school, in part because that grade contained the largest percentage of fourteen-year-old boys. This reduced the number of schools to be contacted and helped to increase the possibility of cooperation of the individual schools. The major consequence of using ninth grade pupils is that our universe of white Catholic students does not include any fourteen-year-olds who were either one grade advanced or grade retarded. All Catholic schools in the city with a ninth grade class were contacted and only one school refused, which resulted in a loss of approximately 80 boys.

A 10 percent simple random sample was drawn from each list, which yielded a total of 634 boys. Thirty-three of these cases were found to be ineligible, due to school coding errors; i.e., they were black, not living in Philadelphia, incorrect age, etc. Of the remaining 601 cases, 502 families were successfully interviewed for a completion rate of approximately 84 percent. All interviewing was conducted by trained white interviewers in the houses of the respondents in the spring of 1972.

To summarize, there are available for analysis four different samples (three black and one white). The same sizes are as follows:

	Time of Interview		
	Time One	Time Two	Time One and Two (Panel)
Black	532	508	452
White	—	502	—

There were two important variables, delinquency and social class, which, of necessity, were operationalized and used throughout the three sections of the study. The manner in which each of these concepts was defined (and the defenses for the decisions that were made) is indicated below.

B. The Concept of Delinquency

Delinquency was operationally measured as having a police and/or juvenile court record (i.e., official delinquency).

Police and juvenile court records represent two separate and independent record systems. In Philadelphia the Juvenile Aid Division (a division of the Philadelphia Police Department) maintains a file of all youngsters (below the age of 18) who have had "contact" with the division. The file indicates which contacts result in an "arrest," (i.e., the case continues into the Juvenile Court) as well as those that involve no further action ("remedial"). Court records note "petitions" that are filed at court, which represent, for males, overwhelmingly police arrests. (The remaining petitions are from such non-police sources as parents and schools.)

All names on the original sample list for both whites and blacks were checked against both the police and the Juvenile Court files several times during the three-year period, with the last search being completed for both the samples in May of 1973. This was approximately six months after the completion of all interviewing.

Of course, even with the greatest care, some boys with "delinquency" records might be missed because of errors in either the recording or retrieval systems. To some extent this was minimized by having the entire list checked several times (for blacks three times for the court and twice for the police, and for whites once for the courts and twice for the police). Despite the multiple checks, there was some indirect evidence that some boys in the sample were being missed in both record systems. Thus there were some boys with "arrests" as noted in the police files who were not located in the court records, as well as the reverse. By utilizing both record systems, however, there was increased confidence that the slippage was less than if either record system was used by itself to define delinquency.

To sum, unless otherwise indicated, a delinquent in this study is a boy who has either a police record and/or juvenile court record as of May, 1973. This is a fairly omnibus definition and includes a diverse set of official decisions and should *not* be constituted as simply a police contact, or an arrest, or court referral or adjudication.

By the end of the project (May, 1973) 37.6 percent of the black juvenile panel (N = 452) were delinquent[1]; 32 percent of these delinquents were "remedials" (i.e., there were no formal arrests). For whites the delinquency rate of those interviewed (N = 502) was 13.7 percent; 51 percent of these were only remedials.

Contrary to what some may believe about official delinquency, we found only a small proportion of boys whose most serious offense listed on the record was a juvenile status offense (i.e., not a crime if committed by an adult) (see Table 1). Over eight out of ten black and the same ratio of white delinquents were in fact charged with fairly serious offenses (person or property crime).

Initially it seemed extremely attractive to include some systematic items in the juvenile instrument relating to delinquencies committed by the boys which may not have come to the attention of the public authorities. There are, however, serious problems concerning such self-report instruments and the nature of the data they secure. One of these, the problem of statistical reliability, has in fact largely been settled and it now seems clear that with few exceptions it is possible to devise relatively reliable questionnaires. There remain nevertheless other problems. Self-report instruments, almost without exception, have produced no "new" variables or new relationships among variables relating to delinquency not uncovered by the use of official statistics. The basic rationale for the use of self-report has been to eliminate a presumptive bias of class and/or race in official statistics. In point of fact, the weight of evidence from self-report instruments has not clarified or solved the problem of racial and class biases. Indeed, greater ambiguity has been produced by self-report instruments on the relationship of class to delinquency than has occurred with the use of official statistics. Furthermore, the more widely used standardized scales have, for the most part, been concerned with the incidence of rather trivial misbehaviors (talking back to parents, stealing items of small value, smoking cigarettes, drinking wine, etc.) and as a result usually fail to discriminate between the serious delinquent (those committing acts involving serious physical harm and property loss) and the mildly errant boy. In effect, they may permit statements to be made, with considerable caution, on delinquencies beyond those known to authorities (self-perceived delinquencies) but they have not dealt any more adequately than have official statistics with the universe of all delinquencies committed.

Beyond the aforementioned problem, there was for us, the important problem of loss of subjects. Great care was taken to avoid any marginal items which we felt might cause the juvenile or his parent to stop cooperating in the study. Certainly one of the most difficult of these topics relates to the delinquencies and criminal acts engaged in by the boy. In our setting a parent was

[1] The delinquency rate of the respondents was almost identical with that of the total sample, which indicates that there was little if any bias on the variable of delinquency as a consequence of the nonrespondents.

Table 1
Most Serious Delinquency For Official Delinquents, Black and White Panels

Most Serious Delinquency*	Black Panel (N = 452) N	%	White Panel (N = 502) N	%
Personal crime	49	28.8	6	8.7
Property crime	51	30.0	27	39.2
Other adult crime	50	29.4	26	37.7
Juvenile status offenses other than truancy	3	1.8	1	1.4
Truancy	17	10.0	9	13.0
Total	170	100.0	69	100.0

*Order given is from most serious to least serious.

often present when the child was interviewed, despite the fact that the interviewer had been instructed to avoid these situations whenever possible. In these instances the pressure must be severe for the child to dissemble about his delinquent acts and for the parent to immediately react negatively and with much effect, to this new awareness of the child's delinquencies, particularly when a third party is present.

On the other hand, it would have been interesting to have utilized self-report measures. It might have provided us an opportunity to conduct a comparative analysis of "official delinquents" and "self-reported delinquents" and to ascertain once more if the measurement of different dimensions of delinquency makes a difference in relationships among a set of independent variables. However, the potential gain from such self-report instruments was, in our judgment, outweighed by the danger of considerable sample attrition.

Finally, there has recently been published an extensive bibliography, review, and critique of self-reports of deviant included in a study of over 400 boys from a lower class London population first contacted at age eight to nine, most of whom by 1971 were aged 17 to 18 (Farrington: 1973). This report shows retest stability after two years and concurrent validity, as do most other reports; that is, the self-reports are closely related to official delinquency. In general other published works show no information on predictive validity but Farrington, in one of the rare attempts to assess the predictive validity of a self-report instrument, correctly identified 47 percent of the future "official" delinquents, but misidentified 17 percent of the nondelinquents. Furthermore, after a two-year interval, one-fourth of all admissions turned into denials. He concludes:

> As these self-report questionnaires become more and more technically sophisticated, will there come a point when they replace official records as a measure of deviant behavior? This seems unlikely, since even the most technically perfect questionnaire is bound to contain some bias. Furthermore, it seems quite feasible that the continuing criticism of official records will lead to a reduction in their bias. The most accurate measure of deviant behavior may yet prove to be some combination of official records and a self-report questionnaire. (Farrington: 1973; p. 109)

Monahan, who is very familiar with Philadelphia data, has said:

> Attempts to measure illegal behavior impartially have recently taken recourse to self-reported ("confessional") types of data, including the recollections of adults. (Robinson, 1966 a and b). There is a very serious question as to whether these self-reports are indeed "delinquencies" or "crimes" in the operational sense and whether they even approach the reality of interactional responses (with all the nuances entailed), or the totality of events upon which police must make human decisions (Monahan, 1970). It is truly semantic confusion to speak of certain youthful misbehavior (even if illegal) as if it were "delinquency" as commonly and almost universally understood. (Monahan, 1972, p. 92). (For a critical review of Philadelphia data see Thomas P. Monahan, "Police Dispositions of Juvenile Offenders: The Problem of Measurement and a Study of Philadelphia Data," *Phylon* 31 (Summer 1970). pp. 129-41.)

Even though our basic measure of "delinquency" was of "official delinquency" it must be emphasized that few of the youths defined as delinquents are ever formally adjudicated delinquents and even fewer are ever formally institutionalized. To be sure, "official delinquency" underestimates the universe of all delinquent acts, especially if delinquency and deviance are defined as conceptual acts which overlap but whose boundaries are somewhat vague. Furthermore, whether or not official delinquency rates reflect the relative incidence of delinquency by social class may also be debated. However, our major purpose is to discover and discern patterns of *association* and "cause" rather than the dimensions of total volume. Whether or not "self-reports" would serve better in discovering "causes" is open to question. For instance, one does not need to know the true incidence or prevalence of an event to investigate its causes.

C. The Concept of Social Class

The study used several socio-economic indices as independent variables of class. The two-factor Hollingshead social class index and a six-way income breakdown were used. The income breakdown yielded some slightly meaningful results; it was considered possible that there was greater intuitive meaning to income groups than social class groups within the black community. However, a preliminary analysis of the two-factor Hollingshead scale (education and occupation) revealed some anomalies; for instance, some families on public assistance were assigned to the middle class. Furthermore, the Hollingshead scale had a low correlation (-.126) with a reported family income; in contrast the correlation of the Warner scale with income was -.546.[2] Accordingly, it was decided to use a three-factor Warner scale (house type, source of income, and occupation) for which the housing ratings were updated to classify our sample into social classes.

No adjustment was made for differences of race, eithnicity or religion and the same cut-off points were used for all social groups.

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[2] High scores referred to lower classes.

The measure of social class (on Warner's Index of Status Characteristics) was based on a composite score of the three factors with the following weights:

Occupation	= 5
Source of income	= 4
House type	= 3

The occupation scale, source of income (and their weights) and revised housing type scales are presented in Figures 1, 2, and 3.

Each household was classified then into one of the following social classes (according to the criteria specified by Warner).

(1) middle class (score 53 or less)
(2) working class (score 54-62)
(3) lower class (score 63 and over)

(No adjustments were made for race, ethnicity or religion.)

Figure 1
Warner Scale Scores for Source of Income

Score	Source of Income
1	Inherited wealth
2	Earned wealth
3	Profits and fees
4	Salary
5	Wages
6	Private relief
7	Public relief and "non-respectable income"

Figure 2
Housing Type Scale (Revised)

Score		Housing Type
1	Excellent housing	Luxury apartments with very high rent ($600 or more per month); large private homes worth $75,000 or more; includes restored "town houses" either in Center City or "Society Hill."
2	Very good housing	Somewhat smaller than those in "Excellent Housing;" expensive apartments with high rent which are new, fairly new or older but well-kept ($300-$600 per month rent); large, private homes worth between $40,000 and $75,000.
3	Good housing	Apartments with "middle range rents" ($200-$300 per month) which are well-kept; private homes, well-cared for, mostly single or semidetached, but may include some attached, and worth between $20,000 and $40,000.
4	Average housing	Well-kept apartments, generally small to medium in size ($100-$200 per month rent); well-kept, small houses; semidetached and row houses; usually in good repair.
5	Fair housing	Apartments in need of minor repairs, generally small (less than $100 per month rent); mostly row houses; includes low income public housing in need of minor repairs.
6	Poor housing	Apartments in row houses, run-down and in need of *major* repairs; streets and yards littered and need cleaning up; includes low-income public housing in need of major repairs.

7	Very poor housing	Apartments *very* run down and semi-slum, some dwellings condemned, some vacant, some being torn down; houses beyond repair, often considered unsafe to live in; predominantly row houses which may house two or more families in "apartments;" streets, yards often filled with debris; stores in the area may be closed, "out of business," and boarded up.

Figure 3
Occupational-Status Scale

Score	
1	Major professionals, proprietors and managers of businesses valued at $75,000 and over, regional divisional managers of large financial and industrial enterprises, certified public accountants, and "gentleman farmers."
2	Minor professionals, proprietors and managers of businesses valued at $20,000 to $75,000, assistant managers and office and department managers of large businesses, assistants to executives, accountants, salesmen of real estate and insurance, postmasters, and large-farm owners.
3	Semiprofessionals, owners and managers of businesses valued at $5,000 to $20,000, all minor officials of businesses, auto salesmen, bank clerks and cashiers, postal clerks, secretaries to executives, supervisors of railroad companies, telephone companies, and the like, justices of the peace, and contractors.
4	Managers and proprietors of businesses valued at $2,000 to $5,000, stenographers, bookkeepers, rural mail clerks, railroad ticket agents, sales people in dry-goods stores, factory foremen, electricians, plumbers, and carpenters who own their own businesses; watchmakers, dry-cleaning workers, butchers, sheriffs, railroad engineers, and conductors.
5	Managers and proprietors of businesses valued at $500 to $2,000, dimestore clerks, hardware salesmen, beauty operators, telephone operators, carpenters, plumbers, electricians (apprentice), timekeepers, linemen, telephone or telegraph or radio repairmen, medium-skill workers, barbers, firemen, butcher's apprentices, practical nurses, policemen, seamstresses, cooks in restaurants, bartenders, and tenant farmers.
6	Managers and proprietors of businesses valued at less than $500, moulders, semiskilled workers, assistants to carpenters, baggagemen, night policemen and watchmen, taxi and truck drivers, gas-station attendants, waitresses, and small tenant farmers.
7	Heavy labor, migrant work, odd-job men, miners, janitors, scrubwomen, newsboys, and migrant farm laborers.

As partial validation of the scale, reported income of the household was correlated with the Warner Index score. The relationship between the two variables was in the expected direction and fairly high ($r = .55$). The mean income of every social class group for each of the four samples is given in Table 2. Our sampling excludes the top social stratum, in part because of the explicit decision to use public and parochial schools as the basic source of our respondents.

Table 2
The Social Class Distribution of Black and White Families and Mean Income for Four Sample Groups

SOCIAL CLASS	Blacks									Whites		
	Time One			Time Two			Panel			Time Two		
	N	%	x Inc.	N	%	x Inc.	N	%	x Inc.*	N	%	x Inc.
Middle Class	112	21.0	$8858	112	22.0	$9371	103	22.7	$9476	269	53.6	$12,633
Working Class	171	32.1	$7399	152	29.0	$7750	135	29.9	$7680	155	30.9	$ 9,843
Lower Class	249	46.9	$5348	244	48.1	$4424	214	47.4	$4462	78	15.5	$ 6,486
Total	532	100.0	$6741	508	100.0	$6510	452	100.0	$6566	502	100.0	$10,817

*Income Data at Time Two

There are three quite separate and distinct phenomena which have been casually and mistakenly lumped together in current discussions of crime in America. There is, first, the matter of *Criminal Victimization,* which consists of either the perception of having *personally* been the victim of someone's criminal action, usually involving injury, damage or financial loss of some consequence, or the knowledge of a respondent (usually head-of-household adult) concerning any specified victimization which had occurred to himself *or* to any other household members within a restricted study period. Secondly, there is the *Fear of Crime,* a phenomenon somewhat more socially significant than victimization. Within reasonable periods only a minority of the population is victimized; but the bulk of the American population has relatively high levels of fear of crime which may be independent of any previous victimizations. The fear of crime involves a highly subjective estimate of the chances of becoming at some time the victim of a (specific) crime; it also involves a similarly subjective estimate of the risk that other family members will become victimized by similar criminal acts. The fear of crime is a major force in America today; it takes the form of continuous tensions and anxieties in a large proportion of any population. *Altered Behavior* is a third phenomenon which may or may not be associated with either prior victimizations or elevated levels of the fear of crime. It may be the most socially significant of the three related phenomena. Altered behavior involves the techniques and behaviors whereby a fearful population alters or discontinues previous patterns of behavior, hopefully to reduce the risk of future victimization. Altered behavior represents unattractive and undesired constraints or alterations of normal behavior by a large segment of the population. The types of altered behavior include cessation of previous socially significant actions, the institution of new, protective forms of behavior, and weapon responses.

I. Basic Definitions

A. Criminal Victimization

The victimized family is defined as one in which some member, within the study year, had knowingly been subjected to one, or more, of 10 specified offenses, as this information was known and reported to us by the adult head-of-household informant:

a. Attempted robbery: an attempt was made to take by force or threat some money or property from a family member.

b. Threats of injury: threatened with harm, for any reason, either in person or over the phone.

c. Sexual assault: actual serious threat or sexual assault.

d. Burglary: the respondent's home or apartment was broken into and something of value was taken.

e. Malicious mischief or arson: the intentional destruction or burning of personal property owned by some member of the family.

f. Robbery: something of value was in fact taken by force from some family member.

g. Acceptance of counterfeit or forged instruments.

h. Minor sexual offenses: some family member had been subjected to a "peeping Tom" or indecent exposure.

i. Assault: a family member was physically attacked.

j. Injury in a hit-and-run (or other reckless driving) accident.

The juvenile males in our subject population were asked, not about the experiences of others, but solely about their having been victims personally of three separate offenses:

1. Robbery
2. Assault
3. Extortion: the child gave money, food or something else of value to someone to avoid being assaulted.

B. Fear of Crime

The head-of-household respondent was also asked about the degree of fear (or concern or worry) that they personally felt about the occurrence of 12 crimes. We were primarily concerned not merely with the presence of fear, but its relative degree. Accordingly, the respondents, adult and juvenile, were given cards with "fear ladders" for most fear items. They were required to set their finger at the amount of fear (or concern or worry) they felt for each item. The "O" step was verbally defined by the interviewer and was printed on the card as representing "no fear," whereas "10" stood for "maximum fear" or "extreme fear."

The 12 offenses were:

a. Burglary-day time ("someone will break into your house during the daytime").

b. Burglary-night time ("someone will break into your house at night").

c. Assault-day time ("someone in the family will be beaten up in the streets around here during the day").

d. Assault-night time ("someone in the family will be beaten up in the streets around here at night").

e. Children injured on the street in the immediate area ("your child will be deliberately injured by someone while he is in the streets in the immediate area").

f. Children injured while at school ("your child will be deliberately injured by someone while he or she is at school").

g. Children robbed in the immediate area ("your child will be robbed while he is in this neighborhood").

h. Children robbed while at school ("your child will be robbed while at school").

i. Criminal injury ("you or someone else in the family will be criminally injured while going to work").

j. Robbery ("while shopping, visiting or going to work you or someone else in the family is robbed").

k. Sexual assault ("you or some female in the family will be sexually assaulted").

l. Purse snatching ("you or someone else in the family will have their pockets picked or purse snatched").

Juvenile fears of personal victimization, were also measured on a similar ten-step "fear ladder", as regards eight offenses:

a. Being robbed by an adult.
b. Being robbed by a group of teenagers.
c. Being assulted by an adult.
d. Being assulted by a group of teenagers.
e. Being murdered by an adult.
f. Being murdered by a group of teenagers.
g. Paying protection to an adult.
h. Paying protection to a group of teenagers.

Beyond the fear of specified crimes, it was decided to investigate specific *social settings*, which might provoke high levels of adult and juvenile fear, by securing fear responses, by whether each setting was thought to be a "dangerous place," that is, "where there was a good

chance that you might be beaten up or robbed."

The 13 settings were:

a. Streets within a block or two of where you live.
b. Streets just outside the immediate area (i.e., beyond a block or two).
c. Streets to and from school.
d. School rooms.
e. School yards.
f. School hallways.
g. Parks.
h. Playgrounds.
i. Recreational centers.
j. Movie houses.
k. Dance halls.
l. Trolleys or buses.
m. Subways.

C. Altered Behavior

The adult in the study was also asked to indicate what *changes* in normal (everyday) behavior they or their family had recently engaged in, as a reaction to their fear of crime. The 23 examples of altered behavior were classified as: (a) *Avoidance Techniques* (the deliberate cessation or restriction of previous patterns of behavior as a direct attempt to reduce criminal victimization; (b) *Positive Reactions of a Noneconomic Nature* (the onset of new, functionally undesired forms of noncostly behavior, because it might prevent future victimizations); (c) *Economically Expensive Forms of Altered Behavior* (undertaking new, costly reactions to the possibility of crime); and (d) *Weapon Response* (acquisition of dangerous devices to protect oneself, or the recent relocation of already-owned weapons to a more dangerous place in the house).

a. Avoidance Types of Behavior

1. Stay at home at night.
2. If must go out at night, do not go alone.
3. Do not go to movies alone at any time.
4. Do less shopping alone even in day time.
5. Visit friends less.
6. Avoid talking to strangers on the street.
7. Cross the street after seeing a gang of teenagers.
8. Avoid subways.
9. Try not to work in "bad" areas.
10. Keep children off streets in daytime.
11. Keep children off streets at night.

b. Positive Reactions Noncostly Acts

1. Keep front door locked all the time even when at home.
2. Move to a safer neighborhood.
3. Try to transfer children to safer schools.

c. Economically Expensive Forms of Positive Reactions

1. Put more and better locks on doors.
2. Put on (more) bars and screens on windows.
3. Use taxis whenever possible.
4. Install more lights around the house.
5. Buy a dog for protection.

d. Weapon Responses

1. Recently bought a gun for protection.
2. Keep a loaded gun in the house.
3. Carry tear gas, club or other weapon when going out.
4. Keep gun or weapon by bed.

The investigation of juvenile forms of altered behavior involved a quite different series of items. Juvenile altered behavior (as a response to the fear of crime) was measured by seven types of avoidances and two weapon reactions:

a. Avoidance Techniques

1. Cross the street when a group of strangers approaches.
2. Avoid talking to strangers.
3. Do not go out beyond a block or two of where you live alone at night.
4. Do not go out, even within the immediate area, if you are alone at night.
5. Do not go onto some (other) gang's "turf" during the day, even with a friend.
6. Do not go onto some (other) gang's turf at night, even with a friend.
7. Do not go onto some (other) gang's turf at night, when alone.

b. Weapon Reactions

1. Recently began carrying a gun or knife.
2. Recently began carrying "something else" [other than gun or knife].

II. Victimization

A. Methodological Concerns

The methodological problems that are associated with research in the area of criminal victimization are generally well known. They include:

a. Memory decay (the respondent forgets personal or familial victimization experiences or thinks that they occurred before or after the study year, while in fact they occurred within the research period).

b. Lack of knowledge by respondent (Head-of-household respondent never knew of some or all of the victimizations experienced by other household members).

c. Deliberate exaggeration and deliberate failure to admit victimization (the respondent, in effect, lies and recites events that did not take place or consciously fails to reveal victimization which had occurred).

d. Telescoping of criminal events into the study period (the respondent states that a specific crime took place within the research year when, in fact, it occurred before or after the period being investigated).

e. Victimization was not a criminal event (the act thought to be, and described as a crime, upon close examination, is found not to be a legal offense).

The problem of "telescoping" of events does not seem to be particularly serious in the longitudinal study of victimization; nor is the problem of events incorrectly perceived to be crimes of great importance to this project, as previous research has indicated that the overwhelming majority of these involved commercial frauds, a criminal act not dealt with in this study.

However, the crucial questions as to the knowledgeability of a single adult informant about the victimizations that had been experienced by other members of the family, and memory decay of adult informants were systematically investigated.

Juveniles were asked at the end of each victimization sequence if they had told their parent(s) what had taken place. It is obvious in those instances where a victimized child did not inform his parents (one of whom had to be our household informant) of what had happened to him, the adult respondent *could* not have reported such an event in the household survey. Further, by comparing the percentage of parents who had been informed by their child of his having been robbed or assaulted with the percentage of adult respondents who indicated there had been a household member victimized for robbery or assault, some crude measure of memory decay was secured.

The comparative information of juvenile and adult responses on victimization in Table 3, relates directly to this issue of the knowledgeability of adult informants as to juvenile victimizations. One might argue that an assault may involve a fairly minor act of bodily contact but robbery is, without question, a significant event. A total of 172 boys at Time One (the first study year), or 38 percent of the entire black juvenile population, said that they had been robbed. What type of robberies were these? An analysis of the victims' responses about the nature of the crime reveals that in 63 percent of the 172 robberies, the boys said the robber had used or threatened to use a *visible weapon* (knife, gun, or "other instrument") or the boy was actually assaulted, and in every case of juvenile reported robbery, something of value was taken. Thus one may conclude that the juvenile robberies were, in the main, serious in nature and involved considerably more than simple intimidation. These were major felonies. Responses by the adult head-of-household were examined for each of the 172 families in which a boy said that he had been the victim of a robbery. It must be kept in mind that the household survey did not inquire as to precisely who the household victim was; what is being compared, then, is the juvenile's statement of his personal victimization with an adult statement that "someone" had been the victim of the crime. Within the 172 families of boys who had been victims of robberies, family robberies were reported by adult respondents in only 37 cases. It is important to recall that this 22 percent overlap represents the *maximum* degree of agreement, because, without question, some of the 37 household robberies involved either the adult himself or some family member other than the juvenile subject. The same pattern holds for blacks in the second year when 135 boys said they had been robbed and only 38 of their parents (28 percent) reported a household robbery. Unexpectedly the greatest discrepancies occurred in the white population where 125 juveniles said they were the victims of robberies and only 23 of their parents (18 percent) reported a household robbery. The point to be made here is an important one. If only a single household informant is selected to reveal total household victimizations, or if the adult represents the initial, primary screening device in determining victimized household members, such an informant very likely vastly understates actual household victimization experiences. For a serious crime such as robbery, one in which a weapon was displayed in most cases and something of value was taken in every case, 75 percent to 80 percent of all juvenile victimizations were not disclosed by the adult informant.

Another question is whether, this great understatement by household informants is due to lack of knowledge (the child did not tell his parent) or memory decay

Table 3
Black and White Juvenile Victimizations Compared to Informant [Parental] Statements on Household Victimizations for the Same Offense, T1 [Time One] and T2 [Time Two]

	Blacks T1 (N = 452)			Blacks T2 (N = 452)			Whites (N = 502)		
	Juvenile Victimization		Parental Statement on Household Victimization	Juvenile Victimization		Parental Statement on Household Victimization	Juvenile Victimization		Parental Statement on Household Victimization
	No.	%	No.	No.	%	No.	No.	%	No.
1) Robbery	172	38	37	136	30	38	125	25	23
[Victimized juvenile who told parent]	[72	42]		[62	46]		[55	44]	
2) Assault	72	16	56	83	18	98	116	23	90
[Victimized juvenile who told parent]	[32	45]		[48	58]		[50	43]	
3) Extortion	32	7		34	7.5		30	6	
[Victimized juvenile who told parent]	[14	45]		[14	41]		[11	37]	

(the parent was told but forgot). Table 3 seems to indicate that for robbery at least, the under-reporting is an amalgam of both errors. Only 72 (42 percent) of 172 black juvenile robbery victims at Time One told their parents. Of these 72 households, only 37 (51 percent) mentioned any household robbery. At Time Two there were 136 black juvenile robbery victims, 62 of whom (46 percent) told their parents they had been robbed and of these 62 households, 38 (61 percent) reported any household robbery. For the white population, 125 boys were the victims of at least one robbery; 55 of these (44 percent) informed their parents that they had been robbed and of these 55 households, 23 (42 percent) reported a household robbery during the study year.

Thus, most young victims of *serious* robberies do not inform their parents that they have been robbed, and a very large proportion of the informed parents (40 to 60 percent) fail to remember the victimization or are unable to describe it during the study interview.

B. Household Victimizations

Black adult household respondents, giving information about the experiences of all household members, reveal that during the first study year 254 families (48 percent) contained members who had been victims of one or more of the 10 offenses. Table 4 shows that the most usual offenses were attempted robbery (17 percent), burglary (15 percent), threats of injury (13 percent), assault (12 percent), and robbery (10 percent). One hundred ninety-eight households, were involved with 360 victimizations, or 1.82 victimizations per victimized household. At Time Two, over 21 percent of all families were the victims of an attempted robbery, 20 percent

Table 4
Victimization of Black Households as Reported By Adult Respondent, By Offense Time One and Time Two

Criminal offense	Percent victimized			
	Time One (N = 452)		Time Two (N = 452)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Threat of injury	59	13	86	19
Burglary	67	15	63	14
Vandalism	32	7	36	8
Attempted robbery	77	17	95	21
Accept counterfeit money or forged instrument	14	3	23	5
Sexual assault	13	3	9	2
Assault	53	12	90	20
Robbery	45	10	35	8
Total	360		437	

of assult, and 19 percent of threat of injury. There were 200 households which "consumed" 437 offenses, or a rate of 2.1 victimizations per victimized household. While the number of victimizations rose from 360 to 437 (21 percent), this is entirely due to the rise of minor offenses: assault (up 70 percent), threats (up 46 percent), and attempted robbery (up 23 percent). From Time One to Time Two, serious crimes (burglary, robbery, and sexual assaults) actually dropped 17 percent (from 125 to 107).

Of interest is the ascertainment of the two-year pattern of household victimization, i.e., the relationship of the victimization in one year with criminal victimizations in the following year. Table 5 reveals, first of all, that the overall relationship is statistically significant, that is, the pattern of victimization in the first year is positively associated with victimization experiences in the following year. It will be seen that 159 families (35 percent of the total 452 panel families) had not been the victims of any of the 10 criminal offenses during either the first or second year; these might be considered "Continuing Non-Victims." At the other extreme there were 105 families (23 percent) who had been the victims of one or

Table 5
Comparison of Black Household Victimizations, Time One and Time Two*

Household Victimization at Time One	Household Victimization at Time Two		
	None	One or More	TOTAL
None	159 (63%)[xx] (63%)[+] [35%][#]	95 (37%) (48%) [21%]	254 (56%)
One or more	93 (47%) (37%) [21%]	105 (53%) (52%) [23%]	198 (44%)
Total	252 (56%)	200 (44%)	452 (100%)

* The overall relationship is a statistically significant one
[xx] Row percentage
[+] Column percentage
[#] Total percentage

more criminal enterprises in the first year and were again the victims of one or more crimes during the second year of our study; these can be defined as "Continuing Victims." Between these extremes there are 93 families (21 percent) who had been the victims of at least one crime *only* in the first year, and a virtually identical number of 95 families (21 percent) who were victims of at least one crime *only* in the second year; taken together, these 188 families (42 percent) were "Occasional Victims," that is, they had been victimized in only one of the two test periods. Totally then, it can be seen that 65 percent of all black families in our sample had been victimized by at least one crime in one or both years of the study.

Of some importance is the fact that the data reveal that, on a family level, there exists a regular and consistent rate of "crime consumption" in the black population: 44 percent are victimized once every two years, about one-fourth of all families are repeatedly victimized, and over one-third of all blacks have managed somehow to avoid being victimized within the two-year study period. If attention is paid only to serious offenses (burglary, robbery, and sexual assault) there were 125 victimizations at Time One involving 68 households; that is 15 percent of all households were the victims of serious crimes at Time One. There were 107 serious victimizations at Time Two, involving 49 households or 11 percent of all family units.

C. Juvenile Victimizations

Necessarily, some considerable attention was given to victimizations reported by juveniles as having occurred to them personally compared to household victimizations.

(As has already been seen, household informants have proved to be a very imperfect measure of crimes committed against family members other than the adult informant himself.)

First examining black juveniles, it can be seen (Table 6) that 38 percent were robbed, 16 percent assaulted, and seven percent paid extortion during Time One. During the second year, there were far fewer robbery victimizations (30 percent), slightly more assaults (18 percent), and about the same rate of extortion. (While fewer white youths were the victims of robberies (25 percent) and they were slightly less involved with extortion (6 percent), they were more likely to be assaulted (23 percent) than blacks at Time One or Time Two.) Overall, 46 percent of all black youths were victimized during the first year and 40 percent were victimized in the second year.

Examining the panel of black juveniles (Table 7), it can be seen that 206 (46 percent) of all juveniles reported having been the victim of one or more crimes in the first year and 181 (40 percent) were victimized during the second year. Generally the juveniles' victimization experiences were, more or less, similar to that reported for the family unit by the adult respondent. First, 175 juveniles (39 percent) not victimized in either the first or the second study year, were Continuing Non-Victims (compared to 34 percent of all households). Further, 110 boys (24 percent), victimized in both Time One and Time Two were Continuing Victims, (compared to 23 percent) had been the victims of crimes only in the first year of the study, but not the second year, and 71 (16 percent) were Occasional Victims (compared to 42 percent of all households). On the whole, then, almost 40 percent of all youths were apparently safe from the criminal acts of others, while slightly over 60 percent had been robbed, assaulted or had paid protection in either or both of the study years. The only significant difference between juvenile and household victimization experiences involves the smaller juvenile percentage who were victimized at Time Two only; where 21 percent of all family households were victimized at Time One only and an identical percentage at Time Two only, juveniles at Time Two (having reached the age of 15 and perhaps significantly entering into serious gang memberships) had their risks of victimization drop considerably below that of the previous year (21 percent to 16 percent).

When the issue of multiple victimizations was examined (Table 8) for the first study year, it was found that juveniles who paid protection to other youths were unlikely also to have been assaulted [36 percent (13/36)], but they were very prone to having been robbed [76 percent (29/38)]. Similarly, boys who were assaulted were not likely to have also paid extortion [15 percent (13/84)], but were likely to have been robbed [69 percent (58/84)]. Juveniles who had been robbed, however, were unlikely to either have been assaulted [29 percent (58/199)] or to have paid protection [14.5 percent (29/200)].

Table 6
Personal Victimization Within Time One and Time Two, as Reported by Juvenile Victim, Black and White, By Offense

	Black juveniles		White juveniles
	Time One	Time Two	Time Two
Criminal offenses	(N = 452)	(N = 452)	(N = 502)
Robbery	172 (38%)	136 (30%)	125 (25%)
Assault	73 (16%)	83 (18%)	116 (23%)
Extortion	32 (7%)	34 (7.5%)	30 (6%)

Table 7
Comparison of Black Juvenile Victimizations at Time One and Time Two*

	Juvenile victimization at Time Two		
Juvenile Victimization at Time One	Not victim	Victim one or more times	Total
Not victims	175 (71%)[xx] (65%)[+] [39%][++]	71 (29%) (39%) [16%]	246 (54%)
Victim one or more times	96 (47%) (35%) [21%]	110 (52%) (61%) [24%]	206 (46%)
Total	271 (60%)	181 (40%)	452 (100%)

* Results are significant beyond .0001 level
[xx] Row percentage
[+] Column percentage
[++] Total percentage

Table 8
Intercomparisons of Black Juvenile Victimizations during Time One

		Juvenile paid extortion		
		Yes	No	Total
Juvenile assaulted	Yes	11 (15%)	62 (85%)	73 (100%)
	No	19 (5%)	360 (95%)	379 (100%)
	Total	30 (7%)	422 (93%)	452 (100%)

		Juvenile paid extortion		
		Yes	No	Total
Juvenile robbed	Yes	25 (15%)	145 (85%)	170 (100%)
	No	7 (3%)	275 (97%)	282 (100%)
	Total	32 (7%)	420 (93%)	452 (100%)

		Juvenile was assaulted		
		Yes	No	Total
Juvenile robbed	Yes	49 (29%)	121 (71%)	170 (100%)
	No	23 (8%)	259 (92%)	282 (100%)
	Total	72 (16%)	380 (84%)	452 (100%)

III. Relationship of Juvenile Victimization to Juvenile Delinquency

Certain researchers prefer to use self-reported acts of delinquency by juveniles as the best or the most "correct" or most accurate measure of whether or not the juveniles have in fact engaged in some known violation of the criminal or juvenile justice codes, whether or not the delinquency became known to public authorities. In recent years it has become increasingly clear that there still remain many serious limitations to the use of self-reported instances of delinquency. It is still not clearly demonstrated that self-reported measures of delinquency are consistently superior to the use of official delinquency records. The nagging problem of validity of self-reported responses has not yet been settled, despite some premature euphoria in those researchers who have adopted such techniques. Patently there are many, serious caveats that may be leveled against the use of official records of delinquency, but it was our considered judgment that official measures were more useful for the practical purposes of this research.

Once a decision is made to use official records of delinquency, the issue arises as to precisely which official records or what point in the juvenile justice system would constitute our primary measure of delinquency. In the Philadelphia juvenile justice system there are four distinctive junctures that might be used as the measure of delinquency. The first point is the earliest contact the juvenile has with the juvenile justice system; it is the point of official record keeping which is closest to the occurrence of the delinquency itself and it occurs when the police first apprehend the child and begin official processing of the delinquent by the Juvenile Aid Division. This is our basic definition of delinquency: a child who has been apprehended by the police and comes within the purview of the Philadelphia Police Department Juvenile Aid Division, where an official (JAD) record is made of the action. By this definition whatever happens subsequently, whether the case is remedialled (the child is sent home) or processed further in the juvenile justice system, is irrelevant.

It was possible to have utilized alternative definitions: youths who are apprehended and who are *not* remedialled, but are formally brought into the juvenile court jurisdiction (they are "arrested"); or the apprehended boys who are brought into juvenile court, and are formally adjudicated delinquents; or youths could be classified delinquent not simply by their being adjudicated delinquents but by being committed to a formal juvenile institution. The decision to use the first as our basic definition was based on various considerations. Thorstein Sellin, for example, has argued forcefully that the point closest to the actual commission of a crime [or delinquency] is the best to use in that is is least affected by differential case mortality. Also cases which end with JAD processing, i.e., the juvenile's case is remedialled and he is released, do not represent youths who have *not* engaged in the delinquency. These remedialled cases represent children who probably *did* in fact engage in the delinquent act they were accused of, but had very minor if any prior official record, or had very "concerned" parents who, it was felt, could properly treat the child, and the complainant evinced no strong desire for the case to be carried further. By our basic definition 149 juveniles (33 percent) were classed as delinquents.

Table 9 reveals no significant differences between delinquents and nondelinquents as to robbery victimizations. At Time One 36 percent of all delinquents and 39 percent of all nondelinquents were robbed; at Time Two 32 percent of the juvenile delinquents and 30 percent of the nondelinquents were robbed.

A similar situation existed for extortion, with very similar percentages of delinquents and nondelinquents "paying protection" in both time periods. As perhaps one might have expected, however, delinquents were slightly more prone to be assaulted than nondelinquents at Time One (18 percent to 15 percent); they were considerably more likely to be assaulted in the second study year (26 percent to 15 percent).

There are scattered references in the criminological literature to the belief that delinquents (known to be "tough guys") are more likely, as a consequence of their reputation for ferociousness, to better protect their family from criminal depredations. Does a reputation of having a delinquent juvenile indeed render the boy's family a less attractive mark for criminals in the area? Table 10 reveals that there seems little substance to this belief. At Time One, 41 percent of the delinquents' families and 45 percent of the nondelinquents' families were victimized. In the second year, the respective percentages were 40 percent and 46 percent.

In Table 11 the relationship of *serious* household victimizations to delinquency was examined. Serious victimizations meant that someone in the family was reported, by the head-of-household informant, to have been the victim of a robbery, burglary or sexual assault, during the two study years. Once more, serious victimizations were unrelated to the variable of delinquency. Household members were not safer from serious criminal incident because a family member was known to be a delinquent. At Time One, 27 percent of the families with delinquents and 28 percent of the nondelinquent families had not been victimized for any of the three serious crimes;

Table 9
Black Juvenile Victimizations by Black Juvenile Delinquency Status, Time One and Time Two

	Type of Juvenile Victimization					
	Robbery					
	Time One			Time Two		
Delinquent status	Robbed	Not robbed	Total	Robbed	Not robbed	Total
Delinquent	54 (36%)	95 (64%)	149 (33%)	46 (31%)	102 (69%)	148 (33%)
Nondelinquent	118 (39%)	185 (61%)	303 (67%)	91 (30%)	217 (70%)	304 (67%)
Total	172 (38%)	280 (62%)	452 (100%)	137 (30%)	315 (70%)	452 (100%)

	Assault					
	Time One			Time Two		
Delinquent status	Assaulted	Not assaulted	Total	Assaulted	Not assaulted	Total
Delinquent	27 (18%)	122 (82%)	149 (33%)	38 (26%)	110 (74%)	148 (33%)
Nondelinquent	45 (15%)	258 (85%)	303 (67%)	45 (15%)	259 (85%)	304 (67%)
Total	72 (16%)	380 (84%)	452 (100%)	83 (18%)	369 (82%)	452 (100%)

	Extortion					
	Time One			Time Two		
Delinquent status	Paid	Not paid	Total	Paid	Not paid	Total
Delinquent	11 (7%)	138 (93%)	149 (33%)	10 (7%)	138 (93%)	148 (33%)
Nondelinquent	21 (7%)	282 (93%)	303 (67%)	24 (8%)	280 (92%)	304 (67%)
Total	32 (7%)	420 (93%)	452 (100%)	34 (7%)	418 (93%)	452 (100%)

Table 10
Household Victimization by Delinquency Status of Black Youths, Time One and Time Two

	Household victimization					
	Time One			Time Two		
Delinquency status	None	1 or More	Total	None	1 or More	Total
Juvenile delinquent	88 (59%)	61 (41%)	149 (100%)	89 (60%)	60 (40%)	149 (100%)
Nondelinquent	166 (55%)	137 (45%)	303 (100%)	163 (54%)	140 (46%)	303 (100%)
Total	254 (50%)	198 (44%)	452 (100%)	252 (56%)	200 (44%)	452 (100%)

Table 11
Serious Household Victimizations by Delinquency Status of Black Youths, Time One and Time Two

	Serious household victimization					
	Time One			Time Two		
Delinquency status	None	1 or More	Total	None	1 or More	Total
Juvenile delinquent	109 (73%)	40 (27%)	149 (100%)	115 (77%)	34 (23%)	149 (100%)
Nondelinquent	218 (72%)	85 (28%)	303 (100%)	230 (76%)	73 (74%)	303 (100%)
Total	327 (72%)	125 (28%)	452 (100%)	345 (76%)	107 (24%)	452 (100%)

by Time Two, 23 percent of the delinquents, and 24 percent of the nondelinquents, families were also nonvictimized.

It is widely contended that there is a significant relationship between social class and criminal victimization. Some previous research has seemed to show that the lower social classes produce higher rates of victimization. Accordingly in Table 12, the black subject population was divided into three class groupings predicated on Warner Social Class scale: middle class (Warner class scores of 53 or less), working class (scores of 54 to 62) and lower class (scores of 63 and over). When class is compared to juvenile victimization, no systematic pattern emerges. Robbery victimizations in Time One did increase as one moved from the highest class (34 percent) through the working class (38 percent) to the lower class (40 percent); by Time Two, however, this pattern is reversed, with 41 percent of the middle class having been robbed, as were 29 percent of the working class and 26 percent of the lower class. The working class boys were highest in assault and extortion victimizations at Time One, but lower class boys at Time Two were highest in these victimizations.

When household victimizations are examined by social class (Table 13), the working class families were most

Table 12
Relationship of Social Class to Black Juvenile Victimization, at Time One and Time Two, By Crime

	Time One Juvenile Victimization			
Social class	No.	Robbery	Assault	Extortion
Middle	103	35 (34%)	18 (17%)	6 (5%)
Working	135	51 (38%)	27 (20%)	17 (13%)
Lower	214	86 (40%)	28 (13%)	9 (4%)
TOTAL	452	172	73	32
	Time Two Juvenile Victimization			
Social class	No.	Robbery	Assault	Extortion
Middle	103	42 (41%)	23 (22%)	8 (8%)
Working	135	39 (29%)	27 (20%)	10 (7%)
Lower	214	55 (26%)	33 (15%)	16 (8%)
TOTAL	452	136	83	34

Table 13
Relationship of Social Class to Black Household Victimizations, at Time One and Time Two

	Household Victimizations					
	Time One			Time Two		
Social class	None	1 or More	Total	None	1 or More	Total
Middle	60 (58%)	43 (42%)	103	54 (52%)	49 (48%)	103
Working	67 (50%)	68 (50%)	135	76 (56%)	59 (44%)	135
Lower	127 (59%)	87 (41%)	214	122 (57%)	92 (43%)	214
TOTAL	254 (56%)	198 (44%)	452	252 (56%)	200 (44%)	452

likely to be victimized at Time One whereas the middle class were most heavily victimized in the second year. The data of this study certainly do not support the belief in the excessive victimization of the lowest class.

IV. Fear of Crime

The fears or anxieties that are produced by one's perception of the likelihood of becoming a victim of a criminal act may or may not be related to the actual experience of previous personal victimizations or the victimizations that befell other household members. Attention was focused on a variety of specific events which were felt to be "dangerous" to the respondents or to significant others in their lives. As indicated above, adult respondents were asked about their fear or concern or worry regarding 13 events, including burglaries, assaults, sexual assaults, purse snatchings, and their children being injured or robbed. Juvenile fears regarding eight events were investigated: being robbed, assaulted, murdered, or extorted by adults or by teenagers. Beyond dangerous *events*, eight social *settings*, which might produce fear, were also investigated.

During the first study year, the dangerousness of the immediate area in which one lives ("within a block or two") was differentially perceived by black adults and juveniles (Tables 14 and 15). The neighborhood was considered to be dangerous, or the most dangerous, in the daytime by 32.5 percent of the adults but only 19 percent of the juveniles. Significantly, the reverse was true of the same (immediate) area at night, when 49 percent of the adults and 56 percent of the juveniles thought their neighborhood dangerous. It should be noted, however, that to over 20 percent of the adults the immediate area in which they lived was considered more dangerous than areas somewhat further away.

The same percentage of adults in Time Two considered their area dangerous in the daytime, but slightly more (52 percent) considered their neighborhood dangerous at night. Even more significant was the increased proportion of adult respondents who judged people who lived in the area ("within a block") to be more dangerous than persons who lived in areas further away. Twenty-two percent of all adults at Time One and 28 percent at Time Two thought this to be the case; in effect, the sooner one could escape from his neighborhood, the safer he would be. As one respondent said, as soon as she opened her front door, she was 'in Hell.'

Juvenile estimates of the ferociousness of their immediate area were sharply at variance with those of their parents. Only 19 percent of the boys at Time One and 18 percent at Time Two considered their neighborhood of the city to be dangerous (compared to one-third of their parents). The boys, however, clearly acknowledged the dangerousness of the immediate area at night; 56 percent of the youths at Time One and 51 percent at Time Two were of such a mind. It is interesting to note that while during the first year juveniles thought their neighborhood much safer (less dangerous) in the daytime than did their parents, at the same time they judged it more dangerous at night than did their parents (56 percent to 49 percent). But these differences disappeared in the second year. The youths continually (Time One and Time Two) were less likely to feel that the people in their immediate area were more dangerous than persons living in neighborhoods farther away than did their parents.

Table 14
Dangerousness of Immediate Area in Daytime and at Night as Perceived by Black Adults at Time One and at Time Two (N = 452)

Dangerousness of immediate neighborhood (within a block)		Time One (N = 452) %	Time Two (N = 452) %
1. In daytime:	a. Most dangerous area in the city	.5	2.0
	b. Dangerous	32.0	30.0
	c. Not very dangerous	64.0	68.0
2. At night:	a. Most dangerous area in the city	2.0	2.5
	b. Dangerous	47.0	51.0
	c. Not very dangerous	47.0	45.0
3. Agree that people living in the immediate area (within a block) are more dangerous than people living further away.		22.0	28.0

Table 15
Dangerousness of Immediate Area in Daytime and at Night as Perceived by Black Juveniles at Time One and Time Two (N = 452)

Dangerousness of immediate neighborhood (within a block)		Time One %	Time Two %
1. In daytime:	a. Not dangerous or little danger	80	82
	b. Dangerous	13	13
	c. Very dangerous or most dangerous	6	6
2. At night:	a. Not dangerous or little danger	43	49
	b. Dangerous	27	31
	c. Very dangerous or most dangerous	29	20
3. Agree that people living in the immediate area (within a block) are more dangerous than people living further away.		15	14

When dangerous social settings as viewed by juveniles at Time One and Time Two were investigated, the results were remarkably stable (Table 16).

The juveniles were asked if they thought each of the settings were such that there was a high risk of their being beaten up or robbed. As can be seen, every setting produced a fear response from a considerable proportion of the youths, ranging from 21 percent to 66 percent. Moving through the immediate area, going beyond the neighborhood, and going to and from school were dangerous enterprises in the view of over 40 percent of all juvenile respondents. Parks, playgrounds, recreation centers, movie houses, and dance halls produced an almost equally high proportion of fear. Most significant is the dangerousness of the entire educational enterprise. Going to and from school was, in the minds of most juveniles, likely to provoke assaults and/or robberies; school yards, school hallways, and even school classrooms were dangerous to a large proportion of the juvenile respondents.

Beyond dangerous settings, adults and juveniles were examined as to the *degree* of fear provoked by a number of possible crimes by having adults and juveniles indicate, on a ten-step "fear ladder," the relative amount of fear, concern or worry assigned to each offense. Adults responded to 13 possible offenses:

1. Burglary in the daytime.
2. Burglary at night.
3. Assault in the immediate area in the daytime.
4. Assault in the immediate area at night.
5. Their child being criminally injured on the streets in the immediate area.
6. Their child being criminally injured at school.
7. Their child being robbed in the area.
8. Their child being robbed at school.

Table 16
Social Settings Rated as Dangerous by Black Youths at Time One, by Percentage

Setting	Percentage who rated setting dangerous Time One
1. Streets, in immediate area	42
2. Streets, just outside immediate area	66
3. Streets, to and from school	54
4. School rooms	21
5. School yards	44
6. School hallways	34
7. Parks	50
8. Playgrounds	48
9. Recreation center	39
10. Movie houses	49
11. Dance halls	48
12. Trolleys or buses	43
13. Subways	65

9. Respondent being criminally injured while going to work.
10. Robbery, while going to work.
11. Sexual assault.
12. Purse snatching or pocket being picked.
13. Taking subway at night.

Juvenile subjects produced scaled fear scores for eight offenses:

1. Robbed by an adult.
2. Robbed by a teenager.
3. Beaten up by an adult.
4. Beaten up by a teenager.
5. Being killed by an adult.
6. Being killed by teenagers.
7. Buying protection from an adult.
8. Buying protection from teenagers.

It must be kept in mind that these scaled fear scores were secured only for the first year. This was based on the belief that scaled fear scores are relatively stable and would be unlikely to change significantly over a short period of time.

For all 13 items the complete range of adult fear responses could have been from 0 to 130 ("0" on all 13 settings to "10" for all 13), with a midpoint score of 65; for juveniles the range was 0 to 80 with a midpoint score of 40. On the basis of combined scaled fear scores, all respondents were placed within seven fear categories:

I. *No fear* (adult score of 0-3; juvenile score of 0-2)—no significant amount of fear for any single item (the adults combined scores were 3 or less and 2 or less for juveniles) and in this category were 2.1 percent of all adults and 7.7 percent of all juveniles.

II. *Minimal fear* (adult fear scores or 4-14; juvenile combined fear scores of 3-8)—this might be considered some minimal fear as regards one or two offenses. It encompasses 5.1 percent of the youths and 1.8 percent of their parents.

III. *Some generalized fear* (adult scores of 15-29; juvenile scores of 9-19)—this would include a slightly more diffused feeling of fear relating to several offenses. This include 10.9 percent of the juveniles and 9.1 percent of the adults.

IV. *Fear (below midpoint)* (adult scores of 30-64; juvenile scores of 20-39)—by this time there is significant fear regarding a number of offenses, but the overall fear score is below the midpoint; was given by 27.6 percent of the juveniles and 26.7 percent of all adults.

V. *Fear (above midpoint)* (adult scores of 65-99; juvenile scores of 49-59)—an even more significant level of fear on a wider number of crimes embracing 35.1 percent of all adults and 27.6 percent of all juveniles.

VI. *Much generalized fear* (adult scores of 100-114; juvenile scores of 60-65)—this category involved a considerably generalized level of fear regarding most settings and it was the response of 10.5 percent of adults and 13 percent of the juveniles.

VII. *Extreme fear* (adult 115 and over; juvenile 66 and over)— the highest fear levels, contained 14.7 percent of all adults and 8.1 percent of the juveniles.

[It is interesting to note (Table 17) that if the last category *Extreme fear,* is subdivided into great fear (adult scores of 115 to 129; juvenile 66-79) and absolute fear (the maximum possible fear scores [130 for adults and 80 for juveniles]), no fewer than 23 adults (4.3 percent) and five juveniles (.9 percent) fall in the latter category—which must be thought of as a "panic view of life."]

When the 13 offenses judged by adult respondents were analyzed in detail, it was found that the four highest mean fear scores involved parental concern for their children being robbed or assaulted at school and robbed or assaulted in the immediate area. Children being robbed at school produced a mean score of 6.3; children assaulted in the immediate area, 6.3; children robbed in the immediate area, 6.4; and children being assaulted at school, 6.5

The question arises as to the extent to which parental fear for their children's safety is a rational one, i.e., there are some objective bases for the elevated levels of parental fear. Thus, if great parental fear reflects known data or statistics as to the true (objective) probabilities of their child becoming the victim of an assault or robbery, then such high fears might be considered relatively rational. Unfortunately, such information does not exist; police (and FBI) published data on Philadelphia crime and delinquency do not deal with block or neighborhood rates.

It may be, then, that adults who have reported someone in the household having been victimized are more likely to have greater fears that their children will become the victim of some subsequent criminal act. Table 18 presents some slight evidence supportive of this, in that the 68 adults (15 percent) with the highest

Table 17
"Fear" Categories of Adults (on Thirteen Offenses) and Juveniles (on Eight Settings), During the First Year, by Percentage (N = 452)

Category of fear	Adults	Juveniles
I. *No fear* (No significant fear on any item)(adult score 0-3; juvenile score 0-2)	2.1	7.7
II. *Minimal fear* (Slight responses on 1 or 2 items)(adult score 4-14; juvenile score 3-8)	1.8	5.1
III. *Some generalized fear* (adult score 15-29; juvenile score 9-19)	9.1	10.9
IV. *Fear (below midpoint)*(adult score 30-64; juvenile score 20-39)	26.7	27.6
V. *Fear (above midpoint)*(adult score 65-99; juvenile score 40-59)	35.1	27.6
VI. *Much generalized fear* (adult score 100-114; juvenile score 60-65)	10.5	13.0
VII. *Extreme fear* (adult score 115 and over; juvenile score 66 and over)	14.7	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0

fear score (115-30) had disproportionately high percentages of household assault and robbery victimizations (22 percent of all assaults and 18 percent of all robberies). [The below-midpoint fear group (30-64) is curious in that while constituting 27 percent of all respondents, it "consumes" 17 percent of all assaults, but 36 percent of all robberies.] The evidence on Table 18, however, does not indicate that low fear is associated with low household victimizations; (persons with fear scores of under 64, represent 40 percent of all households and only 23 percent of all household assaults, but 38 percent of all reported robberies).

It may be, then, that if an adult perceives the immediate area as dangerous, he will naturally be more fearful for the safety of his children. Accordingly, the average adult fear score for the four child-related items (their children being injured or robbed at school or in the neighborhood streets) is compared to adult perceived dangerousness of the immediate area (Table 19). It appears from the table that the higher the fear for the child's safety the more dangerous the area is perceived to be both in the daytime and at night, by the adult subjects. The immediate neighborhood is rated dangerous or very dangerous in the daytime by 13 percent of those adults who had a mean fear score of "0" and 17 percent of adults with a mean fear score of "1"; but it is dangerous to 29 percent of those with a fear score average of "9" and 48 percent of all adults producing maximum fear scores of "10." Similar results emerged with perceived neighborhood dangerousness in the evening, with 20 percent of "0," 36 percent of the "1," 39 percent of the "9," and 66 percent of the "10" adult mean scores feeling their area was dangerous at night. All of this suggests that higher parental fear levels for children's safety is roughly associated with perceived dangerousness of one's immediate area.

Further, it might be that high adult fears for their children's safety is positively associated with juvenile victimizations. If one's child has been the victim of a significant crime within the immediate past, it may be normal for the parent to become increasingly concerned about another, future victimization of the child. Accordingly, analysis was undertaken of adult perceived dangerousness of his immediate area and adult fears for the child's welfare with juvenile victimizations. An investigation was made of parent-child communication (whether the young male child victim did or did not tell his parent that he had been victimized), and memory decay (whether or not the parent who had been told of his son's victimization(s) remembered the event when interviewed). In theory, the greatest amount of fear should be shown by the parents of a multiply-victimized child who had told his parents of the crimes and whose parents recalled the victimization when they are interviewed in the study.

Table 20 reveals the relationship of juvenile victimization and parent-child communication network for black respondents at Time One and Time Two and for the white population. It will be noticed, first of all, that 29 percent of the black youths at Time One, 26 percent at Time Two, and 25 percent of the white youths had been the victims of several offenses (multiple victims). Conversely, 57 percent of black youths at Time One, 59 percent at Time Two, and 59 percent of all young whites had not been victimized at all. In the study population, seven percent of the blacks at Time One and at Time Two (Groups I and IV) who had been the victims of one or more criminal acts, told their parents of the victimizations, and their parents told us; this pattern was produced by 4.2 percent of the white boys. Twenty-three percent of the black youths at Time One and 19 percent at Time Two, and 21 percent of the whites had

Table 18
Black Adult Fear Scores by Household Victimization and Adult Perceived Dangerousness of Immediate Area (Time One)

Adult fear scores	No.	%	Adult Report of Household Victimization: Assault	Adult Report of Household Victimization: Robbery	Immediate Area Rated as Dangerous: In daytime	Immediate Area Rated as Dangerous: At night	Immediate Area Rated as Dangerous: More dangerous than farther areas
No fear (0-3)	10	2	1%	0	0	1%	0
Minimal (4-14)	10	2	0	0	2%	2%	2%
Some generalized (15-29)	41	9	5%	2%	3%	3%	5%
Fear below midpt. (30-64)	122	27	17%	36%	15%	20%	14%
Fear above midpt. (65-99)	151	35	37%	36%	39%	42%	36%
Much generalized (100-114)	50	11	19%	7%	17%	14%	14%
Extreme (115-30)	68	15	22%	18%	24%	19%	30%
	N = 452		N = 53	N = 45	N = 151	N = 224	N = 99

Table 19
Black Adults (Time One) Mean Combined Fear Scores for Child Being Robbed and Injured at School, and Child Being Robbed and Injured in Immediate Area, by Adult's Perceived Dangerousness of "Immediate Area" Day and Night

Adult mean fear score for child being injured and robbed at school and child being injured and robbed in immediate area	Immediate Area's Rated Dangerousness: Daytime A	Daytime B	Daytime C	Daytime Total	Night A	Night B	Night C	Night Total
0	23 (87%)	3 (10%)	1 (3%)	27	22 (80%)	2 (7%)	3 (13%)	27
1	21 (83%)	4 (14%)	1 (3%)	26	17 (64%)	5 (18%)	4 (17%)	26
2	18 (71%)	6 (25%)	1 (4%)	25	16 (65%)	5 (21%)	4 (14%)	25
3	26 (77%)	5 (13%)	3 (10%)	34	21 (61%)	7 (21%)	6 (18%)	34
4	32 (84%)	5 (14%)	1 (2%)	38	22 (58%)	10 (25%)	6 (17%)	38
5	43 (75%)	11 (19%)	3 (6%)	57	28 (49%)	15 (27%)	14 (24%)	57
6	26 (70%)	9 (23%)	3 (7%)	38	17 (46%)	13 (33%)	8 (21%)	38
7	24 (51%)	14 (29%)	9 (19%)	47	19 (41%)	10 (22%)	18 (37%)	47
8	26 (68%)	9 (23%)	3 (9%)	38	17 (45%)	10 (25%)	11 (30%)	38
9	28 (53%)	17 (31%)	9 (16%)	54	19 (35%)	12 (23%)	23 (42%)	54
10	33 (48%)	19 (28%)	14 (24%)	68	23 (34%)	16 (23%)	29 (43%)	68
Total	300 (66%)	102 (23%)	50 (11%)	452	221 (49%)	105 (23%)	126 (28%)	452

A = Not dangerous or little danger
B = Dangerous
C = Very dangerous or most dangerous

Table 20
Juvenile Victimization and Parent-Child Communication Regarding Juvenile Victimization, by Race

Victimization and Parent-Child Network	Blacks (T1)	Blacks (T2)	Whites (T2)
I. Juvenile multiple victim, told parent and parent mentioned similar victimization during interview	18 (4%)	25 (6%)	23 (5%)
II. Juvenile multiple victim, told parent and parent did not mention similar victimization during interview	41 (9%)	27 (6%)	37 (7%)
III. Juvenile multiple victim, didn't tell parent	72 (16%)	63 (14%)	71 (14%)
IV. Juvenile single victim, told parent and parent mentioned similar victimization during interview	14 (3%)	4 (1%)	1 (.2%)
V. Juvenile single victim, told parent and parent did not reveal similar victimization during interview	18 (4%)	40 (9%)	32 (6%)
VI. Juvenile single victim, didn't tell parent	32 (7%)	22 (5%)	34 (7%)
VII. No juvenile victimization	258 (57%)	270 (59%)	302 (59%)
Total	452	451	500

been the victims of one or more crimes but they seemingly did not inform their parents of their victimizations. Generally black and white patterns of juvenile victimization and parent-child communication networks were strikingly similar.

A close examination of Table 21 shows clearly that the communication network is not regularly related to perceived danger of the area. First, simply contrasting multiple, single, and nonvictimizations, it will be seen that 63 percent of the multiply victimized families, 60 percent of the single victim families, and fully 69 percent of the nonvictimized families judged their neighborhood to be nondangerous in the daytime. A similar distribution emerged with rated dangerousness of the area at night. An inspection of parent-child communication patterns regarding criminal victimization failed to find any significant relationship.

It might be that the relationship of the parent-child communication to adult fears for his child's safety was not productive because it failed to deal with the variable of class. Certainly one might argue that a child's relationship to his parent to a considerable extent reflects the family's social class, with the children of certain social levels being more likely to inform their parents of their having been the victim of a crime and these parents being more likely to recall the event. Accordingly, Table 22 deals with the variable of class and demonstrates, first of all, that juvenile victimization is not significantly associated with social class.

Examining parent-child communications at Time One, six percent of children in the middle class told their parents of their one (or more) victimizations, and their parents recalled the event, as did six percent of the working-class respondents, and eight percent of the lower-class subjects. Twenty-five percent of the middle-class children, 20 percent of the working-class and 25 percent of the lower-class children had been the victims of one or more crimes but had not informed their parents. At Time Two, only two percent of the middle-class children informed their parents who in turn reported some victimizations to the interviewer, as did nine percent of the working-class and 10 percent of the lower-class children.

The best judgment that could be made is that even introducing the variable of class was not useful in explicating the relationship of juvenile victimization to parent-child victimization networks.

Finally, in Table 23 mean parental fear scores for each of the four child-related items were related to parent-child communication. Concerning the fear of children's victimizations within the immediate area (Offenses A and B) the multiply-victimized child, whether or not the victimization was made known to his parent, is associated with higher summated parental fear scores (13.9) than the singly victimized boy (13.0) and the average scores for nonvictimized juveniles are even lower (11.6). Fear of one's child being injured in the immediate living area produces a mean fear score of 6.9 for families with a

Table 21
Black Juvenile Victimization and Parental Estimate of The Dangerousness of the "Immediate Area," Day and Night, Time One

Juvenile Victimization	Dangerousness of Area: Day N = 452			Night N = 450		
	No Danger or Very Little	Dangerous	Very Dangerous & Most Dangerous	No Danger or Very Little	Dangerous	Very Dangerous & Most Dangerous
A. Multiple Victimization	86 (63%)	31 (23%)	19 (14%)	68 (45%)	39 (26%)	43 (29%)
1. Told parent and parent told us	9 (53%)	6 (37%)	2 (11%)	8 (42%)	3 (16%)	8 (42%)
2. Told parent and parent didn't tell us	31 (71%)	8 (19%)	5 (10%)	22 (46%)	14 (19%)	12 (25%)
3. Didn't tell parent	44 (61%)	16 (22%)	13 (17%)	38 (46%)	22 (26%)	23 (28%)
B. Single Victimization	39 (60%)	16 (25%)	10 (15%)	35 (46%)	18 (24%)	22 (30%)
1. Told parent and parent told us	5 (37%)	4 (31%)	4 (31%)	5 (31%)	2 (12%)	9 (57%)
2. Told parent and parent didn't tell us	13 (68%)	4 (18%)	3 (14%)	11 (46%)	6 (25%)	7 (29%)
3. Didn't tell parent	20 (66%)	8 (26%)	3 (9%)	19 (54%)	10 (29%)	6 (17%)
C. No Victimization	173 (69%)	53 (21%)	25 (10%)	144 (52%)	59 (21%)	76 (27%)

multiple-victimized youth, 6.5 for a single-victim family, and 5.9 in a nonvictim family; fear of one's child being robbed in the area produces a mean fear score of 7.0 in families with multiply victimized youths, 6.5 for singly victimized, and 5.7 for nonvictimized families. One curiosity is that in those instances where young victims did *not* tell their parents of the event, parents produced higher fear scores than in the cases where parents were informed but failed to inform the interviewer of the victimization.

Parental fears for their child being criminally injured or robbed while at school, produced more ambiguous findings. The average parental fear for the child being injured at school is 6.9 in multiple-victimized youth families, 6.8 in single-victim and 6.2 in nonvictimized juvenile families. The least clear pattern relates to the child being robbed at school. Parents of multiply victimized children produced a mean score of 7.1, single victims 5.9, and nonvictims 5.9. Combining both victimization events at school produced a combined mean fear score of 14.0 for the parents of multiple-victimized juveniles, 12.7 for single-victim juveniles, and 12.1 for parents of children who had not been victimized. For all four child-related events, the summated mean fear scores were 27.9 for multiple-victimized families, 25.7 for single-victimized families, and 23.7 for nonvictimized

Table 22
Social Class, Juvenile Victimization and Parent-Child Communication (Time One & Time Two)

Juvenile Victimization and Parent-Child Communication Network	Time One Class				Time Two Class			
	Lower	Working	Middle	Total	Lower	Working	Middle	Total
Multiple victim – told parent and parent told interviewer	9 (4%)	5 (3%)	4 (4%)	18 (4%)	15 (7%)	12 (9%)	2 (2%)	29 (6%)
Multiple victim – told parent and parent did not tell interviewer	15 (7%)	10 (7%)	13 (13%)	38 (8%)	21 (10%)	7 (5%)	4 (4%)	32 (7%)
Multiple victim – did not tell parent	41 (19%)	16 (12%)	20 (19%)	77 (17%)	32 (15%)	22 (16%)	14 (14%)	68 (15%)
Single victim – told parent and parent told interviewer	8 (4%)	4 (3%)	2 (2%)	14 (3%)	7 (3%)	0	0	7 (1.5%)
Single victim – told parent and parent did not tell interviewer	6 (3%)	11 (8%)	3 (3%)	20 (4%)	19 (9%)	11 (8%)	10 (9%)	40 (9%)
Single victim – did not tell interviewer	13 (6%)	11 (8%)	6 (6%)	30 (7%)	11 (5%)	5 (4%)	5 (5%)	21 (5%)
No victimization	122 (57%)	79 (58%)	55 (53%)	256 (57%)	109 (51%)	78 (58%)	68 (66%)	255 (56%)
Total	214 (47%)	135 (30%)	103 (23%)	452	214 (47%)	135 (30%)	103 (23%)	452

families. The child-parent communication network was, once more, unproductive in uncovering significant relationships. Largely inexplicable are the elevated fear scores produced by parents of multiple-victimized children who did not tell parents of their losses or injuries and the extremely low mean fear score (4.4) for children being robbed at school, given by the parents of single-victimized children who had been told but had failed to recall the offense at the time of the interview.

Generally, the parent-child network did not aid in our search for the rational bases of parental fears for their children's safety. By and large, parental fear scores do seem to be slightly more associated with whether or not their child was the victim of a crime (whether or not the child informed his parent, and regardless of parental memory decay) than with the adult's perceived dangerousness of the area or the adult's report of household victimization.

Analyzing next household victimizations with overall *adult* fear scores (Tables 24 and 25) reveals that the association of adult fear to victimization at Time One and Time Two was not significant.

The manner in which adult fear scores may be associated, not by the victimization experiences at Time One or at Time Two, but by a broader victimization status of the household, as being Continual Nonvictim (no household victimization in two years), Occasional Victim (some family victimization in either the first or second year) and Continual Victim (family members were victimized both during Time One and Time Two). The data along these lines are presented in Tables 26 and 27. Once more the overall relationship of adult fear

Table 23
Mean Black Parental Fear Score for Children's Safety, By Type of Crime, and by Parent-Child Communication Network

Victimization	N	Overall Mean Fear Scores A*	B*	A & B*	C*	D*	Average C & D*	A, B, C, D* [Range 0-40]
I. Multiple victim told parent and parent told interviewer	18 (4%)	8.2	7.7	15.9	6.4	6.6	13.0	28.9
II. Multiple victim told parent and parent didn't tell interviewer	41 (9%)	6.1	6.5	12.6	6.2	5.8	12.0	24.6
III. Multiple victim didn't tell parent	72 (16%)	7.0	7.2	14.2	7.5	8.0	15.5	29.7
IV. Single victim told parent and parent told interviewer	14 (3%)	6.8	7.5	14.3	6.2	7.9	14.1	28.4
V. Single victim told parent and parent didn't tell interviewer	18 (4%)	5.9	5.4	11.3	5.7	4.4	10.1	21.4
VI. Single victim didn't tell parent	32 (7%)	6.7	6.7	13.4	7.8	5.9	13.7	27.1
VII. No victimization	257 (56%)	5.9	5.7	11.6	6.2	5.9	12.1	23.7
Total mean	452	6.3	6.3	12.6	6.5	6.3		
A. Mean — all multiple victims	131	6.9	7.0	13.9	6.9	7.1	14.0	27.9
B. Mean — all single victims	64	6.5	6.5	13.0	6.8	5.9	12.7	25.7
C. Total victim	195	6.8	6.8	13.6	6.9	6.7	13.6	27.2

* A = Child criminally injured in area
B = Child robbed in area
C = Child criminally injured at school
D = Child robbed at school

Table 24
Household Victimization by Overall Adult Fear Scores, Blacks, Time One

Household Victimization at Time One	Adult Fear Score Categories 0-14	15-64	65-114	115-130	Total
None	10 (4%)	98 (39%)	115 (45%)	31 (12%)	254 (100%)
1 or More	7 (4%)	62 (31%)	97 (16%)	32 (16%)	198 (100%)
Total	17 (4%)	160 (35%)	212 (47%)	63 (14%)	452 (100%)

Table 25
Household Victimization by Overall Adult Fear Scores, Blacks, Time Two

Household Victimization at Time Two	Adult Fear Score Categories 0-14	15-64	65-114	115-130	Total
None	10 (4%)	93 (39%)	115 (46%)	34 (14%)	252 (100%)
1 or More	7 (4%)	67 (34%)	97 (49%)	29 (15%)	200 (100%)
Total	17 (4%)	160 (35%)	212 (47%)	63 (14%)	452 (100%)

Table 26
Black Adult Fear Scores by Household Victimization, Time One and Time Two

Household Victimization States	Adult Fear Scores 0-14	15-64	65-114	115-30	Total
I. Never victimized	6 (4%)	62 (39%)	69 (43%)	22 (14%)	159 (100%)
II. Victimized at Time One only	4 (4%)	31 (33%)	46 (50%)	12 (13%)	93 (100%)
III. Victimized at Time Two only	4 (4%)	36 (38%)	46 (48%)	9 (10%)	95 (100%)
IV. Victimized at Time One and Time Two	3 (3%)	31 (30%)	51 (49%)	20 (19%)	105 (100%)
Total	17 (4%)	160 (35%)	212 (47%)	63 (14%)	452 (100%)

Table 27
Black Adult Fear Scores by Household Victimization, Time One and Time Two

Household Victimization States		Adult Fear Scores: Below Median 0-64	Above Median 65-130	Total
I.	Never victimized	68 (43%)	91 (57%)	159 (100%)
II.	Victimized at Time One only	35 (37%)	58 (63%)	93 (100%)
III.	Victimized at Time Two only	40 (42%)	55 (58%)	95 (100%)
IV.	Victimized at Time One and Time Two	34 (33%)	71 (68%)	105 (100%)
	Total	177 (39%)	275 (61%)	452 (100%)

to broad victimization category was not statistically significant. Nevertheless, as Table 27 shows clearly, households which are Continual Victims (IV) were considerably more likely to produce "above midpoint fear scores" (65-130) than were adults from Nonvictims (I) (68 percent to 57 percent). Table 26 shows that nonvictimized households were more apt to produce maximum fear scores (115-30) than were families with Occasional Victims.

It seemed natural then, to pursue to the matter of juvenile fear scores as related to juvenile victimization experiences (Tables 28 and 29). [It may be recalled that juvenile victimization consisted of the youth reporting that he had personally been subjected to a robbery, assault or the act of extortion; the juvenile population was also asked, at Time One, to indicate their degree of fear of eight offenses: being robbed by adults or teenagers; being assaulted by adults or teenagers; being killed by adults or teenagers; being extorted by adults or teenagers.] Tables 28 and 29 reveal juvenile fear to be unrelated to juvenile victimization experiences during either the first or second year. At Time One, 50 percent of the juveniles who had been victimized in the first study year had high ("above midpoint fear") scores, as did 46 percent of the nonvictimized boys. At Time Two, comparable percentages were 52 and 46. None of the differences were statistically significant.

One of the primary thrusts in the area of fear of crime has been to uncover the relationship between fear of crime and actual experiences of being the victim of a crime. The two variables, in all analyses, proved to be relatively independent of one another. On Tables 30 and 31 mean adult fear scores (based on 13 offenses) and mean juvenile fear scores (based on eight offenses), both adult and juvenile of the same household, are compared. Table 30 compares mean adult fear scores [divided within four categories: low fear (0-14); below midpoint fear (15-64); above midpoint fear (65-114); and high fear (115-30)], with juvenile median fear scores [divided into: low fear (0-8); below midpoint fear (9-39); above midpoint fear (40-65); and high fear (66-80)]. On this 4 x 4 table, the relationship between the two variables was not statistically significant. When the fear scores for both adults and juveniles were collapsed into simply "below midpoint" and "above midpoint" fear (Table 31) the relationship was found to be highly significant. In 109 families (24 percent) *both* adult and child within the same family had relatively low (below midpoint) fear scores. One hundred and fifty-one households (33.5 percent of the total panel) had above midpoint fear scores in both adult and youth. In 15 percent of the households the young male was highly fearful while his parent evinced less fear. On the other hand, for over 27 percent of all study households, the boy's fear was low where the parent's fear was high. The family "fear pattern" then, is one in which in most instances (58 percent) there is agreement between parent and child as to the manner in which they perceive their subjective risk of being victimized; where there is intrafamilial disagreement it was much more likely that parent fear exceeded that of their child (28 percent) rather than that the children's fear exceeded that of their parent (15 percent). This discrepancy, of course, reflects the generally higher levels of fear among parents than in their children; 61 percent of all adults had above midpoint fear scores, as against only 48 percent of all juveniles. Adults were simply more fearful of life around them than were their children.

Finally, examination was made of the subject population during the first study year as regards the relationship of juvenile delinquent status to juvenile fears [as measured by what are perceived to be dangerous places (places where there was a good chance of being robbed or beaten)].

Table 32 reveals that at least 20 percent of the total juvenile population considered every one of the 13 settings dangerous. Indeed, over one-third of all boys were fearful of (rated dangerous) 12 of the 13 settings. Particularly dangerous were streets more than a block

Table 28
Juvenile Victimization of Black Youths by Juvenile Fear Scores, Time One

Juvenile Victimization at Time One	Juvenile Fear Scores 0-8	9-39	40-65	66-80	Total
None	38 (15%)	93 (38%)	87 (35%)	28 (11%)	246 (100%)
1 or More	10 (10%)	82 (40%)	80 (39%)	24 (11%)	206 (100%)
Total	58 (13%)	175 (39%)	167 (37%)	52 (12%)	452 (100%)

Table 29
Juvenile Victimization of Black Youths by Juvenile Fear Scores, Time Two

Juvenile Victimization at Time Two	Juvenile Fear Scores 0-8	9-39	40-65	66-80	Total
None	39 (14%)	110 (40%)	97 (36%)	28 (10%)	274 (100%)
1 or more	19 (11%)	65 (37%)	70 (39%)	24 (13%)	179 (100%)
Total	58 (13%)	175 (37%)	167 (37%)	52 (11%)	452 (100%)

Table 30
Black Intrafamilial Fear Scores, Measured by Parental Median Fear Scores and Juvenile Median Fear Scores, Time One

Juvenile Median Fear Scores (eight items)	Adult Median Fear Scores (13 items) 0-14	15-64	65-114	115-30	Total
0-8	5 (9%)* (29%)**	25 (43%) (16%)	22 (38%) (10%)	6 (10%) (10%)	58 (13%)
9-39	8 (5%) (47%)	71 (41%) (44%)	83 (47%) (39%)	13 (7%) (21%)	175 (39%)
40-65	3 (2%) (18%)	52 (31%) (33%)	81 (49%) (38%)	31 (19%) (49%)	167 (37%)
66-80	1 (2%) (6%)	12 (23%) (8%)	26 (50%) (12%)	13 (25%) (21%)	52 (11%)
Total	17 (4%)	160 (35%)	212 (47%)	63 (14%)	452 (100%)

* Row percentage
**Column percentage

Table 31
Black Intrafamiliar Fear Scores, Measured by Parental Median Fear Scores and Juvenile Median Fear Scores, Time One

Juvenile Median Fear Scores (8 items)	Adult Median Fear Scores (13 items) Below Midpoint 0-64		Above Midpoint 65-130		Total
Below midpoint 0-39	109 (47%)* (62%)**	[24.1%]†	124 (53%) (45%)	[27.5%]	233 (52%)
Above midpoint 40-80	68 (31%) (38%)	[15.1%]	151 (69%) (55%)	[33.5%]	219 (48%)
Total	177 (39%)		275 (61%)		452 (100%)

* Row percentage
**Column percentage
† Total percentage

$X^2 = 11.075$; d.f. = 1
P = significant at .001 level

from where the child lived (66 percent), subways (65 percent), streets to and from school (54 percent), parks (50 percent), movie houses (49 percent), playgrounds (48 percent), and dances (48 percent).

The school-related settings were interesting. Over half of all boys thought going to and from school might involve their being injured or robbed. Forty-four percent perceived the same danger in school yards. One-third thought school corridors were dangerous and over 20 percent believed that even the school rooms contained a considerable element of danger.

The perception of the general school environment as being dangerous very likely influences the students' desire to attend, as well as their ability to do well in school. A student who feels that he faces a real risk of being beaten up or robbed even in the school classroom will perhaps not be fully attentive to normal educational demands. Also, the perception of school yard and halls as dangerous surely accounts, to some extent, for high truancy rates.

In the first year, delinquents rated more settings as dangerous than did nondelinquents. Delinquents were more likely to believe the immediate area (streets within a block) to be dangerous, but were less likely to think streets further away were equally dangerous. Additionally, as regards the school environment, delinquents were more likely to judge the process of going to and returning from school dangerous than did nondelinquents. Generally then, a large proportion of delinquents, in this year at least, viewed the entire educational process as one fraught with real difficulties and dangers that could affect them seriously.

Table 32
Percentage of Delinquents and Nondelinquents Who Describe Thirteen Social Settings as Dangerous (High Risk of Being Beaten or Robbed), Time One

Setting	Delinquent Status: Non-delinquent	Delinquent	Total
Streets within a block of where they live	41	52	42
Streets more than a block away from where they live	66	62	66
Parks	50	50	50
Playground	48	51	48
Recreational center	38	45	39
Trolley or buses	42	51	43
Subways	65	62	65
Movie houses	49	49	49
Dances	47	49	48
School Settings			
Streets to and from school	53	60	54
School yards	44	43	44
School hallways	34	34	34
School rooms	20	31	21
Total	345	49	394

V. Altered Behavior

It might be argued that the most socially significant of the three variables so far dealt with is altered behavior, the manner in which individuals significantly react to their subjective fears of criminal victimization by altering previously acceptable behavior patterns, by instituting new modes of protective behavior patterns, and by instituting new modes of protective behavior.

All adult respondents were asked during the first and second study year whether they themselves or other members of their household had recently been doing *more* of the following forms of behavior:

1. Keep the front door locked whenever you are home.
2. Move to a safer neighborhood.
3. Try to transfer your children to a safer school.
4. Put on more locks (better locks) on the doors.
5. Put up bars or heavy screens on the windows.
6. Use taxis rather than other public transportation.
7. Install more lights around your house.
8. Buy a watchdog.
9. Keep a gun or other weapon by the bed.
10. Carry tear gas, club, whistle or other weapon when you are out.
11. Keep a loaded gun in the house.
12. Buy a gun for protection.
13. Stay at home at night.
14. If you go out, try not to be alone in immediate area.
15. Try not to go to the movies alone.
16. Do less shopping alone.
17. Refuse to talk to strangers who approach you on the street.
18. Cross the street when you see a group of teenagers you don't know.
19. Avoid subways when you have to use public transportation.
20. Visit friends less, particularly at night.
21. Try not to work in a bad neighborhood.
22. Try to keep your children off the streets in daytime.
23. Try to keep your children off the streets at night.

It seemed, after some inspection of the data, that these events can be classified within four categories. The first three items (1-3) are "positive, nonexpensive" forms of altered behavior; that is, the adult respondent, or his family, begins engaging in new forms of noncostly behavior in order to reduce the chances of criminal victimization; the next five (4-8) are similar types of altered behavior but are "economically expensive;" the following four (9-12) are "weapon reactions;" and the final 11 (13-23) are "avoidance" reactions, i.e., some members of the households cease certain types of behavior in which they commonly engaged.

As can be seen in Table 33, the majority of all adults both at Time One and Time Two tended to engage in almost all of the 11 forms of behavior classified as avoidances. The only exception related to keeping their children off the streets in daytime; it may well be that this, realistically, was beyond parental control. Yet, a related form of behavior, keeping their children off the streets at night, was engaged in by 93 percent of the adults at Time One and 96 percent at Time Two.

As regards the three "Positive Nonexpensive" reactions, overwhelmingly adults at Time One and Time Two kept their home doors locked at all times, but relatively few moved to "safer" areas in Time One and fewer still in Time Two. [About one-third had *tried* to transfer their children to safer schools in the two study years.]

There was also a decrease from Time One to Time Two, in "economically costly" reactions: many still engaged in a variety of "site-hardening" activities such as installing more door locks, but fewer bought additional lights or purchased a watchdog. It may well be that after some initial material attempt at making one's home more secure further attempts are far less likely to be engaged in. The most socially and physically dangerous response to the fear of crime, involving the new or increased use of some weapon to protect oneself, was also less engaged in at Time Two. Perhaps the universe of potential gun-buyers or weapon-carriers was saturated by that time, with about a quarter of the adult population keeping some potential weapon nearby.

Little relation between family (or personal) victimization and altered behavior was found. An investigation was undertaken of the relation between the fear of crime and altered behavior. In Tables 34 through 37 the four types of altered behavior were compared to adult fear scores. The most natural assumption would be that heightened apprehension of future victimization will cause an individual to sharply alter his pattern of every-day activities, which might involve the cessation of previously engaged-in acts now deemed dangerous, the expenditure of significant sums of money for items which could better protect the individual and his family, increased reliance on weapons, or engaging in new modes of behavior calculated to reduce the likelihood of becoming the victim of a criminal act. (It may be recalled that the actual range of adult fear scores was from 0 (no

Table 33
Percentages of Black Adults Who Have Altered Their Behavior in the Two Study Years (Time One & Time Two)

	Time One (N = 452)	Time Two (N = 452)
A. Avoidance Reactions		
1. Stay at home at night	80	81
2. If go out at night, try not to go alone, in immediate area	86	91
3. Don't go to movies alone	71	75
4. Do less shopping alone	62	67
5. Visit friends less	76	74
6. Don't talk to strangers on the street	83	82
7. Cross street when one sees a gang of teenagers	75	70
8. Avoid subways	77	70
9. Try not to work in "bad" areas	70	71
10. Keep children off streets in daytime	37	41
11. Keep children off streets at night	93	96
B. Positive Economically Nonexpensive Reactions		
1. Keep front door locked even when someone is home	91	93
2. Move to safer neighborhood	28	9
3. Try to transfer children to safer schools	39	30
C. Economically Expensive Reactions		
1. Put more and better locks on doors	62	49
2. Put up more bars and screens on windows	18	10
3. Use taxis whenever possible	58	29
4. Install more lights around the house	55	36
5. Buy watchdog	35	24
D. Weapon Reactions		
1. Keep gun or weapon by the bed	17	15
2. Carry tear gas, club, whistle or other weapon when out	26	16
3. Keep a loaded gun in the house	12	12
4. Buy a gun for protection	9	6

fear on all 13 items) to 130 (maximum fear on all 13 items). High fear scores were defined as 65 and over.

As can be seen from Tables 34 through 37, in three out of four types of altered behavior this general hypothesis was sustained by the data; that is, adults with elevated fear scores were significantly more likely than adults with low fear scores to engage in nonexpensive positive, economically expensive, and avoidance forms of altered behavior. There were no differences for weapon reactions.

Examining the tables one at a time, for the three positive nonexpensive forms of reactions (Table 34) over 25 percent of all adults with high fear scores (65 and over) engaged in all three specified forms of altered behavior (70/237), while very few (3 percent) with similar fear scores engaged in none of the three (9/237). On the other hand, of all adults with low fear scores, 11 percent engaged in all three acts (19/177), while 12 percent engaged in none of the acts (21/177).

To the question "Do persons with high levels of fear spend more money to protect themselves against perceived dangers compared to households who are less frightened?", the answer, in Table 35 is yes. Of the five comparatively expensive reactions, 41 percent of those

Table 34
Adult Altered Behavior, Positive and Nonexpensive, By Adult Fear Scores, Blacks, Time One

Number of Positive Nonexpensive Forms of Altered Behavior Engaged in by Adults**	Adult Fear Scores* 0-14 Very low fear	15-64 Low fear	65-115 High fear	115-30 Very high fear	Total
None	1	20	7	2	30 (7%)
1	11	89	90	26	216 (48%)
2	5	32	62	18	117 (26%)
3	0	19	53	17	89 (20%)
Total	17 (49%)	160 (35%)	212 (47%)	65 (14%)	452 (100%)

* Relationship is a statistically significant one (beyond .0001)
**The three items were: (1) keep front door locked even when home; (2) move to safer neighborhood; (3) try to transfer children to a safer school.

with very low fear [0-14] did none of them (7/17) as did 23 percent of those with low fear scores [15-64], (36/160). Of those with high fear scores [65-115] 12 percent did nothing (25/212) as did three percent (2/63) of those with very high fear [115 and over]. On the other hand, 21 percent of all adults with high scores [65-114] (43/212) and 19 percent (12/63) of those with very high scores [115-30] engaged in four or five of these costly reactions.

The results concerning weapon responses (Table 36) are quite interesting. The data do not reveal that heightened fear of becoming a victim of a criminal act is significantly associated with an increased reliance on the possession of a gun or some other weapon. Over 60 percent of all respondents, regardless of fear category, said that they had engaged in none of the four weapon reactions. Under 10 percent of any of the four fear categories had engaged in three or four of them.

Finally, we come to those reactions involving a need to discontinue previous patterns of behavior because, it is hoped, that this will reduce the likelihood of becoming a victim of some criminal act. Almost every adult engaged in one form or another of avoidance behavior. Most engaged in six or more forms regardless of fear level. One of the most interesting features of Table 37 is the manner in which it reveals the pervasiveness of avoidance techniques by fear level. If we arbitrarily decide that "extreme avoidance" can be measured by the cessation of 10 or all 11 of the items investigated, it will be seen that only one adult who was very low in fear (0-14 fear score) admitted to having engaged in such a wide range of avoidances, as did 39 (24 percent of those with low fear (15-64), 97 (46 percent) of all adults with high fear, and 38 (60 percent) of those with very high fear scores (115-30). Clearly then, greater fear was significantly associated with more diffuse and extensive cessations of previous behaviors. This is the clearest pattern to emerge regarding the four groups of altered behaviors. The greater the fear level, the greater the range of avoidances; accordingly, the greater the fear the more restricted and confined life style which is adopted by the fearful family in order to avoid the risk of crime and the more constrained social life with a far greater dependence upon the presence of others in the performance of minor everyday social activities; few acts, outside of the house, are done alone.

All black juvenile respondents were asked at Time One and again at Time Two whether they, personally,

Table 35
Adult Altered Behavior, Economically Expensive, By Adult Fear Scores; Blacks, Time One

Number of Economically Expensive Forms of Altered Behavior Engaged in by Household Head**	Adult Fear Scores* 0-14 Very low fear	15-64 Low fear	65-115 High fear	115-30 Very high fear	Total
None	7	36	25	2	70 (15%)
1	6	37	27	9	79 (17%)
2	2	38	60	16	116 (26%)
3	2	28	57	24	11 (25%)
4	0	18	28	6	52 (12%)
5	0	3	15	6	24 (5%)
Total	17 (4%)	160 (35%)	212 (47%)	63 (14%)	452 (100%)

* The relationship was significant beyond .0001

**The five items were: (1) put more and better locks on doors; (2) put up more bars and screens on windows; (3) use taxis whenever possible; (4) install more lights around the house; (5) buy a watchdog.

were doing more of the following, during each of the past (study) years:

1. Cross the street when you see a group of teenagers.
2. Avoid talking to strangers.
3. Don't go out alone at night, in immediate area.
4. Try not to go out of the immediate area when alone.
5. Try not to enter another gang's turf during the day.
6. Try not to enter another gang's turf at night.
7. Carry a gun or knife.
8. Carry something else.

The first six (1-6) were "avoidances" of previous actions while the last two (7-8) were "weapon reactions."

Examining Table 38 reveals that the bulk of black youths at Time One and Time Two had engaged in some forms of avoidance behavior. Overwhelmingly, they avoid speaking to strangers and almost as heavily do not enter another gang's turf at night or even during the day. It is important to note that *all* types of juvenile avoidances were less engaged in by the second year. This may well be because a number of our juvenile respondents had recently entered into some area gang network which might offer them more protection against crime, hence less fear and considerably reduce need for altered behavior. Concerning the weapon reactions most boys carried "something" for protection, but by Time Two, fewer boys carried guns or other items which might protect them. Perhaps this decline may be attributed in part to heavy publicity of an ill-fated police

Table 36
Adult Altered Behavior Involving Weapons, By Adult Fear Scores, Blacks, Time One

Number of Weapons Forms of Altered Behavior by Adult*	Adult Fear Scores 0-14 Very low fear	15-64 Low fear	65-114 High fear	115-30 Very high fear	Total
None	11	119	129	40	299 (66%)
1	3	24	56	10	93 (21%)
2	1	6	14	7	28 (6%)
3	2	8	7	3	20 (4%)
4	0	3	6	3	12 (3%)
Total	17 (4%)	160 (35%)	212 (47%)	63 (14%)	452 (100%)

* The four items were: (1) keep gun or weapon by the bed; (2) carry tear gas, club or whistle; (3) keep loaded gun in the house; (4) bought a gun for protection.

program in Philadelphia which aimed at reducing the number of weapons that gang members and other youths carried.

Comparing the altered behavior of adult respondents (Table 33) to the altered behavior of juvenile subjects (Table 38) we find three avoidance items and one weapon reaction given identically to parents and their children. Avoiding strangers was more likely to occur for adults than juveniles at both Time One and Time Two. There was almost no change in the proportion of adults who would not talk to strangers over the two study years (more than four out of five), whereas there was a sharp decrease in juveniles who would similarly avoid talking to strangers. One of the most interesting differences involved going out alone at night in the immediate area. An increasing percentage of parents (rising to over 90 percent of all adults) would not do so whereas an opposite pattern occurred for juveniles, when by Time Two, only slightly more than half were similarly constrained.

Relatively few adults carried any weapon or protective device at Time One and this percentage dropped sharply in the second year (from 26 to 16 percent). While there was also a decline in juveniles carrying "something" in the second year, the proportion who had some weapons on their person at Time Two was nevertheless over four times the parental rate.

Generally children engaged in fewer avoidances and more weapon reactions than did their parents. They also, it may be recalled, evinced considerably lower fear levels than did adults. Therefore, the youths in the sample had lower fears about being victimized and were far less constrained in their normal daily behavior than their parents. This may be a function of increased gang affiliation, an issue that will be pursued in a later section of this report.

Table 37
Adult Altered Behavior Involving Avoidance (Of Previous Actions) By Adult Fear Scores, Blacks, Time One

Number of Avoidances of Previous Actions by Adults**	Adult Fear Scores* 0-14 Very low fear	15-64 Low fear	65-114 High fear	115-30 Very high fear	Total
None	0	3	0	0	3 (1%)
1	1	8	0	1	10 (2%)
2	2	3	1	0	6 (1%)
3	0	9	3	0	12 (3%)
4	3	9	4	1	17 (4%)
5	0	10	6	2	18 (4%)
6	4	10	20	1	35 (8%)
7	2	21	15	4	42 (9%)
8	2	32	26	8	68 (15%)
9	2	16	40	8	66 (15%)
10	0	25	56	18	99 (22%)
11	1	14	41	20	76 (17%)
Total	17 (49%)	160 (35%)	212 (47%)	63 (14%)	452 (100%)

* Relationship was significant (beyond the .0001 level)

**The 11 items were: (1) stay home at night; (2) if go out at night, do not go out alone; (3) do not go to movies alone; (4) do less shopping alone; (5) don't talk to strangers in the street; (6) cross street when see a gang of teenagers; (7) avoid subways; (8) visit friends less; (9) try not to work in "bad" areas; (10) keep children off street in daytime; (11) keep children off streets at night.

Table 38
Altered Behavior Among Black Juveniles (Time One and Time Two)

	Time One (N = 452)	Time Two (N = 452)
A. Avoidances		
Cross street when see a group of strangers	69%	59%
Avoid talking to strangers	82%	72%
Don't go out alone at night, in immediate area	60%	54%
Try not to go out of immediate area alone (beyond a block)	72%	56%
Try not to enter other gang's turf during day	72%	61%
Try not to enter other gang's turf at night	83%	71%
B. Weapon Reactions		
Carry a gun or knife	15%	8%
Carry "something else"	83%	71%

VI. Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency is defined in this study as having an official record with a law enforcement agency. The first matter examined is the degree to which delinquency may be functional in that it may decrease attacks upon a delinquent and how delinquency may be linked to higher or lower anxiety or fear levels. The perceived danger of the immediate neighborhood in the daytime (Table 39) was rated similarly by both black delinquents and black nondelinquents. Even at night the danger of the neighborhood was not viewed differently among black juvenile respondents, although slightly more nondelinquents (53 percent) than delinquents (46 percent) considered their area to be dangerous, very dangerous or most dangerous. Again, there were identical responses from delinquents and nondelinquents as to the comparative danger of their neighbothood compared to areas somewhat further away.

For white youths, it will be noted, in Table 40 first of all, that differences between delinquents and nondelinquents were not significant in any of the three general areas of neighborhood danger during the day, at night, and when compared to other slightly further away sections of the city.

What is strikingly illustrated here, and confirmed in Table 40, is the considerably lower fear, compared to black juveniles, among white youths (both delinquent and nondelinquent) regarding the danger of their neighborhood. One's neighborhood in the daytime was thought "dangerous" (or worse) by 17 percent of all black delinquents, 18 percent of all black nondelinquents, but by only two percent of all white delinquents and five percent of the white nondelinquents. The immediate area at night was "dangerous" to 46 percent of the black delinquents, 53 percent of the black nondelinquents, but only 23 percent of whites (delinquents and nondelinquents).

The broader dimensions of fear among delinquents and nondelinquents are next analyzed by examining dangerous places encountered in everyday life. Table 40 shows the same results as the previous table: no systematic differences were uncovered between black delinquents and nondelinquents. For the 13 specified settings, black delinquents were somewhat more fearful, i.e., they described the particular situation as a dangerous one,

Table 39
Juvenile Judgment on Dangerousness of Immediate Neighborhood By Delinquency Status, Black and White, Time Two

Juvenile Judgment of Dangerousness of Immediate Living Area	Blacks Juvenile Delinquent Status		Whites Juvenile Delinquent Status	
	Delinquent	Nondelinquent	Delinquent	Nondelinquent
1. Immediate Area in *Daytime* is:				
a. not dangerous at all	48 (26%)	63 (24%)	51 (69%)	266 (62%)
b. not very dangerous	105 (57%)	156 (58%)	21 (28%)	140 (33%)
c. dangerous	22 (12%)	33 (12%)	1 (1%)	17 (4%)
d. very dangerous	5 (3%)	14 (5%)	1 (1%)	4 (1%)
e. most dangerous	4 (2%)	2 (1%)	0	1 (.2%)
2. Immediate Area at *Night* is:				
a. not dangerous at all	17 (9%)	21 (8%)	17 (23%)	102 (24%)
b. not very dangerous	82 (45%)	103 (38%)	41 (55%)	231 (54%)
c. dangerous	48 (26%)	86 (32%)	11 (15%)	55 (13%)
d. very dangerous	32 (17%)	54 (20%)	5 (7%)	37 (9%)
e. most dangerous	5 (3%)	3 (1%)	0	3 (1%)
3. Immediate Area (within a block or 2) more dangerous than areas further away	26 (14%)	38 (14%)	5 (7%)	37 (9%)
Total	184	268	74	428

Table 40
Dangerous Social Settings as Perceived by Youths, By Delinquency Status, Black and White, Time Two

Dangerous Social Settings	Blacks Juvenile Delinquent Status		Whites Juvenile Delinquent Status	
	Delinquent	Nondelinquent	Delinquent	Nondelinquent
Streets and corners in immediate area	77 (42%)	117 (42%)	8 (11%)	57 (13%)
Streets and corners outside immediate area	118 (64%)	171 (64%)	40 (54%)	185 (43%)
Parks in neighborhood	89 (48%)	131 (49%)	34 (46%)	193 (45%)
Playgrounds in area	64 (35%)	116 (43%)	28 (38%)	166 (39%)
Recreation center	68 (37%)	89 (33%)	22 (30%)	120 (28%)
School rooms	44 (24%)	50 (19%)	17 (23%)	44 (10%)
School yards	87 (47%)	121 (45%)	30 (41%)	121 (28%)
School halls	58 (30%)	69 (26%)	24 (32%)	64 (15%)*
Streets to and from school	105 (57%)	140 (52%)	14 (19%)	109 (26%)
Trolleys and buses	99 (54%)	144 (54%)	35 (47%)	201 (47%)
Subways	115 (63%)	186 (69%)	63 (85%)	325 (76%)
Movie houses	103 (56%)	143 (53%)	22 (30%)	80 (19%)
Dances	87 (47%)	155 (58%)	19 (26%)	101 (24%)
Total	184	268	74	428

*Relationship is statistically significant

than nondelinquents in six cases; delinquents and nondelinquents were in agreement on two settings; while for five settings, nondelinquents were more prone to describe them as dangerous than were delinquents. It is extremely interesting to note that for all four school-related situations (school room, school yards, school halls, and streets to and from school) black delinquents were *more* likely to perceive of them as dangerous than were nondelinquents although all differences were non-significant.

For white youths, the only significant difference between delinquents and nondelinquents concerned school halls, which almost one-third of the delinquents (32 percent) considered dangerous, as did only 15 percent of the nondelinquents. It will be noted that white delinquents were more apt to rate nine of the 13 settings dangerous than were nondelinquents. More delinquents rated three of the four school settings dangerous than did nondelinquents; there were sizable, but not significant, differences for school rooms, school yards, and school halls. But entrances into and exits from the school enterprise, i.e., streets to and from school, were dangerous to more white nondelinquents than delinquents. Thus, clearly the white delinquent found the

actual school setting more dangerous than did white nondelinquents, but arriving and leaving the school environment was somewhat safer for them.

Whites perceived 12 of the 13 settings as less dangerous than did blacks (regardless of delinquency status). The areas of greatest discrepancies (by race) were: streets and corners in immediate area, movie houses, streets to and from school, and dances. Once more, if such demonstrations are still required, we found that black youths considered the social world around them much more dangerous and threatening than did whites.

One continual concern of the project has been to ascertain the relationship of fear of crime to the perceived dangerousness of neighborhood, dangerous places, and juvenile fear of subsequent victimizations. Table 41 presents data regarding high juvenile fears of victimization, by using only those producing high fear scores (scores of 8, 9, or 10 given by juveniles on the fear ladder) by delinquency status. For blacks it can be seen that delinquent and nondelinquent differences were insignificant for all four basic situations: fear of being robbed, beaten, killed, or buying protection from teenagers. In every situation nondelinquents showed slightly higher fear levels than delinquents but these were not significant.

For whites a quite different pattern emerged. For three of the four situations, delinquents scored higher (by as much as 10 percent) than nondelinquents, but once more none of the differences were statistically significant. Unlike previous findings (Table 39 and 40) whites did not produce systematically lower fear scores than blacks; indeed, white delinquents showed higher fear levels than black delinquents in three out of four situations; black nondelinquents, on the other hand, were more fearful in all settings than were white nondelinquents.

In sum, then, it would seem that for both blacks and whites, delinquency (or at least an officially known history of delinquent acts) is an irrelevant variable as related to either the fear of crime or places to be avoided.

Still dealing with the variable of delinquency, we move next to examine the relationship of delinquency to juvenile victimization. It could be, of course, that being a delinquent makes the individual a less "attractive" potential victim for a criminal enterprise. At Time Two (Table 42), 32 percent of all black delinquents and 29 percent of all black nondelinquents had been robbed; the differences were not significant. For assault, however, twice as many delinquents as nondelinquents had been assaulted and the differences were statistically significant. Black delinquents and nondelinquents were equally the victims of extortion.

For whites, a similar pattern emerged. While more delinquents than nondelinquents were robbed (35 percent to 23 percent) the difference was not statistically significant; even more white delinquents than nondelinquents were assaulted (35 percent to 21 percent) and this was statistically significant.

Table 41
Juvenile Fear of Victimization by Delinquency Status Black and White, Time Two

	Blacks		Whites	
	Juvenile Delinquent Status		Juvenile Delinquent Status	
Juvenile Fear of:	Delinquent	Nondelinquent	Delinquent	Nondelinquent
Being robbed by teenagers [high fear scores of 8, 9, 10]	39 (21%)	58 (22%)	20 (27%)	72 (17%)
Assaulted by teenagers [high fear scores of 8, 9, 10]	48 (26%)	84 (31%)	21 (28%)	89 (21%)
Killed by teenagers [high fear scores of 8, 9, 10]	80 (44%)	134 (50%)	33 (45%)	151 (35%)
Extortion by teenagers [high fear scores of 8, 9, 10]	19 (10%)	35 (13%)	7 (10%)	7 (29%)
Total	184	268	74	428

Table 42
Victimization Experiences of Juveniles by Delinquency Status, Black and White, Time Two

Victimization Experience of Juveniles	Blacks		Whites	
	Juvenile Delinquent Status		Juvenile Delinquent Status	
	Delinquent	Nondelinquent	Delinquent	Nondelinquent
	(N = 184)	(N = 268)	(N = 74)	(N = 428)
Robbed	59 (32%)	77 (29%)	26 (35%)	99 (23%)
Assaulted	48 (26%)	35 (13%)*	26 (35%)	90 (21%)*
Extortion	12 (7%)	22 (8%)	4 (5%)	26 (6%)

*Relationship is a statistically significant one

Generally it would seem that being known as (labelled) a delinquent does not afford any protection against becoming the victim of serious personal crimes (robbery or assault); indeed, it would seem that black and white delinquents are more victimized than nondelinquents, black and white. Thus far the data reveal the nonfunctional nature of delinquency insofar as it does not produce lower fear scores and indeed it seems to be associated with somewhat *higher* rates of victimization particularly as regards assaults.

Finally, do delinquents alter their behavior or change their way of life to avoid criminal victimization, more or less than do nondelinquents? Table 43 finds no significant differences in the reaction to subjective fear of crime or actual victimization experiences as measured by nine specified forms of altered behavior (avoidances: 1-7; weapons: 8-9).

1. Try not to go a block or two at night when alone.
2. Try not to go more than a block or two at night when alone.
3. Try not to go more than a block or two at night with friends.
4. Avoid talking to strangers.
5. Cross street when group of strangers approachs.
6. Avoid some gang's turf in daytime.
7. Avoid some gang's turf at night.
8. Carry gun or knife for protection.
9. Carry something else (other than gun or knife) for protection.

For four settings delinquents are more apt to alter their behavior than nondelinquents, and for an equal number of situations nondelinquents changed their behavior to a greater extent than did delinquents. No overall pattern emerged.

It is interesting to note that black and white delinquents were more likely to carry a gun or knife or some other weapon than nondelinquents, though the differences are not significant.

Examining blacks and whites (regardless of delinquency status), blacks were more prone to alter behavior (except carrying a serious weapon) than whites. Consistently blacks with higher fear scores and with higher victimization rates were more likely to react to their fears and experiences by altering their behavior to prevent future victimizations.

Finally, it must be apparent that delinquent status was not found to be associated with lesser fear levels, lesser victimizations, or even lesser amounts of altered behavior.

Table 43
Juvenile Altered Behavior by Delinquency Status, Black and White, Time Two

Altered Behavior of Juveniles	Blacks Juvenile Delinquent Status		Whites Juvenile Delinquent Status	
	Delinquent	Nondelinquent	Delinquent	Nondelinquent
A. Avoidances				
Try not to go a block or two alone at night	91 (50%)	119 (44%)	98 (23%)	14 (19%)
Try not to go more than block or two at night when alone	101 (55%)	153 (57%)	21 (28%)	119 (28%)
Try not to go more than a block or two at night with a friend	94 (51%)	153 (57%)	13 (18%)	79 (19%)
Avoid talking to strangers	128 (70%)	201 (75%)	36 (49%)	222 (52%)
Cross street if group of strangers approachs	111 (60%)	161 (60%)	28 (38%)	206 (48%)
Avoid some gang's turf in daytime	115 (63%)	162 (60%)	25 (34%)	149 (35%)
Avoid some gang's turf at night	127 (69%)	195 (73%)	36 (49%)	226 (52%)
B. Weapon Reactions				
Carry gun or knife for protection	21 (11%)	16 (6%)	12 (16%)	42 (10%)
Carry something else for protection	49 (27%)	55 (21%)	13 (18%)	58 (14%)
Total	184	268	74	428

VII. Gang Affiliation

One serious concern of the study has been the investigation of some of the more crucial socializing agencies which impinged significantly upon our young subjects. A great deal of time, effort, data collection, and analysis has been directed at the boy's family, its structure, interaction patterns, parent-child relationships along with a number of other central familial concerns. It was obvious that another major agency of social affiliation and control, perhaps equal in importance to the family for young boys, is his single-sex peer group, sometimes taking the form of a "gang", which has been described as an "emotional haven" for a certain group of youths. Defining what constitutes a "family," interviewing persons who are unarguably family members, securing a significant body of information about family structure and interactional patterns, and analyzing such information in great detail was, essentially, a relatively simple task. A considerably more complex and difficult situation arose concerning "gangs." How does one realistically conceptualize a gang? How does one measure recruitment and entry into gang life and how can one easily determine the degree of affiliation within a gang? It would have been possible to avoid these issues by describing and dealing with "close friends," a "group," "clique" or "pals." Again, an analysis of this could be made by use of such obvious categories as a "large group" boy, a "clique" boy, and a "loner." Our decision was not to pursue simple friendship networks, but rather to deal primarily with gang affiliation. A "gang" has become a pejorative label applied to a group of affiliated individuals who engage in some forms of social behavior generally thought to be undesirable by the larger society. The term "gang" was not always negatively loaded, but over the years it has become a term of opprobrium. Originally it seemed that the most useful measure of gang membership would be the list of gangs and gang members routinely gathered and updated by the Philadelphia Police Department. The department has detailed records for several hundred gangs, but these are only those organizations which are highly publicized by the mass media, having acquired very considerable local "reps," and whose members have frequent contact with the criminal justice system. These gangs have locally famous names ("12th and Oxford," "Zulu Nation"), often their titles are openly emblazoned on their jackets, and they are usually characterized as very complex and extensive enterprises. But these groups represent only the "high profiled," very well-known and well-established gangs. When, in fact, the full list of over one thousand boys was run through the police gang record files for the first and second years, less than 10 boys were found to be listed. It struck us, then, that official law enforcement agency records of gang membership were simply not useful for the juvenile population being studied. The nonutility of police gang records was, in fact, anticipated, and in the first family interview, each juvenile was closely questioned about close friends, as well as parental knowledge and the approval of his friends (and reasons for parental disapproval). The parents were asked if teenagers in the area are "forced" to join gangs for their own protection, and how they (as parents) would feel about their son joining a gang for his own protection. In the second year, parents were asked again if boys in their neighborhood joined gangs for their own protection and how they would feel if their own son were to join a gang for this reason.

More extensively, at Time Two, the issue of gang membership was pursued along two distinct dimensions. As William Arnold has argued in his attempt to deal with the constituent components of a gang, one could determine or define a gang by the presence of certain *structural characteristics* of the group. Arnold contends that a gang is characterized by the presence of three factors: acknowledged leadership, common gang meeting place, and a territory or "turf" within which the group feels safe and where entry by others can provoke the group to violence. This "structural" approach of gang membership was investigated at Time Two, by ascertaining for each boy if among his close friends there was some one person (the leader) who, more than the others, usually decided what to do when the group got together. This, together with questions about whether the leader was the smartest member or the best fighter, measured the leadership component. All juvenile subjects were also asked if their group of friends *usually* met or got together at some specific location. Finally, we inquired if the respondent and his friends had their own territory or "turf" where they felt safe and where others could not come without their permission; if they said there was such a turf, they were then asked to rather precisely describe its boundaries.

In time, after considerable manipulation of the data, it was concluded that if an individual had a group of friends, among whom there was an acknowledged leader, the group had a turf in which they felt safe, and the individuals could specify the parameters of this territory, they were members of a "structural" gang. A common meeting place was not found to be associated with the other three requisites; if this feature was included as a necessary element in gang affiliation, an extremely small number (under 30) of structural gang members in our subject population would have been produced. It seems then that a common gang meeting place might not be

Table 44
Juvenile Judgment of Danger of The Immediate Neighborhood by Membership
In Structural and Functional "Gangs," Black and White, Time Two

Juvenile Judgment of Dangerousness of Immediate Area	Black Structural Gang Member		Black Functional Gang Member		White Structural Gang Member		White Functional Gang Member	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Immediate area in daytime is:								
Not dangerous at all	11 (21%)	100 (75%)	61 (31%)	50 (20%)*	42 (61%)	275 (64%)	212 (65%)	105 (59%)
Not very dangerous	29 (56%)	232 (58%)	118 (60%)	143 (56%)	22 (32%)	139 (32%)	102 (31%)	59 (33%)
Dangerous	8 (15%)	48 (12%)	13 (7%)	42 (17%)	4 (6%)	14 (3%)	59 (3%)	9 (5%)
Very dangerous	3 (6%)	16 (4%)	6 (3%)	13 (5%)	1 (4%)	4 (1%)	2 (1%)	3 (2%)
Most dangerous	1 (2%)	5 (1%)	—	6 (2%)	0	1 (.2%)	0	1 (1%)
Immediate area at night is:								
Not dangerous at all	3 (6%)	35 (9%)	17 (9%)	21 (8%)	13 (19%)	106 (25%)	80 (25%)	39 (22%)
Not very dangerous	20 (38%)	165 (41%)	88 (44%)	997 (38%)	38 (55%)	234 (54%)	183 (56%)	89 (50%)
Dangerous	15 (29%)	119 (30%)	58 (29%)	76 (30%)	9 (13%)	57 (13%)	39 (12%)	27 (15%)
Very dangerous	14 (27%)	72 (18%)	34 (17%)	52 (21%)	9 (13%)	33 (8%)	20 (6%)	22 (12%)
Most dangerous	0	8 (2%)	1 (.5%)	7 (3%)	0	3 (1%)	3 (1%)	0
Immediate area (within a block or two) more dangerous than area further away	12 (23%)	52 (13%)	22 (11%)	42 (17%)	21 (6%)	38 (9%)	26 (8%)	16 (9%)
Total	52	400	198	254	69	433	325	177

*Relationship is statistically significant

an absolute requirement to establish the existence of a gang. To reiterate, if the youth revealed that among his group of friends there was someone who usually made decisions for the others, that the group had a safety area (turf) in which they felt relatively comfortable and unthreatened, and he could specify the dimensions of his group's protected territory, he was classified as a structural gang member.

One might argue that a structural gang concept, based on the presence or absence of several perhaps arbitrary organizational features, is defective in that it does not deal with whether or not one's group engages in aggressive behavior. There exist many structural gangs which do not fight with other "gangs" as there are boys whose groups do not have all of our required structural elements, but who do engage in conflict with other gangs. Accordingly, at Time Two, all boys were asked if their groups of friends fought with members of other groups; how often they fought; if the group fought with some other group; whether the respondent was expected to join in the fight; and if there was a gang fight and the respondent did not join his gang in the fight, would they drop him from membership. Our definition of a "functional" gang member, then, was someone whose group of friends fought with other groups, who was expected to participate in any group or gang fight, and who felt that failure to comply with the group requirement to fight would result in his being disaffiliated from the group.

It was originally expected that a sizable percentage of all subjects would belong to both the structural and functional gang, but such was not the case, as Table 44 reveals. The use of the aforementioned three structural elements produced 52 black (12 percent) and 69 white (14 percent) structural gang members. Belonging to functional gangs were 198 blacks (44 percent) and 325 whites (65 percent). We cannot easily explain the significantly greater degree of white gang membership; the differences could reflect greater disingenuousness in the black subjects; it could be a function of greater constraints on black youths making statements to interviewers about gang membership, often with a parent present; perhaps many black gangs are not measured by these arbitrary characteristics; or it could be that fighting gang life is more prevalent among white youths than blacks. It still remains somewhat stunning that the data revealed that less than half of all black boys belonged to fighting gangs, compared to about two-thirds of all white youths.

How do these distinctive two types of gang membership relate to fear of crime, perceived danger of everyday surroundings, victimization, and altered behavior. Table 44 reveals that of the 12 relationships of fear of crime to gang membership by race, only one was statistically significant: black functional gang members were far less likely to believe their immediate neighborhood to be dangerous (or very dangerous or most dangerous) during the daytime. (It may be noted that the same area at night was felt to be relatively safe by 53 percent of black functional gang members and 46 percent of black nonfunctional gang members.)

Comparing black members of structural and functional gangs, it will be seen that the functional gang member is somewhat less likely to perceive his neighborhood as dangerous during the daytime, at night, and when compared to other more distant areas; this despite the fact that, by definition, the structural gang members defined their turf (usually the immediate area in which they lived) as a relatively safe one. Apparently membership in a black gang which fights other gangs dampens anxiety about neighborhood safety in the daytime and, somewhat less strongly, at night, compared to other individuals. No regular patterns arose among whites by gang affiliation.

Comparing four gang groups (white and black structural and functional gang members) it is found that a real fear ("dangerous," "very dangerous," and "most dangerous") is highest for black structural gang members, next highest for black functional gangs, then white structural gang members, and is lowest for white functional gang members. Thus, the neighborhood in daytime is dangerous (and very dangerous and most dangerous) to 23 percent of all black structural gang members, 10 percent of black functional gang members, seven percent of the white structural gang members, and four percent of white functional gang members. The same area at night was believed to be dangerous by 56 percent of all black structural and 46 percent of black functional gang members, and by 26 percent of white structural and 19 percent of white functional gang members. The same progression is found for those who felt that their neighborhood was more dangerous than more distant territory.

If some boys join gangs for protection and feelings of security, particularly in their own neighborhoods, an affiliation with a fighting gang will be more likely to achieve this result than any other type group membership.

Examination of Table 45 also reveals that the structural gang members (both black and white) had higher fears (greater descriptions of immediate area as dangerous during the day and at night) than did nonmembers of structural gangs. Thus, one's neighborhood is dangerous (and very dangerous and most dangerous) in daytime to 23 percent of black structural gang members, 17 percent of all blacks not belonging to structural gangs,

Table 45
Dangerous Settings as Perceived by Youths, by Membership in Structural and Functional "Gangs," Black and White, Time Two

Dangerous Settings	Black Structural Gang Member		Black Functional Gang Member		White Structural Gang Member		White Functional Gang Member	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Street and corner in immediate area	23 (44%)	171 (43%)	71 (36%)	123 (48%)	10 (15%)	55 (13%)	34 (11%)	31 (18%)
Street and corner outside immediate area	35 (67%)	254 (64%)	117 (59%)	172 (68%)	42 (61%)	183 (42%)*	140 (43%)	85 (48%)
Parks in area	74 (46%)	149 (49%)	90 (46%)	130 (51%)	37 (54%)	190 (44%)	147 (45%)	80 (45%)
Playground in area	31 (60%)	169 (42%)	77 (39%)	123 (48%)	36 (52%)	158 (37%)	124 (38%)	70 (40%)
Recreation centers	27 (52%)	130 (32%)*	64 (32%)	93 (37%)	27 (39%)	115 (27%)	86 (27%)	56 (32%)
School rooms	15 (29%)	79 (20%)	31 (16%)	63 (25%)	16 (23%)	45 (10%)	31 (10%)	30 (17%)
School yards	28 (54%)	180 (45%)	81 (41%)	127 (50%)	29 (42%)	122 (28%)	86 (27%)	65 (37%)
School halls	19 (37%)	108 (27%)	55 (28%)	72 (28%)	18 (26%)	70 (16%)	46 (14%)	42 (24%)*
Street to and from school	29 (56%)	216 (54%)	101 (51%)	144 (57%)				
Trolleys and buses	31 (60%)	212 (53%)	108 (55%)	135 (53%)	38 (55%)	198 (46%)	149 (46%)	87 (49%)
Subways	36 (69%)	265 (66%)	130 (66%)	171 (67%)	55 (80%)	333 (77%)	262 (81%)	26 (71%)*
Movie houses	29 (56%)	217 (54%)	111 (56%)	135 (53%)	19 (28%)	83 (19%)	65 (20%)	37 (21%)
Dances	26 (50%)	270 (57%)	105 (53%)	147 (58%)	17 (25%)	103 (24%)	79 (24%)	41 (23%)
Total	52	400	198	254	69	433	325	177

*Relationship is statistically significant

seven percent of all white structural gang members, and four percent of white nonmembers of structural gangs. The reverse is true for functional gang membership: gang members (black and white) viewed their area as less dangerous than did nongang members. Thus, the neighborhood in the daytime was rated as, at least, dangerous by 10 percent of black functional gang members, 24 percent of black nonmembers of functional gangs, four percent of all white functional gang members, and eight percent of white nonmembers of functional gangs.

Table 45 is extremely interesting, dealing with the diffused nature of juvenile fear as measured by perceived dangerousness of specified settings encountered in everyday life. Five significant differences were found, but they do not in themselves clearly reveal specific flow or direction in the data. Generally it will be seen that black structural gang members are more prone to judge as dangerous 11 of 13 settings than are nonstructural gang members. The reverse is once more true for black functional gang comparisons; functional gang members perceive less danger in most settings than do nonfunctional gang members. This gang pattern is found, as well, for the white juveniles with structural gang members higher in fear than nongang members 12 out of 13 settings, while functional gang members were lower in fear than nonfunctional gang members in 10 of 13 settings.

Comparing the two types of gangs, it may be seen that members of black structural gangs are more prone to describe places as dangerous than are black functional gang members (for 11 of 13 settings). For whites, much the same pattern emerges; those boys in structural gangs find most situations more dangerous than do functional gang members.

Comparing similar gang affiliations by race, it was found that black structural gang members had higher perceptions of dangerousness than did white structural gang members on 11 settings; particularly strong differences were found regarding the danger inherent in attending dances (50 percent to 25 percent), movie houses (56 percent to 28 percent), streets to and from school (56 percent to 23 percent) and streets and corners in the immediate area (44 percent to 15 percent). The same features emerge with functional gangs when black gang members were higher than white gang members on 12 of 13 items. (Only subways are more feared by whites than blacks.) These findings tend to reinforce our belief that the black world view is one of much greater peril and dread than the one viewed by whites. It also indicates the greater psychological satisfactions (lesser fears) to be derived from functional gang membership compared to structural gang membership.

The final phase of fear concerns juvenile fear of future victimization and is dealt with in Table 46. Dealing only with juveniles who were extremely fearful (average scores 8, 9, or 10 on the fear ladder) it will be seen that black structural gang members had higher fear scores than nonstructural gang members for all four situations (being robbed, beaten, killed, or subjected to extortion by teenagers). For the three violent offenses, black boys who belong to functional gangs have lower fear scores than nongang members. Generally the same is true for whites. For the three serious violent crimes, structural gang members are more fearful than those who do not belong to structural gangs, while functional gang members have less extreme fear than do nongang members. Extortion (selling protection) is a somewhat peculiar offense; not a very serious crime, producing comparatively little fear, it did produce the one significant relationship on the table. For the three violent crimes, members of structural gangs, both black and white, are more apt to produce extreme fear scores than are functional gang members, black and white.

A glance at the data on high fear of being killed by teenagers is instructive. For no population was there less than 35 percent who were extremely afraid of being murdered. From one-third to over one-half of each subpopulation were extremely fearful of being killed by other youths. Indeed, we found that fully 44 percent of all black structural gang members rated their fear of being killed at "10" (highest possible score) as did 38 percent of all black nongang members; for the same crime, 35 percent of the white structural gang members and 29 percent of the nongang members also gave "10" scores.

Actual victimization experiences of the several gang and nongang populations (Table 47) reveal results somewhat different from those found regarding fear and perceived dangerousness. Black structural gang members, once more, were much more likely to be robbed (44 percent to 28 percent) than were black nongang members, and they were also much more apt to be assaulted. There was no difference in functional gang affiliation as regards a robbery victimization, but functional gang members were more assaulted than were nongang members (22 percent to 15 percent).

Roughly the same situation appears for whites. White structural gang members were more robbed (33 percent to 24 percent) and more assaulted (33 percent to 22 percent) than were nonmembers. White functional gang members were slightly less robbed (24 percent to 26 percent) and slightly more likely to be assaulted (24 percent to 21 percent).

The assault results are varied. It must be remembered that all functional gang members, by definition, belong

Table 46
Juvenile Fear of Victimization by Membership in Structural and Functional "Gangs," Black and White, Time Two

Juvenile Fear of	Black Structural Gang Member		Black Functional Gang Member		White Structural Gang Member		White Functional Gang Member	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Being robbed by teenagers [high fear scores of 8, 9, 10]	13 (25%)*	84 (21%)	32 (15%)	65 (76%)	15 (22%)	77 (18%)	50 (15%)	42 (24%)
Beaten by teenagers [high fear score of 8, 9, 10]	16 (31%)	126 (29%)	49 (25%)	83 (33%)	18 (26%)	92 (21%)	54 (17%)	56 (32%)
Being killed by teenagers [high fear score of 8, 9, 10]	28 (54%)	186 (47%)	88 (45%)	126 (50%)	31 (45%)	153 (35%)	113 (35%)	71 (40%)
Extortion from teenagers [high fear score of 8, 9, 10]	8 (15%)	46 (12%)	25 (13%)	29 (11%)	4 (5%)	64 (15%)	33 (10%)	35 (20%)
Total	.52	400	198	254	69	433	325	177

*This is always a percentage of the total N.

Table 47
Victimization of Juveniles by Membership in Structural and Functional "Gangs," Black and White, Time Two

Victimization of Juveniles	Black Structural Gang Member		Black Functional Gang Member	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Robbed	23 (44%)	113 (28%)	59 (30%)	77 (30%)
Assaulted	14 (27%)	69 (17%)	44 (22%)	39 (15%)
Extortion	3 (6%)	31 (8%)	14 (7%)	20 (8%)
Total	52	400	198	254
	White Structural Gang Member		White Functional Gang Member	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Robbed	23 (33%)	102 (24%)	79 (24%)	46 (26%)
Assaulted	23 (33%)	93 (22%)	79 (24%)	37 (21%)
Extortion	4 (6%)	26 (6%)	19 (6%)	11 (6%)
Total	69	433	325	177

to a group which frequently fights with other gangs and which requires all members to engage in combat activity. It would seem then, that almost all such gang members had, of necessity, been assaulted, but we find only 22 percent of black and 24 percent of white gang members reporting an assault. It could be, of course, that these gang boys define their gang conflicts as not really involving the crime of assault, which is only applied to other forms of violent interchange.

One might have expected that belonging to a gang would reduce or eliminate any need for paying protection (extortion) to some other person or group; such was not the case, since roughly the same percentages (6 percent to 8 percent) of all boys regardless of gang affiliation admitted to being the victims of such crimes.

Thus, it would seem that gang membership, either structural or functional, for blacks and for whites, does not reduce one's likelihood of becoming the victim of a robbery or assault. Indeed, any such affiliation seems to slightly inflate the probability of becoming the victim of such criminal acts.

The manner in which gang members and nonmembers react to their fear of crime is examined in Table 48. No significant differences were found among blacks, while white structural gang members were significantly *more* likely to avoid another gang's turf at night, and to carry a gun, knife or something else for protection. For black structural gangs, despite the fact that our previously discussed data show that such gang members are more fearful, more diffused in their fear, and more victimized, they are not more likely to have engaged in altered behaviors than nongang members; for two items gang and nongang members engage equally in avoidance behaviors; for five items the nongang members are more likely to alter their behavior than are the gang members. This is also true with black functional gangs, i.e., for five items nongang members altered their behavior more than gang members; while gang members were more likely to engage in weapon reactions. This is at least consistent with previously presented data indicating that belonging to a functional gang results in less fear, fewer settings thought to be

dangerous, and no more victimization than non-gang members--which would result in less striving to change one's normal behavior to avoid the risk of crime.

For whites, structural gang members were more fearful, more prone to find locales dangerous, and considerably more victimized, and naturally and normally altered their behavior more than nongang members for all nine settings (significantly more in avoiding other gang's turf at night, plus the two weapon reactions). The white functional gang, less fearful, citing fewer dangerous places, and with no more victimizations than nongang members, are less apt to modify normal behavior as regards seven of the nine settings.

Structural gang membership, in summary, for both blacks and whites, is associated with higher fear of the immediate area, greater elements of diffused fear of many social settings, greater fear of subsequent victimization, a higher rate of actual victimization, and more altered behavior, on the whole, than occurs with nongang members.

Functional gang membership, on the other hand, for both blacks and whites, is associated with less fear of neighborhood, slightly more victimization and considerably less altered behavior when compared to nongang members.

Finally, the relationship of gang membership to juvenile delinquency was examined in Table 49. Black structural gang members were significantly more likely to be juvenile delinquents than were nongang members (51 percent to 32 percent). White structural gang members were also more likely than nongang members to be official delinquents (23 percent to 13 percent) but this was not a significant difference. Functional gang membership or nonmembership, for both black and white, was unrelated to the existence of a record for delinquency.

Taken as a whole, it would seem that the group of youths who fell under our operationalized definition of structural gang member [his group of friends had a leader and they had a specific, definable area of sanctuary (turf)] was characterized on the whole as feeling their neighborhood was dangerous in daytime and at night, believing there were many dangerous situations around them, having elevated fear levels, being more victimized, and were more prone to have acquired a delinquency record than were nongang members. If entry into this group was predicated on its offering the individual greater safety, reduced fear, a more regular way of life, the decision was an erroneous one. It could be, of course, that approach to gang membership does not meaningfully divide the boys into gang or nongang members..

Functional gang membership (an organization of individuals who fight with others and who require combativeness from all members) on the other hand, did possibly serve real interests for its young members; compared to nonfunctional gang members, it dampened their fear of their neighborhood, produced less diffused fears as measured by fearful settings, was associated with less fear of becoming victims of crimes, produced no higher rates of victimization, required less change of customary modes of behavior as a consequence of fear of crime, and produced no more apprehension by the police for delinquent actions.

Table 48
Juvenile Altered Behavior by Membership in Structural and Functional "Gangs," Black and White, Time Two

Altered Behavior by Juveniles	Black Structural Gang Member		Black Functional Gang Member		White Structural Gang Member		White Functional Gang Member	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Avoidances								
Try not to go a block or two at night when alone	28 (54%)	214 (54%)	100 (51%)	142 (56%)	22 (32%)	90 (21%)	64 (20%)	48 (27%)
Try not to go more than block or two at night, alone	29 (56%)	275 (56%)	102 (60%)	151 (60%)	23 (33%)	117 (27%)	86 (27%)	54 (31%)
Try not to go more than block or two at night with friends	26 (50%)	221 (55%)	89 (45%)	158 (62%)	39 (57%)	219 (51%)	156 (48%)	102 (58%)
Avoid talking to strangers	35 (67%)	294 (74%)	0	0	14 (20%)	78 (18%)	43 (13%)	49 (28%)
Cross street as a group of strangers approachs	31 (60%)	241 (61%)	117 (59%)	155 (61%)	36 (52%)	198 (46%)	149 (46%)	85 (48%)
Avoid some gang's turf in daytime	27 (52%)	250 (62%)	126 (64%)	151 (59%)	31 (45%)	143 (33%)	104 (32%)	70 (40%)
Avoid some gang's turf at night	30 (58%)	292 (73%)	144 (73%)	178 (70%)	47 (68%)	215 (50%)*	166 (51%)	36 (49%)
Weapon Reactions								
Carry gun or knife for protection	5 (10%)	32 (8%)	17 (9%)	20 (8%)	14 (20%)	40 (9%)*	35 (11%)	19 (11%)
Carry something else for protection	17 (33%)	87 (72%)	49 (25%)	55 (22%)	21 (30%)	50 (11%)*	43 (13%)	28 (16%)
Total	52	400	198	254	69	433	325	177

* Relationship is a statistically significant one

Table 49
Gang Membership and Delinquency Status, By Type of Gang, and Race, Time Two

Delinquency Status	Black Structural Gang Member* Yes	Black Structural Gang Member* No	Black Functional Gang Member Yes	Black Functional Gang Member No
Juvenile Delinquent	23 (16%)[xx] (51%)[+]	117 (83%) (32%)	6 (44%) (35%)	79 (56%) (34%)
Nondelinquent	22 (8%) (49%)	246 (92%) (68%)	115 (43%) (65%)	153 (57%) (66%)
Total	45 (11%)	363 (89%)	176 (43%)	232 (57%)
Delinquency Status	**White Structural Gang Member Yes**	**White Structural Gang Member No**	**White Functional Gang Member Yes**	**White Functional Gang Member No**
Juvenile Delinquent	16 (22%) (23%)	58 (78%) (13%)	50 (68%) (15%)	24 (32%) (14%)
Nondelinquent	53 (12%) (77%)	375 (88%) (87%)	275 (64%) (85%)	153 (36%) (86%)
Total	69 (14%)	433 (86%)	325 (65%)	177 (35%)

* Relationships were statistically significant
[xx] Row percentage
[+] Column percentage

CONCLUSIONS

1. When the area of criminal victimization was examined in our subject population, we were faced at once with the issue of the knowledgeability of the adult head of household informant concerning criminal acts which took place against other members of the household. Adults were asked about household victimization of 10 crimes (attempted robbery, robbery, burglary, assault sexual assault, threats of injury, malicious mischief and arson, acceptance of counterfeit instruments, minor sexual offenses, and injury in a hit-and-run or reckless driving accident); youth were asked about their personal experiences as victims of robbery or attempted robbery, assault, and extortion.

Most juveniles who were robbed reported that a visible weapon (gun, knife, etc.) was used, they were threatened by such a weapon or they were actually assaulted and something of value was taken. These were usually serious robberies and involved 202 black youthful victims in Time One. Within these 202 families, however, adult respondents reported some household robbery in only 44 cases. This 21 percent overlap, as small as it may seem, represents a maximum estimated degree of agreement because in some of these 44 adult-reported robberies, the adult respondent was describing a robbery which involved the adult himself or someone else in the family other than the subject youth. In Time Two, 136 boys reported being robbed while only 38 of their parents (28 percent) reported a household robbery. Therefore, adults were extremely poor informants about even serious felonies which transpired against the children. To a considerable extent this is because 58 percent of the children did not tell their parents of the crime and also because only 53 percent of the parents who were told of the children's robbery victimization, recalled the event to the interviewer.

2. When household victimizations were examined over two years, it was found that the amount of crime our subject population "consumed" was the same each year (44 percent victimized at Time One and again at Time Two). The most usual victimizations were attempted robbery, assault, threats of injury, and burglary.

3. Further, the pattern of family victimization in one year is positively associated with family victimization experiences in the following year. One hundred fifty-nine families (35 percent of our black panel population) were *continuing nonvictims* (victimized in neither Time One nor Time Two); 105 families (23 percent) were *continuing victims* (victimized both in Time One and Time Two); and 188 families (42 percent) were *occasional victims* (victimized in only Time One or Time Two).

4. For black juveniles, 30 percent and 38 percent were robbed at Time One and Time Two respectively, 16 percent and 18 percent were assaulted, and 7 percent and 7.5 percent paid protection.

5. As with households, juvenile victimization in *one year* is positively associated with juvenile victimization in the second year. One hundred seventy-five youths (39 percent) were *continuing nonvictims*; 110 (24 percent) were *continuing victims*; and 167 (38 percent) were *occasional victims*.

6. Curious patterns of multiple victimization were found for black youths. Boys who paid extortion were unlikely to have been assaulted but were very prone to have been robbed. Boys who were assaulted were unlikely to also have paid extortion but were very likely to have been robbed. However, when this universe of all 200 boys robbed was examined, on the average they were unlikely to have also been assualted (29 percent) or to have also paid protection (14.5 percent).

7. When delinquency (officially recorded) was related to victimization experience, no significant relationships were found. Delinquents and nondelinquents were similar in being victimized for robbery or extortion. While delinquents reported a higher rate of being assaulted (26 percent to 15 percent), the difference was not significant.

8. Criminal depredations against families showed almost identical percentages of household victimizations for families of delinquent and nondeliquent youths. Even when delinquent status was related to serious household victimization (robbery, serious assault or sexual attack) the same pattern of nonsignificant differences was found.

9. Contrary to the findings of previous research, juveniles from lower income black groups were no more heavily victimized than boys from higher income groups. However in Time One, the higher the family income the higher the proportion of boys who were robbed.

10. The dangerousness of the immediate area in which the families lived was differentially perceived by adults and juveniles. During the daytime one's close neighborhood (within a block or two) was considered dangerous by 32.5 percent of all black adults and only 19 percent

of the juveniles. The reverse was true at night, with 49 percent of the adults and 56 percent of the juveniles considering it dangerous then.

11. Adults gave scaled (from 0 to 10) fear scores for 13 events involving themselves or their children; juveniles produced scaled fear scores for eight events during Time One. Adult fear levels were considerably higher than those of the juveniles. Only two percent of all adults and about eight percent of the juveniles were rated as showing almost *No Fear*. Over 60 percent of all adults and 49 percent of all juveniles had above midpoint fear scores. Over four percent of all adults and one percent of all juveniles produced *Absolute Fear* scores (top level fear for all rated items), operating within what one might consider a "panic view of life."

12. What particularly frightened black parents (excluding the ominous area of subways) were the possibilities of their children being injured or robbed either at school or in their immediate neighborhood.

13. To some extent higher fear scores may be related to the household experiences with criminal victimization. Fifteen percent of the adults produced the highest possible fear scores (115-130), reported 22 percent of all household assault victimizations, and 18 percent of all household robbery victimizations. (The same maximally fearful adults were also more likely to consider their immediate neighborhood more dangerous in the daytime than at night, but the difference between them and the less fearful was not significant.

14. Adult fear scores were related to the two-year period for household victimization status (continuing victim, nonvictim or occasional victim) and those who were continuing victims had, naturally, the most elevated fear scores and the never and occasional victims were alike in lower fear scores.

15. No significant relationship was found between juvenile (personal) victimizations and juvenile fear scores.

16. A comparison of the intrafamilial fear of criminal victimization scores of adults and children in the same family reveals a significant relationship. In 109 families (24 percent) both youth and adult had below midpoint fear scores; 151 cases (33.5 percent) had both producing above midpoint fear scores. In 27.5 percent of the cases, the boy gave low fear scores and his parent high scores. The remaining group (15.5 percent) were 68 families where the parent had low fear and the boy produced a high score. This disagreement between boy and parent is far more likely to show the parent with high fear and the boy low fear and is probably a function of great parental fear for their children's safety.

17. The major areas of juvenile fear (fearful to more than half of all black youths) were streets more than a block from home, subways, parks, and streets going to and from schools. If we focus on the school environment, 54 percent of all boys thought streets to and from school dangerous; 44 percent rated school yards dangerous; 34 percent rated school hallways dangerous, and 21 percent even thought school rooms were dangerous. Much juvenile truancy and disenchantment with the educational system may be directly related to the perceived danger of arriving and departing from school and school settings generally.

18. The perception of danger was somewhat greater for delinquents than nondelinquents in the first year, particularly in regard to their immediate neighborhood, trolley and buses, and streets to and from school.

19. In reference to altered behavior (changes in everyday behavior calculated to reduce the risk of criminal victimization), most adults at Time One and Time Two tended to engage in multiple avoidances (stay home at night, try not to go out alone at night, don't go to movies alone, do less shopping alone, visit friends less, don't talk to strangers, avoid subways, try not to work in "bad" areas, and keep children off streets at night).

20. A significant proportion of all adults engaged in weapon reactions—buying guns, keeping loaded guns in the house, keeping weapons by the bed and carrying weapons when they went out. Adults with higher than average fear scores were significantly more likely than those with lower fear scores to engage in avoidance behaviors, noneconomically expensive forms of new positive behavior, and economically expensive types of altered behavior. No differences according to adult fear scores were found for weapon reaction. Generally, the greater the fear the greater the avoidance of previous behavior and the more restricted and confined the life style adopted to subvert the risk of criminal victimization.

21. Most black youths were likely (at Time One and Time Two) to avoid talking to or meeting strangers, go out alone at night or enter another gang's territory at night or day. While only a small percentage admitted to carrying a gun or knife, the vast majority (over 70 per

cent) admitted to carrying "something else" for protection. Generally juveniles engaged in fewer avoidances and more weapon reactions than adults. Juveniles were less fearful and changed their lives less in regard to the risk of victimization than their parents.

22. White and black youth populations by age 15 had, expectedly, differential rates of delinquency with 41 percent of the blacks and 14 percent of the whites having official delinquency records.

23. One hypothesis suggested in the past is that the status of being a juvenile delinquent might be functional for many boys because the reputation for "toughness" often associated with the label of delinquent might reduce the number of attacks and robberies against such identified individuals. For both black and white youth populations, this did not appear to be the case. Delinquents and nondelinquents were very similar in the way they rated the relative seriousness of their immediate area in the daytime and at night. White youths, both delinquent and nondelinquent, thought their neighborhood to be far less dangerous than did black youths.

The same pattern held for areas of fear. Delinquents and nondelinquents showed no significant differences as to what they regarded as dangerous settings. Indeed black delinquents rated all school-related settings (streets to and from school, school yards, school halls, and school rooms) as more dangerous than did their nondelinquent counterparts, but the differences were not statistically significant. The same situations regarding school settings occurred even more dramatically with the white population and more than twice as many delinquents as nondelinquents rated school rooms, yards and halls as dangerous social settings. Also whites (delinquent and nondelinquent) were less fearful of 12 of the 13 settings than were blacks (regardless of delinquency status).

As to fear of criminal victimization, black delinquents scored somewhat lower for all four events (being robbed, assaulted, paying protection or being killed by teenagers) than nondelinquents but the differences were insignificant. The reverse was true for whites with delinquents scoring higher than nondelinquents for three of the four settings (being robbed, assaulted or killed).

When actual victimizations are examined; black delinquents were very similar to nondelinquents in the percentage robbed or extorted, but they were significantly more likely to have been assaulted. The same pattern was found for white youths with similar *victimization* rates of robbery and extortion and significantly more delinquents than nondelinquents assaulted.

There were no significant differences found between delinquents and nondelinquents (black or white) concerning altered behavior, although black and white delinquents were somewhat more apt to carry a gun, knife or "something else" for their personal protection.

Thus it would seem that delinquents do not perceive their world as safer or more dangerous than do nondelinquents; delinquency is not associated with lesser fear; delinquents are slightly more victimized, and they do not constrain or modify their life any more or less than nondelinquents. The status of being a delinquent has no "payoff" along these lines.

24. Regarding gang affiliation, if one uses official social agency listings of members of highly publicized and visible gangs, very few members of our subject population (less than 10) were found on these central registers. Not satisfied with official listings, we attempted to group subjects into structural or functional gangs, based on the presence of certain organizational features (a group leader; acknowledged, recognized turf; and the ability to precisely define the limits of the boundaries), or the existence of common social (functional) concerns (the group fought other groups, ego was expected to fight with them and if he did not he would be dropped from the organization). Generally, structural gang members had heightened fears of the local area and specific social settings, were more victimized and prone to acquire a delinquency record than nonstructural gang members. On the other hand, functional gang membership did serve real interest for the members; compared to the non-functional-gang members, they had dampened (lessened) fear of neightborhood, with lesser and less diffused fears, fewer criminal victimizations, less change in customary modes of behavior (as a consequence of fear of crime) and no higher rates of delinquency.

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