

GUARDIAN ANGELS: AN ASSESSMENT OF CITIZEN RESPONSE TO CRIME

**VOLUME II
TECHNICAL REPORT**

October 1985

San Diego



**ASSOCIATION OF
GOVERNMENTS**

**1200 Third Avenue
Suite 524 Security Pacific Plaza
San Diego, California 92101**

(619) 236-5383

**Susan Pennell
Christine Curtis
Joel Henderson, Ph.D.**

**Prepared for the
U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice**

Board of Directors

SAN DIEGO ASSOCIATION OF GOVERNMENTS

The San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG) is a voluntary public agency formed by local governments to assure overall areawide planning and coordination for the San Diego region. Voting members include the Incorporated Cities of Carlsbad, Chula Vista, Coronado, Del Mar, El Cajon, Escondido, Imperial Beach, La Mesa, Lemon Grove, National City, Oceanside, Poway, San Diego, San Marcos, Santee, Vista and the County of San Diego. Advisory and Liaison members include CALTRANS, U.S. Department of Defense and Tijuana/Baja California Norte.

CHAIRMAN: Jess Van Deventer

VICE CHAIRMAN: Ernie Cowan

SECRETARY-EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Richard J. Huff

CITY OF CARLSBAD

Mary Casler, Mayor
(A) Richard Chick, Councilman

CITY OF CHULA VISTA

Greg Cox, Mayor
(A) Frank Scott, Councilman

CITY OF CORONADO

Lois Ewen, Councilwoman
(A) Robert G. Odiorne, Mayor Pro Tern

CITY OF DEL MAR

James W. Tetrault, Councilman
(A) Scott Barnett

CITY OF EL CAJON

Harriet Stockwell, Councilwoman
(A) Richard Smith, Mayor Pro Tern

CITY OF ESCONDIDO

Ernie Cowen, Mayor
(A) Doris Thurston, Councilwoman
(A) Doug Best, Councilman

CITY OF IMPERIAL BEACH

Bill Russell, Mayor
(A) Sharon K. Spurck, Councilwoman

CITY OF LA MESA

Art Madrid, Councilman
(A) Fred Nagel, Mayor
(A) Ernest W. Ewin, Councilman

CITY OF LEMON GROVE

Lois Heiserman, Councilwoman
(A) James V. Dorman, Mayor

CITY OF NATIONAL CITY

Jess E. Van Deventer, Vice Mayor
(A) Marion F. Cooper, Councilman

CITY OF OCEANSIDE

Lawrence M. Bagley, Mayor
(A) Ted Marioncelli, Councilman

CITY OF POWAY

Robert Emery, Mayor
(A) Carl Kruse, Councilman

CITY OF SAN DIEGO

Ed Struiksma, Councilman
(A) Mike Gotch, Councilman

CITY OF SAN MARCOS

James D. Simmons, Vice Mayor
(A) Lionel G. Burton, Mayor

CITY OF SANTEE

Jack Doyle, Mayor
(A) Gerry Solomon, Councilman

CITY OF VISTA

Mike Flick, Mayor
(A) Lloyd von Haden, Councilman

COUNTY OF SAN DIEGO

George Bailey, Supervisor
(A) Brian Bilbray, Supervisor
(A) Susan Golding, Supervisor

STATE DEPT. OF TRANSPORTATION

(Advisory Member)
Leo Trombatore, Director
(A) Bill Dotson, District Director

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

(Liaison Member)
Captain Jan Cook, U.S.N.
C.O., Public Works Center, San Diego

TIJUANA/BAJA CALIFORNIA NORTE

(Advisory Member)
Rene Trevino Arredondo, Presidente Municipal

This project was supported by Grant Number 83-IJ-CX-0037 awarded to the Criminal Justice Research Unit of the San Diego Association of Governments, by the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

The San Diego Association of Governments reserves the right to reproduce, publish, translate or otherwise use and to authorize others to publish and use all or any part of the copyrighted material contained in this publication.

ABSTRACT

The Guardian Angels represent a form of citizen crime prevention that has fostered interest and concern regarding their impact, motives, leadership and organizational structure. Led by their founder, Curtis Sliwa, these volunteers patrol the streets and subways in over 50 cities.

The purpose of this exploratory study was to document the activities of the Angels, assess their impact on crime and citizen fear of crime and describe features of the group that differentiate them from other citizen patrols. Recent research suggests that citizen patrols may reduce crime and make citizens feel safe by imposing social order.

Findings suggest that Angels may not reduce the violent offenses they seek to **prevent although they may have** limited **impact on property** crimes. Segments **of** the **population** feel safe when **Angels patrol** which may be associated with the Angels performing an order maintenance role. Sliwa's efforts to mobilize minority youth to be positive role models is a unique feature of the Angels. Ultimately, the effectiveness of the Angels may depend on the extent to which Sliwa can seek rapprochement with law enforcement and community leaders.

The study includes three volumes: (1) an executive summary, (2) a technical report with **summary** tables, **and** (3) **methodology** and **data** collection instruments.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the course of this study, we received assistance from many **individuals** who deserve recognition. We are grateful to Curtis and Lisa Sliwa for their support of the research and their willingness to open all Guardian Angels' chapters to our intensive review. Sliwa's parents, Fran and Chester Sliwa, warrant special recognition for their efforts in arranging interviews with New York Angel members, **providing information about Curtis' background** and responding to our seemingly endless requests for information.

We are grateful to the 33 law enforcement agencies in this country and Canada that **participated** in this research. We are **particularly indebted** to the following city and transit police administrators for allowing their agencies to be primary sites for this study: Billy Prince, Dallas; John Kearns, Sacramento; William Kolender, San Diego; Cornelius Murphy, San Francisco; Joseph Jordan, William Bratton, Boston; Carl Drammis and Fred Rice, Chicago; William Hanton, Cleveland; and Benjamin Ward, Anthony Voelker and James Meehan, New York.

In each of these cities, the following individuals provided the research team with invaluable assistance in scheduling interviews with agency personnel, securing approval for surveys of patrol officers, and setting up ride-alongs with patrol officers. Their insightful observations, candor, and willingness to participate provided significant contributions to this study. Concern for our welfare when patrolling with the Angels during late night hours is also much appreciated. Our thanks to Lt. Blake Koller (Sacramento), Sergeant J.T. Waterson (Dallas), Lt. Tim Thorsen (San Francisco), Chuck Wexler and Officer Billy Brackett (Boston), Deputy Superintendent Ira Harris (Chicago), Detective Robert Bolton (Cleveland), and Lt. Ron Rowland and Richard Shapiro (New York). Our appreciation is also extended to the additional law enforcement personnel who participated in interviews and mailed surveys.

The Guardian Angel **chapter leaders and** members deserve our gratitude for their cooperation with our research. Our schedules for site visits were rigorous and we commend the Guardian Angels for arranging patrol activities, interviews and other data collection efforts to accommodate our study requirements.

We appreciate the time and cooperation of leaders of citizen crime prevention group leaders in San Diego County as well as Paula Broxmeyer, L I.A I.S.O.N. Executive Director; Matt Peskin, Executive Director, National Association of Townwatch; Robert Yancey, Coordinator of the Florence, New Jersey Townwatch; and Donald Blancke, President, Citizens' Patrol, Inc., in Stockton, California. Officer George Eckhardt was very helpful regarding the Lower Merion Townwatch in Pennsylvania.

In our primary sites, we recognize the assistance provided by the administrative personnel of the mayors' offices and the courtesy extended by mayors.

We benefitted from the advice and suggestions of our monitor, Dr. Richard Titus, of the National Institute of Justice. His responsiveness and guidance during the study are appreciated. Dr. Ronald Boostrom conducted interviews with leaders of San Diego crime prevention groups and we appreciate his efforts. Our consulting statistician, Dr. Jeff Tayman, is recognized for his patience and assistance. We are grateful for the assistance provided by Donna Walko-Frankovic, Brenda Thompson, David Goldstein, Dave Selmer, Ann Anzman, and Kathy Ruscilli in conducting interviews with citizens, developing computer programs and compiling data from many interviews and surveys.

Special thanks are in order for Chris Egan and Radie Whitcomb for endless hours of typing just one more draft!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT		iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		v
LIST OF TABLES		xi
LIST OF FIGURES		xvi
Chapter 1	INTRODUCTION	3
	Conceptual Rationale	3
	History of the Guardian Angels	4
Chapter 2	RESEARCH APPROACH	9
	Study Objectives	9
	Site Selection	9
	Angel Leaders	10
	Angel Members	11
	Reaction of Law Enforcement and Government	11
	Business and Household Interviews	13
	Transit Rider Surveys	16
	Patrol Logs	17
	Impact on Crime	17
	Comparison with Other Citizen Crime Prevention Groups	20
Chapter 3	REVIEW OF THE CRIME PREVENTION LITERATURE	25
	Introduction	25
	History of Citizen Involvement in Crime Prevention	26
	Community Crime Prevention Efforts - An Examination of Neighborhood Watch, Residential Security, and Citizen Patrol	28
	Organizational Structure of Citizen Patrols	31
	Community Crime Prevention Efforts - An Overview	36
	Theories of Citizen Participation	37
	Conclusion	39
Chapter 4	GUARDIAN ANGEL ACTIVITIES	45
	Introduction	45
	Reasons for Patrols	45

	Membership.....	46
	Training.....	47
	Pre-Patrol Activity.....	49
	Patrol Formation.....	49
	Patrol Activities.....	51
	Areas Patrolled.....	51
	Frequency of Patrols.....	53
	Length of Patrols.....	54
	Size of Patrols.....	55
	Level of Participation.....	56
	Discipline Problems.....	58
	Interventions.....	59
	Citizen Interviews.....	63
	Transit Rider Survey.....	68
	Police Surveys.....	68
	Conclusion.....	72
Chapter 5	EFFECTIVENESS OF GUARDIAN ANGELS IN REDUCING CRIME.....	77
	Introduction.....	77
	Reported Crimes.....	78
	Violent Crimes.....	78
	Property Crimes.....	79
	Perceptions of Effectiveness.....	84
	Police.....	84
	Citizens.....	84
	Guardian Angels.....	84
	Comments Regarding Angel Effectiveness.....	86
	Conclusion.....	87
Chapter 6	IMPACT OF GUARDIAN ANGELS ON CITIZENS' FEELINGS OF SAFETY.....	91
	Introduction.....	91
	Results.....	93
	Angel Effectiveness.....	93
	Sociodemographic Variables and Angel Effectiveness.....	94
	Sociodemographic Variables and Perceptions of Crime and Safety.....	95
	Crime and Safety Variables and Perceptions of Guardian Angels.....	96
	Eastern Transit Riders Survey.....	98
	Citizen Views Compared to Others.....	101
	Conclusion.....	101
Chapter 7	PERCEPTIONS AND OPINIONS REGARDING THE GUARDIAN ANGELS.....	105
	Introduction.....	105
	Law Enforcement and City Government Perceptions.....	105
	Police Perception of Public Reaction.....	106

Problems with Angels	106
Assistance to Patrol Officers.....	107
Other Citizen Patrols.....	107
Value of Guardian Angels' Patrol	108
Official Department Position Toward the Angels	110
Line Officers' Perceptions	111
Angel Members' Perception of Law Enforcement	112
Agreements with Guardian Angels	113
Opinions Toward Guardian Angels	113
Transit Riders' Perceptions, by City	116
C onclusion	122

Chapter 8

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CITIZEN VOLUNTEER CRIME PREVENTION GROUPS.....

.....	127
Introduction	127
Purpose	127
Activities	130
Longevity.....	133
Membership Features	134
Organizational Structure	135
Leadership.....	135
Meeting Frequency.....	135
Division of Labor.....	135
Bylaws and Guidelines	136
Record Keeping	136
Expenses.....	136
Recruitment Issues.....	137
Training	140
Relationship with Police.....	141
Patrol Activities.....	141
Member Interviews.....	143
Perception of Purpose.....	143
Group Participation Factors.....	144
Perceived Effectiveness.....	145
Reason for Joining.....	147
Member Satisfaction	148
Other Volunteer Efforts.....	148
Sociodemographic Features.....	149
Conclusion.....	153

Chapter 9

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS..... 157

Summary of Findings.....	157
Recommendations for Improving Guardian Angel	
Effectiveness.....	161
Implications for Future Research.....	162

CITATIONS.....	164
----------------	-----

APPENDICES	A. LIST OF CITIES CONTACTED BY TYPE OF RESPONDENT	177
	B. MONTHLY PATROL ACTIVITY AND REPORTED CRIMES.....	179
	C. NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF GUARDIAN ANGELS - RULES AND REGULATIONS	181
	D. CROSSTAB TABLES - EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS SURVEY AND SAN DIEGO CITIZENS' INTERVIEWS	187

I
I
I
I
I

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Sociodemographic Features, Downtown San Diego and San Diego County, 1980 Census	13
Table 2	Characteristics of Respondents, Residential Survey, San Diego.....	15
Table 3	Reported FBI Index Crimes Experimental and Control Areas, City of San Diego, 1982.....	20
Table 4	Reason for Patrols, Angel Member Interviews, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	46
Table 5	Chapter Membership, Chapter Leader Interviews, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	47
Table 6	Type of Training Received, Angel Member Interviews, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	48
Table 7	Patrol Formations, Primary Sites - Chapter Leader Interviews, 1984.....	50
Table 8	Type of Patrols, Chapter Leader Interviews, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	52
Table 9	Areas Patrolled, Chapter Leader Interviews, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	53
Table 10	Mean Number of Patrols Per Week, Chapter Leader Interviews and Patrol Logs, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	54
Table 11	Level of Participation, Angel Member Interviews, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	57
Table 12	Participation in Angel Activities, Angel Member Interviews, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	58
Table 13	Citizen Contacts, Patrol Logs, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	60
Table 14	Nature of Conversations with Citizens, Angel Member Interviews, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	61

Table 15	Police Contacts, Patrol Logs, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	62
Table 16	Involvement in Crime-Related Incidents, Angel Member Interviews, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	63
Table 17	Knowledge of Guardian Angels, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984.....	65
Table 18	Knowledge of Guardian Angel Patrols in Neighborhood, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984.....	65
Table 19	How Often Citizens See the Guardian Angels, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984.....	66
Table 20	How Often Citizens Talk to the Guardian Angels, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984.....	66
Table 21	Assistance Provided to Citizens, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984.....	67
Table 22	Guardian Angel Assistance Noted by Citizens, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984.....	67
Table 23	Inappropriate Interventions by Angels, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984.....	67
Table 24	Citizen Contacts with the Guardian Angels, Transit Rider Survey, Eastern Primary Sites, 1984.....	68
Table 25	Police Contacts with the Guardian Angels, Police Line Officer Surveys, 1984.....	70
Table 26	How Often Patrol Officers See the Guardian Angels, San Diego Patrol Officers Survey, 1984.....	71
Table 27	How Often Patrol Officers Talk to the Guardian Angels, San Diego Patrol Officers Survey, 1984.....	72
Table 28	Activities Guardian Angels Involved In, San Diego Patrol Officers Survey.....	72
Table 29	Opinions Regarding the Effectiveness of the Guardian Angels in Reducing Crime, San Diego, 1984.....	85
Table 30	Opinions Regarding the Effectiveness of the Guardian Angels in Reducing Crime, Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	85
Table 31	Variables Addressed and Level of Measurement, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984.....	92

Table 32	Perception of Guardian Angels' Effectiveness in Increasing Citizens' Feelings of Safety, Mean Scores, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984	93
Table 33	Perception of Safety Due to Guardian Angels, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984	94
Table 34	Probability Values of Significance Tests on Perceptions of Guardian Angels, and Sociodemographic Variables, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984	95
Table 35	Probability Values of Significance Tests for Sociodemographic Variables and Perceptions of Crime and Safety, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984	96
Table 36	Probability Values of Significance Tests on Feelings About Guardian Angels and Perceptions of Crime and Safety, San Diego Citizen Interviews, 1984	97
Table 37	Feelings of Safety on Train by Respondent Characteristics, Eastern Transit Riders' Survey, 1984	99
Table 38	Probability Values of Significance Tests of Angel Effectiveness Variable and Sociodemographic Variables, Eastern Transit Riders Survey, 1984	100
Table 39	Perceptions of Angel Effectiveness in Increasing Citizens' Feelings of Safety by How Safe Citizens Feel on Transit System, Mean Scores and Probability Values, Eastern Transit Riders' Survey, 1984	100
Table 40	Perception of Guardian Angels' Effectiveness in Increasing Citizens' Feelings of Safety, Police, City Officials, and Citizens, Mean Scores, 1984	101
Table 41	Perceptions of Problems With Guardian Angels, Percentage of "Yes" Responses, Police Survey, 1984	107
Table 42	Law Enforcement Opinions of Benefit of Guardian Angels, Police Survey Results, 1984.....	109
Table 43	Law Enforcement Position Toward the Guardian Angels, Police Administrators' Survey, 1984	111
Table 44	Opinions Toward Guardian Angels, Respondents Who Strongly Agree/Agree, Survey Results, 1984	115
Table 45	Opinions Toward Guardian Angels, Survey Results, 1984.....	116

Table 46	Characteristics of Transit Riders in Boston, Chicago, Cleveland and New York, Eastern Transit Riders' Survey, 1984	118
Table 47	Awareness of Guardian Angels, by City, Eastern Transit Riders' Survey, 1984	119
Table 48	Opinions Toward Guardian Angels, Percentage of Respondents Who Agree, by City, Eastern Transit Riders' Survey, 1984	120
Table 49	Transit Riders' Perceptions of Impact of Guardian Angels, Mean Scores, by City, Transit Riders' Survey, 1984	121
Table 50	Percentage of Transit Riders Who Feel Very Safe/Safe on Transit System, by City, 1984	121
Table 51	Guardian Angels and Other Citizen Groups, Differences and Similarities, Surveys and Interviews, 1984	128
Table 52	Length of Time in Organization, Citizen Groups' and Guardian Angel Members, Survey Results, 1984	144
Table 53	Perceived Participation , Citizen Groups and Guardian Angel Members, Survey Results, 1984	145
Table 54	Perceived Effectiveness of Organization, Citizen Groups and Guardian Angel Members, Survey Results, 1984	146
Table 55	Sociodemographic Characteristics, Citizen Groups and Guardian Angel Members, Survey Results, 1984	150
Table 56	Sociodemographic Characteristics, Angel Members and Angel Recruits, 1984	152

APPENDIX TABLES

Table 57	Cities Contacted, by Type of Respondent, Guardian Angel Study	177
Table 58	Monthly Patrol Activity and Reported Crimes, by Type of Offense - Experimental Area, January 1982 to December 1984	179
Table 59	Frequency of Transit Ridership, Eastern Citizens, 1984	187
Table 60	Knowledge of Guardian Angels, Transit Riders' Survey Responses, 1984	187

Table 61	Opinions of Guardian Angels, Eastern Transit Rider Responses, 1984.....	188
Table 62	Guardian Angels' Effectiveness in Reducing Crime in Areas Patrolled, by Sociodemographic Characteristics of Respondents, Eastern Transit Riders' Survey, 1984.....	189
Table 63	Guardian Angels' Effectiveness in Increasing Citizens' Feelings of Safety, by Respondent Characteristics, Eastern Transit Riders' Survey, 1984	189
Table 64	Effectiveness of Guardian Angels and Feeling Safe on Train/Bus by Sex and Age of Respondent, Mean Scores and Probability, Eastern Transit Riders' Survey, 1984.....	190
Table 65	Sociodemographic Characteristics, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	191
Table 66	Problems in Neighborhood, San Diego Citizens, 1984	192
Table 67	Opinions About Crime, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	192
Table 68	Opinions About Limiting Activities Due to Crime, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	193
Table 69	Responses to Feelings of Safety Questions, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	194
Table 70	Citizen Crime Prevention Behavior, San Diego Citizens, 1984, Merchants and Residents	195
Table 71	Frequency of Locking Doors, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	196
Table 72.	Frequency of Worrying About Specific Crimes, San Diego Residents, 1984.....	197
Table 73	Frequency of Worrying About Specific Crimes, San Diego Merchants, 1984	197
Table 74	Neighborhood Watch Group Responses, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	198
Table 75	Citizen Awareness of Guardian Angels, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	199
Table 76	Perception of Safety Due to Guardian Angels, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	200
Table 77	Perception of Guardian Angels' Effectiveness in Increasing Citizens' Feelings of Safety, Mean Scores, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	200

Table 78	Guardian Angels' Effectiveness in Preventing or Reducing Crime, San Diego Citizens, 1984	201
Table 79	Guardian Angels' Effectiveness in Increasing Citizens' Feelings of Safety, San Diego Citizens, 1984	201
Table 80	Merchant Opinions Regarding Guardian Angels, San Diego, 1984.....	202
Table 81	Resident Opinions Regarding Guardian Angels, San Diego, 1984.....	203
Table 82	Perceptions of Crime and Safety, by Sociodemographic Variables, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	204
Table 83	Feel More Safe When Knowing Guardian Angels are Patrolling, by Perceptions of Crime and Safety, San Diego Citizens, 1984	205
Table 84	Sociodemographic Variables, by Mean Scores on Fear Index, t-Values and Probability Levels, San Diego Citizens, 1984	206
Table 85	Feel More Safe Knowing Angels are Patrolling, by Sociodemographic Variables, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	207
Table 86	Perceptions of Guardian Angels' Effectiveness, by Crime and Safety Questions, Mean Scores, t-Values and Probability, San Diego Citizens, 1984.....	208
Table 87	Mean Scores on Effectiveness of Guardian Angels in Increasing Citizens' Feelings of Safety by Sociodemographic Variables, t-Value and Probability Values, San Diego Citizens, 1984	209

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Experimental and Control Areas	19
Figure 2	Average Hours Per Patrol, Patrol Logs - Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	55
Figure 3	Average Members Per Patrol, Patrol Logs - Eight Primary Sites, 1984.....	56
Figure 4	Mean Number of Patrols by East and West Coast Members, Angel Member Interviews, Eight Primary Sites, 1984	57
Figure 5	Major Violent Crimes Reported Between 7:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m., Experimental and Control Areas, January 1982 - December 1984	80
Figure 6	San Diego Guardian Angel Patrol Activity, July 1982 - December 1984	80
Figure 7	Simple Assaults Reported Between 7:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m., Experimental and Control Areas, January 1982 - December 1984.....	81
Figure 8	Property Crimes Reported Between 7:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m., Experimental and Control Areas, January 1982 - December 1984	81
Figure 9	Violent Crimes Reported Between 7:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. by Month, Experimental and Control Areas, January 1982 to December 1984	82
Figure 10	Simple Assaults Reported Between 7:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. by Month, Experimental and Control Areas, January 1982 to December 1984	82
Figure 11	Property Crimes Reported Between 7:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. by Month, Experimental and Control Areas, January 1982 to December 1984	83

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Despite the decline in nationwide crime rates in recent years, approximately 22.8 million households were touched by crime in 1984, according to the U.S. Department of Justice. Whether it is fear of victimization or dissatisfaction with the perceived ineffectiveness of the criminal justice system, American citizens are reacting to concern about crime with increasing frequency and in a variety of ways. The initial outpouring of support for subway gunman, Bernhard Goetz, was a vivid demonstration of public concern and frustration about crime. Citizens are responding individually and collectively by improving home security measures, hiring private security guards and banding together to form neighborhood watch groups and citizen patrols. Not since the 1960's has there been such an upsurge in citizen involvement in crime prevention.

Within this context are the Guardian Angels; unarmed, red-bereted, self-proclaimed peacekeepers who patrol the streets in over 50 urban cities in America and Canada. Initiated in 1979, to patrol the New York subway system, the Guardian Angels are led by **founder** Curtis Sliwa, whose motives **and** methods have been sources of concern for government officials and **law enforcement administrators**. **Sliwa and the Guardian Angels have** received **considerable** attention **by** the popular press with mixed reviews. Sliwa advocates putting the "crudballs and slime buckets" out of business **through** a reawakening of traditional values that involve people reaching out to one another and caring about the community. He operationalizes that **philosophy** by recruiting groups of racially-mixed youth who "dare to care" by patrolling the streets to be a visual deterrent against crime. Sliwa's admission that recognition and support of local governments and law enforcement is unnecessary to the Angel mission has fostered skepticism and suspicion regarding the Guardian Angels' motives. Questions have been raised about the nature and extent of training received by Angels, the organizational structure of the group, and the overall mission of the Guardian Angels.

The purpose of this research was to provide a comprehensive description of the Guardian Angels' organization, purpose, and effectiveness in impacting crime and citizen fear of crime.

CONCEPTUAL RATIONALE

Limited evidence has linked the concept of informal social control to the fear of crime (Greenberg, et al., 1985; Wilson & Kelling, 1983) and implied that citizen patrols may be a means to impose order and control. Yet as Greenberg and others have noted, the communities most in need of crime prevention efforts to address crime and disorder lack the stability and cohesion to develop and sustain such efforts. The Guardian Angels offer the potential of a positive force against disorder and crime in areas most in need. Moreover, they are composed primarily of minority, inner city youth, an element often perceived as the very agents of disorder.

Currently, there are no data to either support or refute the contention that the Guardian Angels may fill a pressing need in urban America. Is crime reduced when Angels patrol? Does their presence foster order and feelings of safety? What features of their structure and activities contribute to, or detract from, their effectiveness? How do they differ from other citizen groups organized to prevent crime? These are the questions this exploratory study sought to address.

History of the Guardian Angels

The brief history of the Guardian Angels has been recounted in numerous tabloids since its inception in 1979. However, it bears repeating as part of the research effort to clarify the current organizational structure and the importance of the nature of leadership provided by Curtis Sliwa. The information presented in this section was gathered through review of over 100 articles from the popular press, the book on the Guardian Angels by James Haskins (1983), and through personal interviews with Curtis Sliwa and his parents at their home in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn, New York.

Curtis Sliwa's volunteer activities began as a teenager when he gathered tons of material for recycling purposes from his Canarsie neighborhood. His next voluntary act *was*, as a newsboy delivering papers, he reportedly rescued several people from a burning building. That same year, at the age of 16, Sliwa was honored as Newsboy of the Year and given an award at the White House by then President Richard Nixon. After being asked to leave high school for assisting students in protesting the dress code, Sliwa held jobs at supermarkets and gas stations. Then, as assistant manager of the Bronx McDonald's, he organized the "Rock Brigade," a group of employees who picked up trash around the restaurant. His next project, based on awareness and concern about street crime, was to organize the Magnificent Thirteen, a group of volunteers to patrol the number four subway train from the Bronx. These young people would ride the train during peak hours with the intention of deterring crime.

In a short time, more volunteers were attracted and the original "Magnificent Thirteen" became the Guardian Angels. Guidelines were established regarding age, type of training needed for volunteers and number of hours volunteers are required to patrol per week. Since 1979, Angel chapters have expanded to over 50 cities in the United States and Canada. In 1982, Sliwa married Lisa Evers, the national director of the Guardian Angels. Curtis Sliwa has received numerous civic and public service awards and official recognition by elected officials. Examples include: (List provided by Fran Sliwa)

- o City of New York Distinguished and Exceptional Service Award (1971)
- o McDonald's Corporation - Highest Award for Community Service (1977)
- o New York State Senate Achievement Award (Senator John Flynn, 1978)
- o Award from Governor Hugh Carey for outstanding civic achievement (1979)
- o Apple Polishers Award (1980)
- o Volunteer Action Award (President Reagan, 1983)

Sliwa's efforts to "get people off their duffs and get involved" has not been limited to patrolling the streets, but includes protesting a variety of perceived injustices as well. On Mother's Day, 1984, he interrupted the New York transit system by lying on the subway tracks in reaction to a system in need of repair. Angels in **Philadelphia** followed Sliwa's lead in a protest of a judge's decision to dismiss a

j
J
rape case in which the victim appeared late for trial (Pellegrini, Post-Gazette, no date). Subsequently, Angels circulated a petition for impeachment of the same judge (Maryniak, 1985). In Illinois, Angels staged a hunger strike to protest prison time for a defendant whose alleged victim recanted a rape incident (Cianci, 1985). The actions of the defense attorney for the **subway gunman, Bernhard Goetz**, resulted in a protest vigil by the Angels (Syracuse Herald Journal, March 15, 1985). And in an effort to assist the street people flocking to the Rajneesh commune in Oregon, Sliwa and his Angels were arrested for blocking the **roadway** (Los Angeles Herald, October 30, 1984).

I
I
I
I
Sliwa's unconventional procedures to **bring** attention to the **Guardian Angel chapter** has **caused consternation among** city officials in several cities, resulting in arrests of Sliwa and other Angels. Most of these incidents have involved trespassing for pitching tents on city-owned property in reaction to perceived official hostility (Dallas Morning News, September 2, **1983**; Fearon, **1984**; **Henican and Newkirk, 1984**). In **May 1985**, Sliwa **brought a group** of Angels across the Mexican border to Tijuana to recruit Mexican youth for a chapter in that city. When denied permission to patrol by Mexican law enforcement officials, the Angels removed their Angel T-shirts and red berets and proceeded to cross the border. During a subsequent patrol, while in uniform, one Guardian Angel was arrested by Mexican law enforcement officers, but released a short time later (Gandelman, **1985**).

I
Patrolling the subways of New York City in red berets and white T-shirts, the Guardian Angels have won support and gratitude of many subway riders. However, as Ostrowe and DiBiase state, "Controversy considering the group's motives, ethics, goals **and** effectiveness has grown along with its size." (Ostrowe & DiBiase, 1983). Many question the motives of Angel leader Curtis Sliwa. Is he a Good Samaritan or a publicity grabber attempting to "feather his nest"? He has a history of "developing his penchant for high profile public service," according to Pileggi (1980). Pileggi's (1980) same theories suggest his personal ambition will lead him away from the Guardian Angels and he fears what might happen to his impressionable youthful members that are trained in martial arts and are without his supervision and control (Weinberg, 1982).

.
j
Curtis Sliwa is admittedly tenacious in his approach to put the "buzzards, crud-balls, slimebuckets and vultures out of business" (Cermak, 1985). Andrew Gilman, conducting an interview with Sliwa for Penthouse magazine, discussing the mixed reception Sliwa has received by local governments and the media, summarizes: "Whether or not one agrees with Sliwa is not the point. He is one individual who is out there as a positive force in society." (Gilman, 1982)

j
The objectives of this study and the research procedures used are detailed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH APPROACH

Research Approach

STUDY OBJECTIVES

This chapter presents an overview of the methodology employed to address the following research objectives:

- o Document the activities of the Guardian Angels.
- o Evaluate the effectiveness of the Angels in preventing or deterring crime in the areas patrolled.
- o Assess the effectiveness of the Guardian Angels in increasing citizens' feelings of safety and reducing fear of crime.
- o Assess the perceptions of law enforcement personnel, local government officials and citizens regarding the Guardian Angels.
- o Compare the Guardian Angels with other citizen volunteer crime prevention groups with respect to leadership, **organizational** structure and membership.

The methodological discussion focuses on: site selection; interviews and surveys of Angel leaders, members, police, city officials and citizens; collection of data on Angel patrol activity; a study of the impact of the Angels on crime and a comparison of the Guardian Angels to other citizen crime prevention groups. Data collection forms and questionnaires are provided in Volume III of this study. A list of cities involved in each phase of the research is presented in Appendix A.

SITE SELECTION

At the beginning of the study (Fall, 1983), Curtis Sliwa reported 48 Angel chapters in the United States and **Canada. Nearly half** or 21 of the chapters were selected for inclusion in the study based on consideration of the following factors: accessibility to leader (some could not be contacted due to incorrect phone numbers), geographical location of city, crime rate, population of city, Angel perception of police support/non-support, number of members, longevity of chapter and activities (e.g., street patrol, transit patrol, senior escort). The sites chosen were not selected randomly, but it is believed that they reflect a reasonable representation of all chapters. The founder, Curtis Sliwa, approved the research and granted the research team permission to interview members and review Angel patrol logs.

Eight cities were considered primary sites. These cities are urban areas and include representation from both Eastern and Western regions: Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, New York, Sacramento, San Diego and San Francisco. In these cities, two personal site visits were conducted by the research team, at six-month

intervals. During the initial visit, interviews were conducted with Angel leaders, members and police administrators, Guardian Angel training procedures were observed and the researchers joined regularly scheduled Angel patrols for non-participant observation. Using existing patrol logs maintained by Angels, leaders were asked to compile information on the number and nature of incidents on patrol. On the return visit, data were collected from patrol logs and membership applications, a follow-up interview was carried out with the Angel leader and police administrator, and surveys were conducted of police line officers and citizens. In the remaining 13 cities, considered secondary sites, telephone interviews were conducted with chapter leaders. In addition, in two of these cities, information was obtained from Angel members (one through mailed surveys and one from personal interviews).

Police Agencies

To address the nature of police and Angel interaction and obtain opinions of law enforcement toward the Guardian Angels, personal interviews were undertaken with city and transit police administrators at the eight primary sites. Additionally, surveys were mailed to police administrators in the remaining 40 cities known to have an active Guardian Angel chapter, to provide a broader cross-section of responses. Mailed surveys were completed by representatives in 25 law enforcement agencies throughout the United States and Canada, for a total of 33 agencies participating in both interviews and surveys. These law enforcement agencies represent cities of varying size and crime rate. Population in the American cities ranged from 20,294 (Kalamazoo) to 7,100,063 (New York) and 1983 crime rates varied from **48.6** crimes per 1,000 residents (Kalamazoo, Michigan) to 163.0 (Camden, New Jersey), according to crime statistics and population figures presented in Crime in the United States (FBI, 1983). Areas in Canada included Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Ontario. (A complete listing of cities is in Appendix A.) Of the 48 cities initially identified as having Angel chapters, the response rate was 69% (33 of 48).

ANGEL LEADERS

Twenty-five Guardian Angel leaders, representing 21 cities, responded to a personal or telephone interview about their chapter. Twelve of the respondents were in the eight primary sites visited by the researchers. (Borough leaders in New York were interviewed individually.) To ensure cooperation, each leader was provided a copy of a letter from Curtis and Lisa Sliwa indicating their support of the study. The response rate was 100% of those contacted for interviews. The questions addressed the following issues:

- o Number of members
- o Nature and scope of training
- o Frequency of patrols
- o Type of patrols (i.e., public transit)
- o Formations used for patrols
- o Areas patrolled
- o Crime problems encountered
- o Recruitment and retention of members
- o Organizational structure
- o Record keeping
- o Donations and expenses

- o Discipline
- o **Relationship** with police.

During the second visit, a follow-up interview was conducted in primary sites to determine if **changes** occurred (e.g., new **leadership, changes** in number of members, areas patrolled, police relations, training).

ANGELS MEMBERS

A total of 117 **Angel** members **participated** in **personal** or **mailed** interviews (106 in primary sites). The Angels represented 10 cities (8 primary sites plus two chapters for which comparable information was received). The personal interviews were conducted prior to patrols and those members who patrolled on a particular day were included. It is possible that the sample reflects Angels who were more active (e.g., more likely to patrol). This is an **advantage** in that these members were more aware of Angel activities; however, this may affect the **representativeness** of their estimates of level of **participation (i.e.,** number of patrols per week). The **sample** in **eight** primary sites represents **approximately** 13% of all members in these chapters, based on chapter leader estimates of membership (806).

The questionnaires dealt with the following topics:

- o Level of participation
- o **Leadership**
- o Experiences on patrol
- o Interaction with citizens and police
- o Training
- o Opinions **regarding** the effectiveness of the Angels
- o Satisfaction with the group
- o Motivation for joining
- o Other activities
- o **Socio-demographic** characteristics.

REACTION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AND GOVERNMENT

It was presumed that the activities **and** subsequent effectiveness of the Guardian Angels may be affected by the degree of support, acceptance and recognition by local governments and city police agencies. In the East, the transit police also became a force with which the Angels interact on a daily basis. To address the nature of police and Angel interaction and obtain opinions of law enforcement toward the Guardian Angels, personal interviews and mailed surveys were undertaken with city and transit police administrators.

Thirty-five (35) police and transit administrators and 34 community relations or liaison officers responded, representing 33 cities. In some cities, both city police and transit administrators were interviewed, and at three sites, only the community relations officer completed a survey. Questions examined law enforcement knowledge of the Guardian Angels, the nature of interaction with the group and general opinions about the Guardian Angels.

The position of local governments toward the Guardian Angels was assessed through interviews with mayors and city administrative personnel in the primary

sites. No information from local governments was obtained from secondary sites. The issues discussed in the police administrator and city official questionnaires were similar, including:

- o Knowledge of the Angels
- o Areas patrolled
- o Meetings with Angel leaders
- o Formal and informal agreements
- o Complaints received
- o Opinions regarding Angel effectiveness
- o Official position toward the Guardian Angels (**support/non-support**)
- o Benefits of Angel patrols.

Police Line Officer Surveys

Preliminary data collected during the first site visit to eight cities suggested that opinions of line officers and police administrators regarding the Guardian Angels may vary and that attitudes of officers may differ according to experiences in different cities. Therefore, a brief questionnaire was **developed** for police officers, including field officers and line supervisors, in primary sites to be administered during the second site visit. Observation and discussions with officers while on "ride-alongs" in the primary sites provided insight regarding perceptions of the Angels which was useful in designing the survey instrument. The issues addressed include: awareness of the Guardian Angels; interaction with Angel members while on patrol; effectiveness of the Angels in reducing crime and increasing citizens' perceptions of safety; general opinions regarding the group; and law enforcement experience.

The surveys were conducted during a **one-day period** at each of six **primary** sites. (One agency declined to participate and an in-depth survey was conducted in San Diego which is not comparable.) In cities with patrols on public transit, transit police were surveyed.

Only precincts or divisions in which the Angels patrol were included in the study. Specific shifts were selected based on the hours the Angels patrol in each city or area.

The surveys were self-administered during roll call or line up, before the officers' shift began. The researchers distributed the forms, provided a brief summary of the research project and asked the officers not to discuss the questions.

The presence of the researchers was intended to **discourage** officers from influencing the responses of others and to monitor the comments made. A few officers did not complete the survey, but the actual number of non-responses could not be determined. A total of 444 surveys were completed during October and November, 1984.

San Diego Survey. A more detailed **questionnaire** was completed **by** San Diego officers in the Central division where Angels routinely patrol the streets. This survey was also administered during line up using the same procedures as in other line officer surveys. The content of the questions was similar, but provided more **open-ended** responses.

BUSINESS AND HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEWS

To obtain detailed information on citizens' attitudes toward the Guardian Angels, personal interviews were conducted with 110 merchants and 130 residents in areas of San Diego where the Guardian Angels patrol. The study area consisted of 86 city blocks in the downtown, civic center area which is routinely patrolled by Angels two to three times a week. This area is currently in the process of re-development. It is the location of city government offices and also contains the theater district, corporate offices, financial institutions and private businesses, including adult entertainment. The residential units house a predominantly lower income, transient population. Additionally, senior housing and related services are located in this area.

Table 1 shows a comparison of the population in the census block groups that encompass the study area with the County of San Diego. These data, based on the 1980 Census, show that most downtown residents are male (81%); single (45%); likely to rent (99%); a significant proportion are not high school graduates (46%); and the median annual income is \$5,187. The population characteristics presented unique problems for sampling and conducting interviews which will be discussed in subsequent sections.

TABLE 1
SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES, DOWNTOWN
SAN DIEGO AND SAN DIEGO COUNTY
1980 CENSUS

	<u>San Diego Downtown Area</u>	<u>San Diego County</u>
Total Population	5,822	1,861,846
% Male	80.9%	50.9%
% White	71.8%	81.3%
% Single	44.8%	29.2%
Median Age	41.1	28.8
Less than High School Graduate	45.8%	21.9%
% Renter Occupied Units	99.1%	44.9%
Median Contract Rent	\$143	\$257
No Vehicles Available (by Household)	86.0%	9.3%
% Single Family Dwellings	0.6%	54.0%
% Employed	24%	41%
Median Household Income	\$5,187	\$17,107

Purpose

The purpose for conducting citizen interviews was to gather subjective information on the effect of Guardian Angels on fear of crime and crime incidence. The questionnaire was designed to measure attitudes and opinions regarding the impact of the Guardian Angels as well as other factors which could influence the respondent's frame of reference and perceptions.

Interview questions addressed the following topic areas:

- o *The* level of fear regarding potential victimization
- o The degree to which citizens alter behavior as a result of fear of crime
- o Changes in level of fear after initiation of patrols
- o Crime victimization during a one-year period
- o Perceptions of *the effect* of the Guardian Angels
- o The extent of interaction with the Guardian Angels
- o Examples of situations in which the Angels helped someone
- o Incidents in *which the* respondent felt the Guardian Angels took inappropriate action
- o Sociodemographic characteristics of respondents.

A comparable control group in another area of *the* County could not be selected for interviews due to *the* unique nature of the population in the areas served by the Guardian Angels in San Diego. No other census block groupings in the County reflect a similar sociodemographic composition.

Sample Design

A total of 782 businesses and **households** were selected **for possible** interviews. This number was chosen based on an expected response rate of 64%, with the goal of 500 interviews. The following discussion describes procedures used for sampling merchants and residents. The methodology employed with each sample is discussed separately because procedures varied.

Merchant Sample. Of all businesses in the study area, 232 met the initial selection criteria of operating during the time period the Guardian Angels patrol (7:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m.). This was to ensure that respondents had the potential for being exposed to the Guardian Angels. The businesses were selected from a computerized inventory of businesses in the downtown area *which* was **available through** the San Diego Association of Governments. This list was updated when a manual listing of residents was **prepared**. A telephone call to businesses determined the hours of operation. Of the 232 businesses, 110 resulted in interviews (47%).

Respondents were owners or managers, and were chosen based on the likelihood of working evening hours and availability for the interview. In 77% of the interviews, the respondent was the manager, and in 23% it was the owner.

Resident Sample. A random sample of 550 residences was selected from a manual listing of all residential addresses in *the* study area prepared by the research team. This list included a street address and apartment number, when appropriate. To be included in the resident sample, a structure had to be either: (1) a housing unit, or group living quarters based on the definitions established by the Census Bureau; or (2) a residential hotel which may not meet the technical definition of a household or group quarters for the census.

- o Housing Unit. A house, apartment, mobile home or trailer, group of rooms or single room occupied or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters. Separate living quarters are those in which *the* occupants do not live and eat with any other persons in the structure and which have direct access from the outside of the building or **through** a common **hall**. **The occupants may be** a

single family, one person living alone, two or more families living together, or any other group of related or unrelated persons who share living arrangements (except as described under group quarters).

- o **Group Quarters.** Living arrangements other than households. Includes institutions such as mental hospitals, homes for the aged, prisons, etc., plus other quarters containing 10 or more persons where nine or more are unrelated to the person in charge, or where there is no person in charge. Such quarters are most commonly found in dormitories, military barracks, etc., but may also be in a house or apartment used as a rooming house or occupied on a partnership basis.
- o **Residential Hotel.** These are hotels which rent rooms on a monthly basis.

The random selection of 550 residents was accomplished by assigning each household a sequential number and using a computerized random number list to choose addresses.

At each sample address, a specific member of the residence was selected for the interview using household listing techniques and selection tables developed by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center (Kish, 1983). Each household or business received a letter from the project director explaining the study within two weeks prior to contact by the interviewer to encourage a positive response.

Table 2 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample compared to total residents in the area in 1980. The sample population differs significantly, in part, because transients who lived at an address less than two (2) months were not included in the study. This was to exclude potential respondents who were not in San Diego for a substantial period while the Guardian Angels were patrolling. The result was a greater number of senior citizens, females and white respondents than would be expected based on the area's population. This could affect the representativeness of the sample. Also, the fact that the interviews were conducted in an urban redevelopment area in one city affects the generalizability of the findings.

TABLE 2
CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS
RESIDENTIAL SURVEY
SAN DIEGO

	Sample	Total Population 1980 Census
Median Age	65	46
Sex (% male)	62%	81%
Ethnicity (% white)	82%	72%
Median Income	\$5,000-9,999	\$5,187
TOTAL	130	5,822

Response Rate

The overall response rate was 31% of the original 782 addresses selected, which was somewhat lower than **anticipated** (47% for businesses and 24% for residents). The following problems were encountered which affected the response rate (percentages reflect the proportion of refusals or non-responses in each category).

Businesses (N = 122)

- Manager/owner was difficult to contact (54%)
- Manager/owner refused to participate (15%)
- Language problem (2%)
- Address did not meet criteria for sample selection/out of business (20%)
- The manager was interviewed at another business or his residence; therefore, an interview was not conducted at sample address (9%)

Residences (N = 420)

- **Building** manager would not allow access to individual rooms or residents (32%)
- An address did not exist (15%)
- The respondent refused to participate (17%)
- Language problem (5%)
- Resident was not home (27%)
- Other (4%)

Many of these factors are associated with the unique center city population. Obtaining access to residential hotels was the most significant problem with regard to non-response for residents. Hotel managers were very protective of the residents, and without their cooperation, prospective respondents could not be reached. Several strategies were employed to gain access, including letters mailed to respondents requesting that they contact the researchers, letters to building managers and owners and personal contacts with managers.

TRANSIT RIDER SURVEYS

The initial research design provided for the in-depth interviews with residents and merchants in areas patrolled by Angels in San Diego. Street patrols, as occur in San Diego, represent only one aspect of Angel activities. The group began on the subways of New York; therefore, to obtain a comprehensive picture of citizen reaction to the Guardian Angels, a survey of transit riders was needed. At the second site visit, surveys were distributed to transit riders in four Eastern cities either while they were on the subway train or at the bus stop (in Cleveland). The train lines and bus stops were selected based on the location and times of Angel patrols. The surveys were conducted in the late afternoon or early evening so that a maximum number of questionnaires could be completed in a short period of time. This provided assurance that the citizens would be aware of Guardian Angels but also required the sample to be based on **availability** and willingness to participate. The questionnaire was brief (1 page) and required minimal explanation. The researchers distributed the questionnaires during a one-to-two-hour period, asking each respondent to complete a short survey regarding the Angels. The forms were returned before the rider got off the train (or on the bus in Cleve -

land). **Some riders refused to participate, but an exact number of refusals could not be determined. A total of 286 surveys were completed during October, 1984.**

The questionnaire included the following subjects: knowledge of the Angels, interaction with the group, opinions regarding effectiveness of the organization, crime victimization, feelings of safety on public transit and socio-demographic characteristics.

Permission was obtained from transit police prior to administering the surveys in a city. In Boston, researchers were **provided** with an identification card for the duration of the study.

PATROL LOGS

Patrol logs maintained by Angels were the primary source of information on Angel activities. During the first site visit, each chapter leader was asked to include specific data elements as part of the patrol logs for a six-month period (April 1, 1984 to September 30, 1984). In particular, data requested included number of members on patrol, date, time, pre-patrol activity (e.g., weapons checks, calisthenics), nature of contacts with citizens and police and discipline problems.

On the second visit, the researchers collected the data. A total of 672 patrol logs were reviewed for the study period. Problems regarding missing logs and incomplete data for some chapters are noted in the discussion of results, when relevant.

The researchers observed at least **one patrol** at **each primary** site to **gain a better understanding** of what **actually occurs** on a **patrol and** to determine the extent to which Angels record incidents on patrol logs. During initial observations in San Diego and Sacramento, researchers noted that minor occurrences, such as an escort of an elderly person or assisting a drunk, were often not considered "incidents" by the Angels and were not entered on the logs. The researchers stressed the importance of recording all incidents when instructing the chapter leaders on the procedures for completing the information required for the research; however, the data suggest that some chapters did not prepare detailed logs.

IMPACT ON CRIME

As mentioned previously, one of the primary objectives of the Guardian Angels is to reduce or deter violent crime in the areas patrolled. The target offenses, according to the national leader, include assault, battery, rape, robbery and other crimes which involve force or personal injury. While property crimes (e.g., theft, burglary) are not considered target offenses, Angels will intervene to assist victims and apprehend offenders. For this reason, both violent and property crimes are **included** in **the assessment** of **Guardian** Angel effectiveness. Angel leaders **have stated that** victimless crimes, such as **prostitution** and gambling, are the concern of the police and not the Guardian Angels.

The study site for this phase of the analysis was San Diego, California, where the Angels patrol in the downtown redevelopment area. The quasi-experimental design used to assess changes in crime is a modification of the multiple time-series design which compares reported crimes in an experimental area, where the Angels patrol, to a non-equivalent control area. The time series design involves

periodic measurement of the dependent variable (crime) before and after introduction of Guardian Angel patrols (Campbell & Stanley, 1963).

The Guardian Angels began patrolling in San Diego in July 1982. The study period was from January 1, 1982 through December, 1984. Reported crimes occurring between 7:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. were compared because this is when Angel patrols occur. In this study, the pretest period does not provide an equivalent number of observations as in the post-test period (6 months compared to 30 months after Angel patrols began). This is because comparable data prior to January 1982 were not available. San Diego Police Department did not report crimes by census tract according to Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) crime index classifications prior to 1982, and therefore data are not comparable to statistics available during the study period. Also, data for prior years could not be tabulated by time of occurrence of the crime (i.e., 7:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m.). To control for extraneous factors which could affect the results, it was considered important to isolate the specific time frame when the Angels patrol.

The fact that the pretest period is limited to six months affects the statistical analyses that could be performed. Most statistical techniques generally associated with this design (e.g., auto-regressive techniques or multiple regression methods) require more observations. Correlation coefficients were computed to measure the relationship between Angel patrols and changes in crime.

Control and Experimental Areas

The geographic base used for selecting the areas is the census tract. The experimental area contains three census tracts and the control area consists of five tracts, as shown on the map in Figure 1. The experimental area is the only area in San Diego which is patrolled regularly by the Guardian Angels. The census tracts in the control area were selected based on their proximity to the experimental area and on the level of crime. Due to the unique nature of the downtown area where the Angels patrol, only areas in the inner city were considered for the control area to increase comparability.

The Guardian Angels patrol the center city areas because of the relatively high level of crime. Therefore, it was not possible to select control areas with the same crime rates. However, the control areas have the highest crime rates of all census tracts in the vicinity of the experimental areas. Other areas in the County do not approximate the experimental areas either in terms of urbanization or crime rate. Crime data (1982) for the study areas are presented in Table 3.

FIGURE 1
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL AREAS

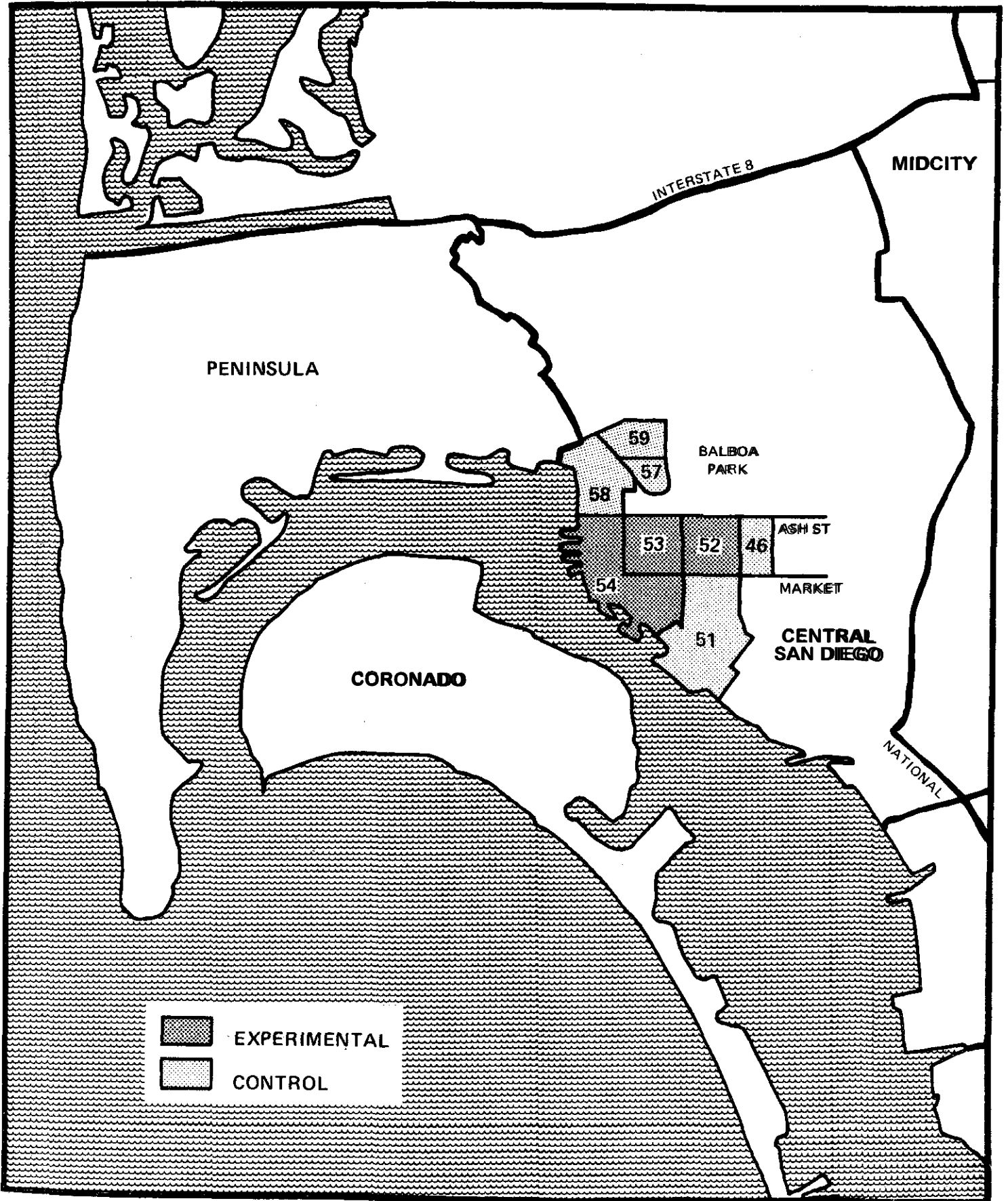


TABLE 3
 REPORTED FBI INDEX CRIMES
 EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL AREAS
 CITY OF SAN DIEGO
 1982

Census Tracts	FBI Index Crimes	Population
Experimental Area		
52.00	1,199	1,978
53.00	2,403	4,331
54.00	909	530
Total	4,511	6,839
Control Area		
46.00	301	2,166
51.00	462	1,367
57.00	295	1,439
58.00	463	1,005
59.00	421	2,512
Total	1,942	8,489

Operational Definitions

The operational definition of violent crimes is consistent with the FBI Uniform Crime Index: willful homicide, forcible rape, robbery, and **aggravated** asault. Simple assault was also analyzed since this offense is included in the crimes targeted by the Guardian Angels. Property crimes include: burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft. The number of crimes reported was compared in the analysis.

The crime data were analyzed monthly and for six-month intervals to establish trends during the study period. The source for the reported crime information was the Automated Regional Justice Information System (ARMS).

Limitations

Crime data are limited to offenses known to police, **and** therefore do not represent the total number of crimes committed. The National Crime Survey, conducted by the Bureau of the Census, indicates that a significant proportion of crimes are not reported.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER CITIZEN CRIME PREVENTION EFFORTS

To place the Guardian Angels within the framework of citizen efforts to prevent crime, an extensive literature review was conducted, providing an historical and current perspective. An **empirical examination** of 15 citizen crime **prevention**

groups was conducted through personal interviews with their leaders (presidents, chairmen). In the groups with a citizen patrol component, active members were surveyed, using self-administered questionnaires distributed by the leader and returned directly to the researchers. Differences from and similarities to the Angels were compared with respect to several variables including purpose, activities, organizational structure, internal management, financial support, interaction with police and characteristics of the membership.

Groups were selected based on discussions with law enforcement personnel, listings of groups provided by large citizen organizations and focus of groups (e.g., neighborhood watch, patrol).

Eleven of the groups were in San Diego County and reflect either neighborhood watch orientations or single-issue perspectives (i.e., anti-crime legislation). Four organizations include mobile or foot patrols as a primary program component and are located in Stockton, California; Lower Merion Township, Pennsylvania; Florence, New Jersey; and Long Island, New York. Interview responses from leaders were compared to responses of the 25 Angel chapter leaders.

Characteristics of members were compared using interview and survey results. In addition, Guardian Angel membership applications were reviewed in the primary sites to examine characteristics of individuals who sign-up to be Angels compared to active members.

In summary, information was collected about Angels in 21 cities, with 8 of the chapters considered primary sites. Other major groups surveyed included law enforcement personnel, city government representatives and citizens. Data were collected through personal interviews, mailed surveys, Angel patrol logs and personal observation by the research team.

CHAPTER 3
REVIEW OF THE CRIME
PREVENTION LITERATURE

Review of the Crime Prevention Literature

INTRODUCTION

In every component of the criminal justice system, the citizenry of the United States is becoming increasingly active. From court watch to **neighborhood** watch, the crime and domestic order problems of the 1960's and the movement of property and violent crime to the suburbs and rural America have seen a movement toward an extra criminal justice solution (Chamber of Commerce, 1970). This is particularly true in the area of crime prevention.

This trend has been reflected in the growth of private security as well as national and local volunteer responses to perceptions of increasing crime and the fear of crime. Citizen involvement in crime prevention has also become a popular press and political issue. But community crime prevention is far from a new event in the professional literature (United Nations, 1979). In order to better understand this phenomenon of citizen involvement in the context of community crime prevention and law enforcement, a literature review was conducted.¹

Even though the focus was specifically citizen patrols, the literature suggests that these activities have been reported and discussed in two contexts. The first is in the area of community crime prevention, and the second is in the vigilantism literature. It is the former area that has produced the literature that relies on some semblance of "scientific study." (For examples of each of these perspectives see Cohen, 1973; Knopf, 1970; Marx & Archer, 1971; Yin et al., 1977; Marx & Archer, 1976.)

In the area of community crime prevention there have been a number of diverse programs and philosophies. One may classify these activities into three categories: (1) mobilizing the community to improve social services delivery, (2) mobilizing the community to increase the effectiveness of individual security, and

¹The literature search included an examination of the criminal justice abstracts from 1979 to 1984 under the subject headings: (a) Citizen Participation; (b) Vigilante Groups; (c) Guardian Angels; and (d) Crime Prevention - Citizen Participation. It included a search of the following sources: Readers Guide; Criminology and Penology Abstracts; Current Law Index; Criminal Justice Periodical Index; Social Science Index; Public Affairs Information Index; Government Publications; the Criminal Justice Reference Service; the index for The New York Times, Washington Post, San Francisco Chronicle, New Orleans Times, Los Angeles Times, and Chicago Tribune. Also the card catalog, books in print and paperback index were searched. Finally, recent police and related textbooks were examined. It should be noted that no attempt was made to cite all of the works in the field and use of the bibliographies and their citations is essential.

(3) crime prevention through environmental design (Boostrom & Henderson, 1983; 1984). The case of citizen patrols falls primarily in the second model, although there are isolated incidents of citizen patrols being used for social service delivery (Yin et al., 1977) and there are also cases where citizens have come together to alter the environment (U.S. Department of Justice LEAA, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Research Bulletin, Washington, June 1979). This research will summarize the literature related to citizen patrols in the context of the crime prevention effort.

HISTORY OF CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME PREVENTION

The American law enforcement establishment was very clearly modeled after that of Great Britain (Trojanowicz et al., 1975; More, 1976). Citizen involvement in law enforcement is also traced to our British counterpart. The names of Oliver Cromwell, Thomas deVeil, Sir Robert Peel and Henry Fielding have all been linked to early crime prevention efforts. But it is Henry Fielding, in the mid-1700's, who is given credit for conceptualizing the place of citizens in law enforcement (Duncan, 1980).³

The initial emphasis on citizen crime prevention diminished as a result of urbanization but it was reactivated in Great Britain in the 1950's, and modern concepts were developed in the United States in the 1960's (Duncan, 1980). The criminal justice system in the 1960's has been described as being in confusion, consternation, conflict and change. The communities of the United States were experiencing growing frustrations and conflicts and the relationships between the criminal justice system and its clientele had greatly deteriorated (Ahern, 1972).

Citizen involvement, or citizen participation, became a stated goal of United States law enforcement in the late 1960's and early 1970's after support for this position was taken in the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice Report, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (1967). Further support and call for citizen involvement was provided by a task force of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1969). Expanding the importance of citizen participation, the Community Crime Prevention Task Force of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals prepared a report on how to accomplish this elusive goal (Community Crime Prevention Task Force, 1974). O'Block (1981), in textbook form, also discusses why and how community crime prevention should take place. It should be noted that he attempts to summarize the theories of community crime prevention (O'Block, 1981:12-27). Presently, the examination of citizen participation is a well studied and adequately conceptualized field (see Johnson et al., 1981, for example).

²There are several alternative models of community crime prevention. For examples, see Podolefsky, 1983:28; Greenberg et al., 1985.

³While we begin the history of citizen involvement in law enforcement in the 1700's, one could trace its beginnings to the beginning of social groups. See Beckman, 1980, for this perspective.

The various forms of citizen participation are well documented in the literature. This literature includes bibliographies and guidebooks for crime prevention programs, neighborhood watch and education programs, specialized neighborhood programs, private security patrols and civilian patrols.

Ten bibliographies and five guidebooks for community crime prevention provide an excellent summary of the literature in this area. The first is Selected Literature and Information Sources: Community Action (1973). This work lists various crime prevention programs ranging from alcohol diversion, prevention of school drop-outs, to volunteers in courts and corrections. The second is Guy Boston's Community Crime Prevention (1977) which lists citizens working with police programs and citizen-initiated programs in the areas of drug prevention, youth service, education and environmental design. Community Crime Prevention by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973) focuses on areas outside the criminal justice system such as education, youth services and employment and improved service delivery which the Commission believes would be more instrumental in preventing crime than system-sponsored programs. It also contains guidelines for the implementation and development of these programs as well as examples. Also, Duncan's 1980 Citizens Crime Prevention Tactics offers a selective bibliography of community collective and individual crime prevention activities. DuBow et al. (1979), as part of an extensive five-year study of community reactions to crime, provide an excellent literature review and annotated **bibliography**. They examined three major areas: (1) perceptions of crime, (2) individual behavioral responses to crime, and (3) collective behavioral responses to crime. (The Reactions to Crime Project (1979), of which DuBow's review is a part, also consists of a four-volume final report (the other three volumes include Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Podolefsky and DuBow, 1981; and Lewis and Salem, 1981)).

The City of Portland, Oregon, has also developed the Community Safety Information pamphlet, which is a **bibliography** of all the city's citizen crime prevention services and self-defense programs along with a section on techniques for implementing programs.

Volunteers in the Criminal Justice System (Garry, 1980); "Community Crime Prevention: A Selected Bibliography" (Fisher, no date); and Community Crime Prevention Programs (Topical **Bibliography**, NCJRS, 1983) round out the dominant bibliographies that review the citizen crime prevention literature.

Handbooks for the development of community programs are also useful for those interested in the community crime prevention literature. Power in the Balance: Citizens' Efforts to Address Criminal Justice Problems in Cook County, Illinois, by the Chicago Law Enforcement Study Group, is an extensive handbook discussing all aspects of the development and evaluation of such citizen crime prevention programs. One of the earlier guidebooks encouraging citizen participation was published by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (1968). It was in

⁴ Greenberg et al. (1985), using the literature as a data source, expand the theoretical and empirical findings of the DuBow et al. (1979) report. They test several hypotheses generated by informal social control theory (primarily around the concept of social cohesion) and its association to crime reduction and fear of crime. In so doing they touch on a great deal of the literature in the field.

direct response to the 1967 Presidential Commission report calling for citizen action and provided a rationale for participation as well as an inventory of possible programs and areas where participation could be helpful.

Cook and Roehl's (1983) Preventing Crime and Arson: A Review of Community-Based Strategies provides another extensive handbook and valuable resource tool for those planning community prevention activities. It discusses the roots and current trends of urban crime, the guidelines for neighborhood crime prevention efforts, case studies and methodological considerations. It also contains a special section regarding arson prevention and prevention through environmental design.

Olson (1983) suggests guidelines for obtaining members and developing neighborhood watch and crime prevention programs in his article, "Neighborhood Crime Prevention: One Step Toward a Free Community." And, finally, Feins et al. (1983) present six programs focused on crime prevention. They articulate the important issues for law enforcement and the community when the goal is to enhance public safety or reduce fear of crime. It is clear, as stated previously, that citizen participation in criminal justice and law enforcement has taken various forms. These forms include: **neighborhood** watch, residential security, and citizen patrols.

COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION EFFORTS - AN EXAMINATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH, RESIDENTIAL SECURITY, AND CITIZEN PATROL

As noted earlier, there were three primary areas that developed in community crime prevention. The area relevant to our immediate concern is the mobilization of the community to increase the effectiveness of individual security. Generally, three related activities occur in this area: (1) target hardening, (2) **neighborhood** watch and (3) citizen patrols. The following section will review the literature concerning these activities. Neighborhood watch has been considered one of the most important crime reducing (burglary) programs of the decade. The evaluation and discussion of these programs is widespread. (For examples, see Hulin, 1979; Boston, 1977; Greer & Reissman, 1982; Willoughby, 1983; Castberg, 1980; Washnis, 1977; and the California Crime Resistance Task Force Report, U.S. Dept. of Justice, 1978.)⁶ For the most part, formal evaluations of neighborhood watch (as

⁵Note: Other forms that are not as closely related to this study will not be discussed. See Washnis (1977) and Podolefsky et al. (1981) for discussions of these areas.

⁶Articles related to the subject of **neighborhood** watch, education and multifaceted **approaches** to crime are Evaluation of the Urban Crime Prevention Programs, by Roehl & Cook, 1984; "Buddy Buzzers Prevent Crime," Aging, 1981; "Blue Print to Fight Crime, Community Mobilization Plan of F. E. Dunn," U.S. News and World Report, July 23, 1976; Community Crime Prevention Programs: Their Impact and Value for Pennsylvania Municipalities, 1981; report of the California Assembly Crime Prevention Select Hearings on Community Crime Prevention, 1978; Diegelman, "We Can Prevent Crime," 1982; Gordon's 1983 address, "Crime: The Citizen Connection"; Olson's "Neighborhood Crime Prevention, 1983; and the various Community Crime Prevention Programs supported by the L.E.A.A., e.g., Fowler et al., 1979.

cited above) have supported the various law enforcement perceptions of the success of the program.

While neighborhood watch is probably the best known of citizen crime prevention activities, there are many others. The second group of citizen involvement programs to be discussed includes those that have multiple programs and have as one of their programs some form of citizen patrol. The forms of citizen patrols include: escort services, building patrols, paid patrols, foot patrols, mobile patrols and other related activities.

The Midwood Kings Highway Development Corporation attempted an extensive crime prevention effort. In an effort to save this neighborhood from further deterioration and crime, the citizens of this area of New York City obtained federal, state and city financing for housing and commercial revitalization, youth and recreational activities, environmental projects and crime prevention (Delong and Goolkasian, 1982).

Answering to the citizen town hall committee, each of the area's six civic organizations formed a mobile patrol. Each organization, trained by the police and project's security director, patrolled evenings in a designated area with the purposes of deterrence, observation and reporting. Each patrol maintained a log of its activities. In order to control boredom, the patrollers also kept track of neighborhood conditions. To prevent vigilantism, each patrol member was carefully screened, and to ensure proper adherence to rules and requirements, the patrollers' activities were monitored by the security chief. Further, to promote crime reduction, the project also utilized neighborhood watch, telephone alert, home security checks, whistle stop, and building patrols.

Although no statistics were given regarding the actual reduction of crime in Midwood, the authors contend the program was successful and offered suggestions for replication and evaluation of similar projects (Delong & Goolkasian, 1982).

Maricopa County, Arizona, facing serious manpower shortages in patrolling its extensive terrain, has enlisted the help of 47 "posses", comprised of citizens of all ages to participate in all police-related activities as well as neighborhood watch and operation identification activities. These activities include mobile patrols, airplane rescue, paramedics, prison transportation, answering switchboards, assisting in the sheriff's records department, traffic control and other civic responsibilities. The County offers first aid classes and an extensive seminar series in crime prevention fundamentals and techniques to all posse members. After the first three years of posse activity, it was reported that problems were minimal and the posses were an effective means of assistance to the Maricopa County Sheriffs Department (Blubaum, 1976).

Arnone (1976) discusses the Senior Citizen Anti-Crime Network (S.C.A.N.) program of New York City which concentrates on prevention of crime against senior citizens and at the same time addresses their fear of crime. The program provides peer support to elderly witnesses in court cases, monitoring of court cases in which senior citizens are involved, escort services, installation of locks, provision of Freon horns for the more isolated citizen, as well as the standard neighborhood watch and operation identification programs. S.C.A.N. aims to integrate senior citizens in the operation of these programs to increase their confidence in control of their environment which may, in turn, reduce their fears.

Crime Resistance, a 1977 report by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, discusses the implementation of multi-faceted crime prevention projects in Birmingham, Alabama; DeKalb County, Georgia; Norfolk, Virginia; and Wilmington, Delaware. The activities implemented include block watch, operation identification, block organizations with the sole purpose of protecting children and their possessions, child abuse programs, rape prevention and help, truancy prevention and escort services. The report also included detailed guidelines for the development of each project to be replicated in other areas.

The North Shore Anti-Crime Program (1982) in New York City developed 16 group area organizations for the purposes of block watch, operation identification, neighborhood patrols and building patrols, senior escort services, and victim assistance programs. To break down negative stereotypes between youth and senior citizens, intergenerational programs were implemented in the schools. The district attorney has credited a 30% decrease in crime to these activities.

The Newcastle County Crime Prevention Report cited its programs in Wilmington, Delaware, in which 2,000 citizens participated. The programs included neighborhood watch and patrols, a crime prevention van, security checks, operation identification and public service announcements. Although no statistics were given, a decrease in crime was reported (Robinson, 1978).

The Edgewater Uptown Community Safety Program used a staff of five full-time paid and volunteer employees to coordinate a citizens awareness and education project and a mobile patrol. The program reported a decrease in crime of 28.7% in the study area compared to a 20.7% decline in the city as a whole. The program earned the praise of local law enforcement as well as criminal justice authorities (Evaluation/Policy Research Associates, 1978).

The Neighborhood Anti-Crime Program project of Albany, New York, used five neighborhood associations to implement operation identification, home security checks, block watch, victim hotline, escort services, a youth referral service, and Project Equinox. Project Equinox was a switchboard service developed to serve people unaware or suspicious of traditional service agencies. It provided assistance to runaways, information on drug problems, and crisis intervention counseling (Lindstrom, 1978).

The Meguon (Wisconsin) Crime Prevention Project, to reduce crime, utilized school education programs, radio programs, citizen and police get-acquainted programs, security systems checks and a neighborhood citizen band (CB) radio patrol (Williamson, 1979).

The Youth Action Program of East Harlem Block Nursery attempted to reduce crime by providing alternatives to youth and showing that their involvement could make a difference. The project included ten (10) youth-oriented programs including telephone counseling, patrols of housing projects, restoration for the revitalization of old buildings, housing for youth, and provision of employment. The program involved 200 juveniles who were considered at risk with regard to criminal potential and provided 300 jobs (Stoneman, 1981).

⁷ Several authors discussed multi-faceted citizen crime prevention efforts without specifically mentioning either escort services or some form of citizen patrol. These are: Willoughby, 1983; Podolefsky & DuBow, 1982; Bittner, 1978; De Campli, 1977; Hayes, 1983; Reuther, 1980.

National Association of Town Watch, Inc., (NATW) is a non-profit tax-exempt membership organization which acts as a parent organization to its members by promoting community crime prevention activities. NATW member groups share the concept of fighting crime by uniting neighbors to act as additional "eyes and ears" in cooperation with local law enforcement agencies. Crime watch groups are required to be affiliated with their local law enforcement agency before NATW membership will be considered. Many of these groups have mobile citizen patrols.

NATW-member groups pay annual dues in amounts prescribed by the NATW Board of Directors. Failure to pay such dues or endorse NATW purposes can result in termination of membership.

In July 1984, NATW Executive Director, Matt Peskin, reported that NATW represented 1,200 groups with 200,000 volunteers in 28 states (Burlington County Times, 7/22/84). Membership has also expanded into many provinces of Canada and England (New Spirit, 1/84). The vast majority of these groups include a mobile patrol component that operates in conjunction with local law enforcement.

NATW publishes an official newsletter, New Spirit, which invites member groups to share ideas and activities of their group. NATW also sponsors events of member groups. One such event which has received considerable attention is "National Night Out." This event calls for the general public, in cooperation with law enforcement agencies, to unite in an effort to deter crime. Participants are urged to turn on their outside lights and spend one designated hour in front of their homes (lawns, balconies, porches, etc.) observing neighborhood activity and reporting any suspicious occurrences to the police. Law enforcement agencies are called upon to monitor and report crime activity during this hour. As of March 11, 1985, 83 cities/groups representing 32 states were registered to participate in the second annual "National Night Out" scheduled to take place on August 13, between 8:00 and 9:00 p.m.

These multi-faceted approaches have made use of a variety of citizen patrols. These include escort services, mobile patrols, building patrols, citizen-band radio (C.B.) patrols, and foot patrols. The use of citizen patrols in these various forms offers an organizational and structural framework that provides insights into the Guardian Angels. The idea of providing escort service or patrolling for prevention is similar to Guardian Angel activities. But, as will be shown later, the Guardian Angels remain unique in organization and structure among the citizen patrol groups existing today.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF CITIZEN PATROLS

The uniqueness of the citizen patrol group and its sometimes marginal status with respect to law enforcement are possibly the reason that it is not well represented in the academic literature. Nonetheless, there are several studies that have carefully examined this phenomenon.

Yin et al. (1977), in the major work in this area, describes patrols as: (1) a specific patrol or surveillance routine; (2) preventing criminal acts by citizens; (3) administrative or residential organization of public housing authority; and (4) operating in residential and commercial areas. There are various forms of patrols *which* have been categorized by Yin as social service, building, mobile and foot

patrols. Washnis (1977) also includes a category of special interest patrols. The majority of these patrols work in conjunction with the police. Some, however, have no police involvement. As a rule, these patrols act as the eyes and ears of the police, observing and reporting suspicious activities and crimes in progress. Most are unarmed and do not attempt to intervene in a crime in progress. On the other hand, the Guardian Angels, while unarmed, will attempt to intervene in a crime incident.

Yin et al. (1977) found there were more than 800 resident patrols. The majority of them began as a response to a sudden increase in crime and continued for an average of 4 to 5-1/2 years. Volunteers comprised 63% of the patrols, paid residents 7%, and a mixture of the two 12%. The remaining 18% were hired security guards. A few problems have been noted with paid private security. These include the fact that many communities have a difficult time raising the fees and some security guards have minimal training. Some of the guards are not qualified for the job or are not responsible. In spite of these problems, however, the citizens employing guards believe they are an effective deterrent to crime and will employ them when possible.

In his assessment of citizen patrols, Yin et al. (1977) found the primary goals of the citizen participants to be crime reduction, increased sense of security, improvement in police community relations and police coverage and increased citizen community participation.

Social service patrols are described by Yin et al. (1977) as those performed by civic organizations which undertake other civic responsibilities such as civil defense and ambulance driving at the same time. They are not formed solely for patrol purposes. This form of patrol most closely resembles Lavrakas and Podolefsky's et al., conception of a collective crime prevention organization. Yin's (1977) studies did not present information on the effectiveness of these patrols.

Washnis (1977) noted two forms of special interest patrols. These were child protection and youth involvement. The Child Protection Group of New York *City*, sponsored by a grant from the New York City Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, was formed to escort young children to school, protecting them from intimidation and theft by older children. This group of 1,000 volunteers, wearing white ponchos, escorted children back and forth to school and protected them on playgrounds. Although few statistics were collected to support the program, the author considered it successful as the children were no longer accosted and had a greater sense of security (Washnis, 1977).

The youth patrol cited by Washnis was formed by the Model Cities Program and a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (L.E.A.A.) grant in the three-city Triboro, Pennsylvania area. This is a racially mixed area with a substantial

⁸ Young (1982) states that private security patrols, formerly known only to the neighborhoods of the rich, are becoming commonplace in many New York neighborhoods. The guard service has been successful in reducing the citizens' fear of crime. Many residents state that the crime on their block has decreased after implementation of the guard service. The residents find for these reasons that the guard service is worth the \$15,000 **to \$28,000 annual expense.**

amount of juvenile delinquency, vandalism and crime. The patrol consisted of fifteen school dropouts and former "trouble-makers" in each city who patrolled in blue jumpsuits, earning a wage of \$2.00 per hour. These youths also served on the local drug prevention, police and fire boards. During the three-year period the patrols were in effect (1971-1974), the police reported a 50% decrease in juvenile crime. This occurred at the same time the police were facing a major reduction in staff (Washnis, 1977).

Building patrols became a popular crime prevention method in the 1970's and 80's. U.S. News and World Report reported 13,000 tenants provided watches in 764 buildings in New York City alone in 1981 (Kelly, 1981). Building patrols typically patrol lobbies and hallways, screen visitors and hold tenant meetings. They usually work without police advice or supervision. Washnis (1977) reported that the Terrace Garden Apartments and Lincoln Guild Housing Corporation, in New York City, gathered funds to install security and intercommunication systems in their buildings. Yin et al. (1977) reports that these patrols have been instrumental in giving residents a greater sense of security. However, he did not have exact information available as to their effectiveness in crime prevention. U.S. News and World Report stated that merely having a tenant stationed in the lobby to screen guests had resulted in a reduction in crime in the New York City buildings (Kelly, 1981).

The most prevalent form of citizen patrols discussed in the literature is the mobile patrol. These consist of citizens patrolling alone or in pairs, in marked or unmarked cars, usually with two-way radios, who observe and report any suspicious activity to a base station. Their objective is to deter crime by their presence. Most patrollers maintain logs of all activities to instill control over their activities and to aid the police in apprehending criminals. Many of these patrols also perform citizen security checks and give residents notice of possible crime hazards such as garage doors open overnight and bicycles left unattended.

During the first half of 1980, 150,000 citizens of **Philadelphia** belonged to mobile patrol units (U.S. News and World Report, 1980). Of the 150,000 citizens from 135 organizations in the City of New York who patrol, the majority are mobile, according to Richard Shapiro, director of the New York City Police Department Civilian Participation Program (New York Magazine, February 6, 1982). Washnis reported mobile units to be a viable form of patrol in Chicago, Illinois; Compton, California; Mobile, Alabama; and Knoxville, Tennessee (Washnis, 1977).

The Pension Posse of Sun City, Maricopa County, Arizona, noted earlier, reports a membership of 275 senior citizens. These citizens wearing uniforms, Stetson hats and sometimes carrying guns, patrol their area in autos with radios. Area residents have a reduced fear of crime since the posse went into effect (Time Magazine, May 17, 1982).

Robert Russell contends in his study of neighborhood patrols in Anne Arundel, Maryland, that mobile patrols are possibly the most significant citizen-initiated crime prevention operation (Russell, 1982). He states that communities using such programs have been rewarded with reductions in loitering, disorderly conduct, property crime rates and increases in citizen security. According to Castberg, these patrols are more successful with the prevention of street crimes, muggings, rapes, and assaults, while neighborhood watch is more successful with burglary reduction (Castberg, 1980).

Duffy's study of the Parkridge, Illinois, patrol reiterates the success of such patrols, but also discusses the problems and solutions associated with successful patrol maintenance (Duffy, 1982). He cites the three areas of concern as boredom, "super-cop" syndrome and police relations. To reduce boredom, he suggests increasing the scope of patrol activities. Parkridge has initiated a program of placing criminal opportunity cards in households inviting a theft. Parkridge patrollers also take classes in artificial respiration, traffic control and disaster assistance techniques. Reduction of boredom levels also helps to decrease interest in super-cop, vigilante or harassment activities. To further prevent these problems from occurring, potential Parkridge members are carefully screened. Members were chosen on the basis of being known in the community, passage of license and record checks and ride-along tests. The founders adhered to the principle of strict screening, as a "stupid move" by a member could tarnish the reputation of the entire group (Duffy, 1982).

The development of a good working relationship with the local police is an important issue. Although the Parkridge patrol had the support of local police administration from the beginning, members had to work to get that of the officers. In order to earn this support, the group asked the officers for advice in developing the patrol manual. Members also asked the officers to meet with the group **directly with any complaints** or advice instead of going through the administration (Duffy, 1982).

The foot patrol is closely related to the mobile patrol. Primarily, it operates on the same principle as the mobile patrol. Members observe, report and hope by their visibility to deter crime. As a rule, members do not try to enforce laws or apprehend criminals. Patrols generally are in small geographical neighborhood areas. Frequently, groups work in association with the police. Although foot patrols have been active in such cities as Philadelphia, New York City, Compton (California), and Washington, D.C., little information aside from the Yin report is available regarding their activities (Yin et al., 1977).

Newsweek Magazine reported on the activities of the Gray Panthers in Oakland, California. The Gray Panthers are a group of twenty-five senior citizens, ranging in age from 60 to 80, who patrol their neighborhood in Oakland. The patrols work in the daylight hours in which senior citizens are out. Since patrols went into effect, they have reported a decrease in mugging and vandalism and an increase in citizen security, Angels, and other guardians (Newsweek, March 23, 1981).

The Citizen Crime Reporting project initiated a volunteer foot patrol in Columbus, Ohio, in 1977, to determine if such citizen participation would reduce fear of crime victimization and deter potential offenders. The program consisted of citizen patrollers who received a minimum wage for 20 hours a week and had received formal police training. A full-time administrator was appointed to coordinate the activities of the group with the police and to enforce rules and guidelines (Latessa & Allen, 1980).

To measure the effect of the program, the researchers collected questionnaires from the citizens and police before implementation and at the end of the year study period. They also compared the crime rates at the end of the evaluation period to those in the beginning and to those during the same period for other areas of the city. The results indicated the crime rate decreased for every offense except petty larceny. The researchers also noted there was no evidence

to indicate displacement of crime to other areas. Throughout the year period, the program maintained the support of the public and gained that of the local police. These results led the researchers to believe this type of program did in fact reduce crime and increase residential security (Latessa & Allen, 1980). It should be noted that this program no longer exists.

Several factors influence the viability of the group patrol. These include size, structure, leadership, relationship to the community, and ability to handle organizational change. Size is important, as a group too small in number tends to over-utilize its members and one too large under-utilizes, creating disinterest and boredom. Groups which tend to maintain an effective organization have a bureaucratic structure, carefully screen members, utilize a paid administration, maintain logs, implement pre-arranged schedules, and systematically supervise members (Yin et al., 1977). Patrols which are legitimized by, and accountable to, the community and local police are more likely to keep sight of their goals. This situation also gives the groups access to community resources. Lastly, strong leadership is necessary to keep a group viable. Washnis found that many groups folded when their energetic, charismatic leader left the group (Washnis, 1977).

Even if these factors are in existence, organizational changes which develop when the crime problem has been reduced can cause the deterioration of the group. The resulting boredom can lead to dysfunctional behavior, such as harassment of certain groups (i.e., youth) and vigilantism, or to a decrease in membership. Successful patrols have acquired other civic activities, such as civil defense and traffic control (Yin et al., 1977). (For a broader perspective on neighborhood organizations and crime control, see Kohfeld et al., 1981, and Greenberg, 1984). Lavrakas and Herz (1982) confirmed what others before had established, that most citizens become involved in neighborhood anti-crime activities as an extension of their general community involvement. (Also see Lavrakas, 1982, and Lavrakas et al., 1980, for further discussions of the factors related to citizen involvement in crime prevention.)

As noted, citizen participation in crime prevention has been the subject of much research. Studies have been made regarding members' motives and behaviors, and theories have been proposed regarding the most effective form of participation.

As a rule, vigilantism, which has been the primary fear of most police authorities, has not been borne out (Yin et al., 1977). Although a few incidents have occurred, Yin states these tendencies can be controlled by careful screening and supervision procedures.

The present study focuses on the Guardian Angels. The uniqueness of the Guardian Angels revolves around its national organization. While most citizen patrols are organized and staffed from within the community, the Guardian Angels maintain a national headquarters. The Angels will also patrol outside of their community. This unique organizational feature has many ramifications which become apparent from the present empirical evaluation. (See Greenberg, 1984:147-153 for an articulation of some of the issues concerning organizational structure.)

The research on citizen patrols presented previously appears to be best understood within the conceptualization of community crime prevention. The following section will present an overview of the theoretical literature in this field.

COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION EFFORTS - AN OVERVIEW

In the 1970's, a combination of an increasing crime rate and reduced budgets for law enforcement led citizens and government officials to develop new crime prevention strategies. As a result, community crime prevention programs in various forms were implemented throughout the nation. The phenomenon has been the subject of much research. The purpose of this section is to synthesize the theoretical and empirical literature in this area.

The present literature review suggests that researchers of citizen crime prevention have focused primarily on three areas of study. They are: forms of citizen participation, behaviors and motives of citizen participation, and theories for community involvement in crime prevention. The first topic has been addressed. The other areas are discussed in the following section.

The following concluding discussion in the area of community crime prevention puts forth several independent motivational and theoretical perspectives. Unfortunately, there does not appear to be any connection or evidence of building between these perspectives. There also does not appear to be any strong connection between the empirical works in the field and these perspectives.

According to Lavrakas, citizens engage in three different types of crime prevention behaviors, each for different motives (Lavrakas, 1981; Lavrakas & Herz, 1982). These behaviors are categorized as personal, home and collective.

Lavrakas considers personal crime prevention measures as avoidance techniques by which citizens place behavioral restrictions on themselves to prevent vulnerability to victimization. These behaviors are directly related to their perception of safety rather than their actual vulnerability to victimization (Lavrakas, 1981).

The second type of citizen behavior, efforts toward home protection measures, are the result of a different set of motives and cause different behaviors. Lavrakas found that homeowners are more likely to implement safeguards on their homes than renters. Single persons, previous burglary victims and participants in neighborhood crime prevention meetings also tend to use home protective measures. These primarily include the installation of burglar alarms, locks, lights and indoor timers, handgun ownership, identification of valuables, theft insurance and requests to neighbors to watch vacant homes (Lavrakas, 1981).

Lastly, Lavrakas found that citizens engage in collective behavior, not necessarily as a result of fear of crime, but as a result of their participation in neighborhood groups (Lavrakas, 1981). He further noted these groups tend to form in densely populated areas and are composed of either *high* income or low income families. Also, more non-white than white residents are typically involved. Inner-city groups tend to initiate crime prevention responses as a result of neighborhood crime, while suburban groups initiate them for preventive reasons. He also found the groups were formed for the territorial motive of protecting turf. Lavrakas also stated participation was *higher* in groups requiring lower levels of involvement. The forms of collective participation *behaviors* most frequently utilized are neighborhood watch, citizen patrol, escort service and attendance at neighborhood meetings.

Podolefsky and DuBow's (1981) study of citizen collective participation elaborated further on the group participants and their responses. They noted, as a rule, people who were inclined to join organizations and be integrated in the community joined neighborhood groups. Further, these groups were not organized around the issue of crime prevention but *were* multi-issue groups which undertook crime prevention activities. The crime prevention activities undertaken vary greatly from community to community depending upon the community's composition (socioeconomic status, race, and ethnicity) and the community's definition of crime. Similarly composed groups may undertake different crime prevention activities because they define crime differently.

THEORIES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Theoretical approaches found in the literature suggest which forms of participation and response communities are taking or should be taking for effective crime prevention. Lewis and Salem agree that each community's response to crime is a result of its perception and definition of crime (Lewis & Salem, 1981). They examined two perspectives: the victimization approach and the social order approach which are currently used to define crime and obtain specific responses.

The victimization approach defines crime as an event which occurs when an individual has been victimized according to a statute declaring the event illegal. Individual responses to this perspective are typically fear, and then isolation to *prevent* vulnerability to attack. Collective responses are programs aimed at increasing the potential victims' awareness of risk and educating individuals in how to reduce the risks and opportunities for victimization (Lewis & Salem, 1981). Neighborhood watch programs exemplify this approach.

The social control approach defines crime and its fear as a demonstration of the community's lack of social control. Crime prevention programs are designed to increase the social control capacity of a community and to increase integration within it. It includes a strong emphasis on working with adolescents in danger of becoming offenders. Results of the Lewis and Salem (1981) study indicated that the citizen's definition of crime was typically much broader than the definition utilized by the victimization approach perspective. In their definition of crime problems, citizens often include vandalism, abandoned buildings and drug use. As a result, Lewis and Salem (1981) contend social control perspective programs should be implemented for a greater reduction of fear of crime and crime. It is interesting to note, using this theoretical perspective, the Guardian Angels do not clearly fit into either perspective.

Greenberg et al. (1985), have also contributed to the work in the area of informal social control. Using the literature as a data source, they attempt a synthesis and provide an assessment of the research in the area of informal citizen action with respect to crime prevention. The result of this work is a well articulated model using the informal social control conceptualization to explain citizen involvement in crime prevention activities.

⁹ See Akers and Sagarin (1974) for a different examination of social control and crime prevention.

Skogan and Maxfield (1981) examine empirically individual and neighborhood reactions to crime within a conceptual framework. The major issues they address are the fear of crime and participation. Here they suggest that fear is not only a force toward participation, but can be disorganizing and hinder community efforts. Their research also examines integration and participation and vulnerability and participation. In this case they find that those who are firmly entrenched in a community and have a stake in that community are likely to participate. Ironically, these may be the least vulnerable (with respect to victimization rates) and, thus, it appears that vulnerability is a complicated factor in participation.

Progressive theorist Bertram Gross also cites community involvement as an effective method to reduce crime. He offers examples of community involvement programs which describe the way citizen participation should be more widely utilized. These include the Citizens Local Alliance for a Safe Philadelphia (CLASP) and the Santa Monica, California Renters Association (Gross, 1982). CLASP consists of organized block associations which sponsor night walks to alleviate citizen fear of crime. The Santa Monica Renters Association ran a grass roots campaign for the dual issues of renters rights and crime control. After a 90% of the vote victory, the group formed a thirteen-member citizens crime control commission which works with the City Council (Gross, 1982). It is this perspective of community involvement that would most closely represent the Guardian Angels. However, the Guardian Angels is a nationally controlled organization.

Another progressive theorist, Raymond Michalowski, suggests that organized neighborhood patrols and courts would be an effective means of reducing crime and increasing popular justice. As he includes white collar crime in his definition of crime, he suggests neighborhood patrols and courts should work as hard to reduce it as they do street crime. He advises that patrols and courts should be organized under similar neighborhood lines. The patrols should be modeled after the Guardian Angels, be well organized, trained, and knowledgeable of the rights of citizens; but unlike the Guardian Angels, they would focus on white collar crime as well. The patrols should be composed of an actual representation of the neighborhood young as well as old and be democratic in its administration. The courts should not include any legal experts but be operated by communal authority and pressure. Alleged criminals would have the option of participating in the neighborhood court or going through the criminal justice system. The court would also have the ability to handle neighborhood complaints such as barking dogs (Michalowski, 1983).

The programs would be operated solely by the citizens and not the state. As progressive theory contends, crime definitions of the state consider only crimes of the working class, not the power classes. Popular justice requires citizen patrols to be on the lookout for violation of businessmen as previously mentioned (Michalowski, 1983).

The final theoretical approach to be discussed for community crime prevention is one dealing with black on black crime. Napier (1979) writes that community involvement is essential to mediate this problem. Currently, frustration, lack of power and apathy drive blacks inside and turn their heads away from crime. Citizens, however, should not withdraw from crime but report it, testify in court and form neighborhood watch and similar activities to let criminals know they are

not tolerated in the community. Napier contends a criminal will not go into a neighborhood if he knows he will be caught and sent to jail for violating the laws of the community (Napier, 1979).

To prevent raising future criminals, Napier suggests that each neighborhood, as a whole, should raise their children by instilling the accepted values and stressing accountability. There should be a sense of community in which each neighbor knows the other and feels a responsibility toward each child. The author states that moving in this direction, while not solving the problem of black on black crime, could alleviate it (Napier, 1979).

While the theory and perspectives in this field are not well developed, they do provide a starting point for the understanding of the professional and lay discussions in the field of citizen participation in crime prevention.

The community crime prevention literature is massive and our purpose in this overview has been to present several works that are most closely related to the use of citizen patrols. (See Boostrom & Henderson, 1983 & 1984, for an extension of this discussion.)

CONCLUSION

The preceding literature has placed the examination of citizen foot patrols in the more general context of community crime prevention. In this context there were three broad areas of citizen participation identified. They were: (1) the mobilization of citizens for social service delivery; (2) crime prevention through environmental design; and (3) the mobilization of the community to increase the effectiveness of individual security. The latter area provides the strongest focus on citizen patrols.

The individual security model suggests the use of various techniques to prevent crime. These include: neighborhood watch programs, security surveys, operation identification, personal protection training, and the use of various types of citizen patrols. While the individual security model remains broad, it is within this framework that, at least conceptually, citizen patrols become a legitimate police sanctioned and police controlled crime prevention mechanism. The literature thus showed that citizen patrols can be understood from a law enforcement perspective as one small component of the community crime prevention mechanism.

Even though the academic literature specific to the organization and operation of citizen patrols was meager, there were some common findings.

First, the locus of control of citizen patrols is for the most part local citizens in cooperation with local law enforcement. There were several instances where law enforcement grants in the area of community crime prevention were instrumental in assisting to organize citizen patrols. It is this acceptance by law enforcement of the patrols that is the most distinguishing characteristic between citizen vigilantism and citizen police assistance.

The exception to the local control rule with respect to citizen patrols is the Guardian Angels. Their leadership is provided by the founder, Curtis Sliwa, and his wife Lisa. They control the entire nationwide network of Guardian Angels. This leads to an organizational structure and interaction patterns that are markedly different from other groups with common goals.

Second, citizen patrols have similar organizational structures and organizational problems. The patrols are generally organized in small independent units. They may arise or become active as a result of crime problems, but it appears that in order to have any longevity they must not be a crime specific organization.

As is generally true of volunteer organizations, citizen patrols have trouble with recruitment, training and commitment. These problems have given rise to short-lived programs, poor quality programs and understaffed erratic programs. Often the factors that make the difference in the quality or success of the programs include: existence of charismatic leadership; urgency or saliency of the immediate problem and the characteristics of the population attempting the program.

It is also interesting that the organizational structure does not vary to any great extent across different types of citizen patrols. As has been noted above, the mobile patrol, the C.B. patrol, and the foot patrol all appear to have similar structures and problems.

Third, citizen patrols have developed across a number of different populations and have been initiated from a number of different sources. Senior citizens and juveniles, housewives and construction workers, paid participants (e.g., professional private security, minimum wage to juveniles) and volunteers have all been involved in various citizen patrol activities. Patrols have been in buildings or in the neighborhood. They have been started through grants and through public outcry. They have been reactive and proactive. From a small escort service to the National Association of Townwatch, there is one thing that is clear: citizens are becoming involved in the protection of their neighborhoods. The involvement has moved beyond neighborhood watch, and the boundaries of citizen patrol vis-a-vis law enforcement or vigilantism are being drawn.

Finally, the literature review has pointed out that systematic evaluation and scholarly investigation of the phenomenon of citizen patrols leaves many unanswered questions. The organization, success, and interaction patterns of these particular groups remain largely unexplained. The day-to-day operation concerning the treatment of persons in these neighborhoods has not been examined. The problems of researching citizen patrol groups are many and complicated. It is hoped that by undertaking the evaluation of a national organization, the Guardian Angels, some of these issues are addressed.

Citizen involvement in community crime prevention has taken several forms. This review has provided a synthesis of the various conceptual and empirical variations of this phenomenon. While the literature review has provided a summary of the academic work in the area of citizen foot patrols, it is apparent that this is one variation of a much broader effort.

Citizens have become involved in crime prevention through environmental design, social service delivery, and direct involvement. It is important to recognize the interrelationship of these efforts. It is also necessary to understand that citizen participation in law enforcement and crime prevention is but one facet in an even larger *area* of citizen concerns in the criminal justice system. The 1984 shooting of four teenagers in a New York subway by Bernhard Goetz and the shooting of one teenager in Chicago by his intended victim, Howard Brown, has drawn a public response unprecedented in the criminal justice system. Citizens in the 1980's, particularly those in large cities, appear to feel that the criminal justice system

has failed them. There is definitely a movement toward citizen control (witness the victims rights movement) in the area of crime. The present study of the Guardian Angels may begin to provide the insights necessary to understand the changes that many predict will occur as a result of the fear of crime and perceptions of a failing justice system.

CHAPTER 4
GUARDIAN ANGEL
ACTIVITIES

Guardian Angel Activities

INTRODUCTION

It is hypothesized that the presence of the Guardian Angels deters crime and makes citizens feel less uneasy about walking the streets or riding public transit. The effectiveness of the Guardian Angels in achieving their goals may be dependent on the extent to which the Angels are visible and the frequency of assistance provided to citizens and *intervention* in crime incidents. Therefore, it is important to first examine the level of activity of Guardian Angel chapters before assessing their impact on crime and citizen fear of crime.

This chapter presents the results of an in-depth review of Guardian Angel procedures, *training* and patrol activities in eight primary sites (Boston, Chicago, Cleveland and New York in the East and Dallas, Sacramento, San Diego and San Francisco in the West). Information was gathered from interviews with 12 chapter leaders and 106 members at the primary sites. Data on patrol activities were collected from 672 patrol logs covering a six-month period. The following discussion also includes results of surveys of police personnel and citizens.

REASONS FOR PATROLS

Before discussing specific activities, it is interesting to note the motivation for participation, as expressed by Guardian Angel members at the eight sites. Almost two-thirds (64%) of the Angels stated that they wanted to prevent or deter crime (Table 4). These members felt that the presence of the Guardian Angels provides a "visual deterrent" to criminals. Forty-nine percent (49%) viewed the purpose of the patrols to be helping or protecting others. The next most frequent response was keeping the streets or communities safe (27%). Several Angels told of family members or friends who had been victims of crimes, and stated a desire to do something about it by joining the Guardian Angels. Others had been victims themselves and wanted to respond in a positive way through the Angels. Finally, several members felt that the Guardian Angels provided a positive role model for youth (9%). Some stated that the Angels had helped them stay out of trouble. Data presented in Table 4 indicate that the responses for Angels interviewed in the East and West were similar.

TABLE 4

REASON FOR PATROLS
ANGEL MEMBER INTERVIEWS
EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
1984

	East	West	Total
Prevent/Deter Crime	61%	69%	64%
Protect/Help People	51%	44%	49%
Keep Streets/Community Safe	29%	25%	27%
Set Good Example/Role Model	11%	6%	9%
Other*	19%	6%	14%
Total Respondents	70	36	106

*Includes visibility, assist police, promote racial harmony, preserve citizen's rights, gain public acceptance.

MEMBERSHIP

Data available on membership in chapters is based on estimates made by twelve patrol leaders. Table 5 shows that Eastern chapters tend to have more members, ranging from 49 in Boston to approximately 500 in New York as of October, 1984. In contrast, Western chapters **had** from 5 to 22 members. Two chapters experienced an increase in membership between the Spring and Fall of 1985 (Chicago and San Francisco). Most chapters have, at times, **had** problems either recruiting or retaining members (see discussion, page 138). The number of members should be viewed with caution since they could not be verified.

TABLE 5

CHAPTER MEMBERSHIP
CHAPTER LEADER INTERVIEWS
EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
1984

	Membership	
	Spring 1984	Fall 1984
EAST		
Boston	65	49
Chicago	125	145
Cleveland	45	33
New York	+ 500	+ 500
WEST		
Dallas	24	12
Sacramento	12	10
San Diego	20	5
San Francisco	15	22

TRAINING

According to the national rules and regulations, a Guardian Angel recruit must complete a training program before he or she earns a red beret and T-shirt. The training varies considerably when comparing the eight primary sites. These differences are the result of changes in the training programs after the graduation of the first groups in a city. In most cities, the original groups, or "waves" as they are often called, *received* three months of training in martial arts, physical and mental conditioning, citizen arrest procedures, cardio-pulmonary resuscitation (CPR) and first aid before they were allowed to patrol.

The eight sites studied do not currently have a sufficient number of recruits to conduct the formal three-month training. Many chapters now rely on "on-the-job" training where the recruit will actually go on patrol, but not in colors (beret and T-shirt), for a specified time period ranging from one to three months. This on-patrol training is often supplemented with classes in martial arts, physical and mental conditioning and legal issues related to citizen's arrests. Some chapters still require members to obtain certificates in first aid and CPR from an outside organization. Three of the twelve leaders require trainees to pass a test before they graduate (San Francisco and two areas in New York).

Only one leader requires recruits to complete all phases of the training before they can patrol (Westchester). The other leaders indicated that the length of training depends on qualifications of the trainee.

Of the 106 *members* interviewed, 94% had received training, although length of training varied considerably. Eighty-seven percent (87%) stated that they had been trained in martial arts and 76% **had** training in citizen's arrest procedures (Table 6). Less than half of the respondents received CPR or first aid training (48% and 46%, respectively). Other types of training mentioned related to mental conditioning, including appropriate responses to verbal abuse while on patrol, and physical conditioning (i.e., calisthenics). Most members felt that the training had been beneficial (95%) and that the trainers were qualified (94%). For the most part, the trainers were Guardian Angels. In some instances, martial arts instructors and others from the community donated their time to provide training. Until recently, the New York Police Department provided classes in legal issues related to citizen's arrests.

Several chapters require members to continue training in martial arts and physical conditioning after they graduate. Most chapters have training drills while on patrol. Researchers observed both pre-patrol calisthenics and separate training sessions in which self-defense procedures were practiced.

Problems Related to Training

Three of the leaders indicated that they had not experienced problems in training recruits. Six suggested that some recruits were not **physically** able to complete the training, either due to physical **handicaps** or lack of stamina. Other problems noted include lack of discipline, especially among young recruits, and a language barrier which hindered communication (e.g., the recruit did not speak English).

TABLE 6
 TYPE OF TRAINING RECEIVED
 ANGEL **MEMBER** INTERVIEWS
 EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
 1984

	East	West	Total
Martial Arts	84%	92%	87%
Citizen's Arrest	74%	81%	76%
CPR	41%	61%	48%
First Aid	49%	42%	46%
Total Respondents	70	36	106

Discussion

It is apparent from the review of Guardian Angel training in eight cities that training has become less formal since the chapters were formed, and that Angel recruits are not consistently trained in all subject areas. Also, a number of untrained recruits participate in patrols as a part of their training. Many of the members from the first "waves" of trainees expressed resentment and concern that new recruits did not receive training that was as extensive as the three-month formal program.

The inconsistencies in training have the potential of affecting a patrol's ability to respond according to accepted procedures. Additionally, discussions with police suggest that Angels have acted inappropriately while on patrol which could be related to inexperience or lack of training (see page 71). Data from personal observation and patrol logs suggest that most patrols do not get involved in critical situations (e.g., crimes in progress) where this training could be put to the test.

The national leader is in the process of standardizing training, based on procedures developed by the Pittsburgh chapter. This training includes 21 days of instruction, 7 days of self-defense training, physical fitness and 7 mock patrols. Trainees will also be required to obtain a CPR certificate. Recruits will have to pass a test on the organization and procedures used by the Angels.

Curtis Sliwa states that the on-patrol training described previously will continue in chapters that do not have a sufficient number of recruits for the more formal three-month training. However, the criteria for graduation, under the new program, would be more consistent, as would the training materials used by chapters according to Sliwa (May, 1985).

PRE PATROL ACTIVITY

The national regulations indicate that each member of a patrol must be searched for weapons, drugs or other contraband before the patrol begins. Based on observation and a review of the logs, it appears that the weapons check is performed in all eight chapters. Some chapters do not make a notation on the logs if the results of the check were "negative." Therefore, the percentage of patrols in which the weapons check occurred could not be determined. In one of 672 patrols, a weapon was actually reported.

Other pre-patrol activities include physical **training and** "rap sessions." These do not occur in all chapters.

PATROL FORMATION

Chapters in the **study** sites **have designated** positions or functions for the individual members patrol. The assignments are made prior to the patrol by the patrol leader.¹¹ Table 7 shows that there is variation among the chapters with respect to positions, but these are the most common:

- o Patrol leader (leads the patrol)
- o Second or co-leader (backs up the patrol leader)
- o Communications or telephone person (makes phone calls in emergency situations, e.g., to police or paramedics)
- o Medic or first aid (provides first aid or CPR if someone is injured)
- o Runners or chasers (chase suspects if necessary and perform other tasks assigned by the patrol leader)

¹⁰

Chapters generally have a number of more experienced members who reach the position of patrol leader and can **lead a patrol on any given day.**

TABLE 7
PATROL FORMATIONS
PRIMARY SITES - CHAPTER LEADER INTERVIEWS*
1984

	<u>Boston</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Cleveland**</u>	<u>Manhattan</u>	<u>Queens</u>	Bronx	<u>Brooklyn</u>	<u>Westchester</u>	Dallas	<u>San Diego</u>	San <u>Francisco</u>
Leader	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Second/Co-Leader		X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Runner	X						X	X	X	X	X
Communications/ Informer/Telephone	X	X				X	X		X	X	X
First Aide/Medic		X								X	X
Victim/Witness Assistance and/or Information Gathering	X										
Secretary/Patrol Log	X							X			
Sergeant of Discipline								X			
Rear Guard											X
Crowd Control										X	
Alternates							X				

* Data not available for Sacramento.

** Two Angels assist citizens at bus stops, and two to three Angels ride a train.

Other functions or assignments used in some chapters include: victim/witness assistance or information gathering; a secretary to record the events of the patrol; a sergeant in charge of discipline; a rear guard; someone in charge of crowd control and alternates. The positions vary by the type of patrol (street vs. subway) and the type of area patrolled. For example, the crowd control position is used in a large urban downtown area (San Diego). Each chapter seems to adapt its patrol style and activities to the city and its characteristics.

Street Patrols

Usually in a street patrol the leader is at the front of the patrol and the second is at the rear. If a sufficient number of members are available, there is generally more than one runner assigned.

Walking patrols can take varying formations including a straight single-file line, a staggered line (zig zag) and two straight lines with Angels assigned a partner. One group even "walks down the street like a family on a picnic."

When the patrol stops for a red light or to talk to someone, the members spread out to watch every direction. In some cities, they crouch to make themselves less of a target.

In Cleveland, one of the primary patrol activities is assisting riders on and off buses at Public Square. Two Angels are assigned to each bus stop in this central location in downtown Cleveland from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m.

Subway Patrols

A subway patrol is somewhat different. It usually consists of more members than a street patrol, and one or two Angels will ride in each car of the train. At each stop, the Angels look out the door and give signals to the leader indicating any problems. The leader will also use hand signals to give commands to members. When Angels get off the train at a stop, they stand in a straight line on the platform until given a command by the patrol leader.

PATROL ACTIVITIES

Areas Patrolled

All 12 groups in the primary sites engage in walking patrols on the street, 58% patrol subways (7) and one-quarter ride buses (3), based on interviews with Guardian Angel leaders (Table 8). Subway patrols occur in the Eastern cities where this form of public transportation is prevalent. Cities with bus patrols include Cleveland, Dallas and San Francisco. In Dallas, the bus driver's union was instrumental in bringing the Angels to the City. Therefore, bus patrols have been an important element of the program in Dallas. Bus patrols in Dallas have been less frequent in recent months due to a decline in membership and the fact that Angels become bored with the inactivity on the buses.

In two of the Eastern primary sites studied, Angels have permission to ride the subway/trains without paying a fare when they are on patrol: Boston and Cleveland. In New York, the Guardian Angels have attempted to obtain passes for the subways but have not reached an agreement with the transit authority. The New

York City transit police stated that they have issued subpoenas to Guardian Angel members for fare-beating (i.e., jumping over the turnstiles without paying the fare).

TABLE 8
TYPE OF PATROLS
CHAPTER LEADER INTERVIEWS
EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
1984

Type of Patrol	East	West	Total
Walking	8 (100%)	4 (100%)	12 (100%)
Buses	1 (13%)	2 (50%)	3 (25%)
Subways	7 (88%)	0	7 (58%)
TOTAL	8	4	12

Table 9 shows the types of areas patrolled most frequently on street patrols. All groups patrol the downtown, inner city areas, either routinely (10) or sometimes (2). The majority of the chapters also routinely patrol other commercial and residential areas. Half of the groups patrol parks on a regular basis. Some groups also regularly patrol schools (2), shopping malls (4) and concerts (4). Fifty-eight percent (7) of the groups never enter schools, in part due to problems gaining permission to go on campus. Some chapters have experienced similar problems gaining access to shopping malls.

Guardian Angels have also become involved in large scale events where Angels from several cities gather and patrol, such as the Olympics in Los Angeles and the 1984 Democratic and Republican National Conventions (in San Francisco and Dallas, respectively).

I
I
it
I
f
I

TABLE 9

AREAS PATROLLED
CHAPTER LEADER INTERVIEWS
EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
 N = 12 Interviews
 1984

Area	Routinely	Sometimes	On Request	Never
Downtown	10 (83%)	2 (17%)	0	0
Other Commercial	7 (58%)	2 (17%)	2 (17%)	1 (8%)
Residential	7 (58%)	2 (17%)	2 (17%)	1 (8%)
Schools	2 (17%)	2 (17%)	1 (8%)	7 (58%)
Shops/Malls	4 (33%)	5 (42%)	0	3 (25%)
Concerts	4 (33%)	4 (33%)	3 (25%)	1 (8%)
Parks	7 (58%)	3 (25%)	1 (8%)	1 (8%)

Frequency of Patrols

Table 10 presents data from two different sources related to the average number of times **Guardian Angels patrol** per week: chapter leader interviews and patrol logs. Both sets of data have limitations. First, chapter leaders were asked to estimate the average number of patrols per week. These data are subject to errors related to memory and the potential for inflating the estimate to make the chapter appear more active. Second, the patrol *logs* in some chapters were not consistently completed, and in other chapters some of the logs could not be obtained. For example, in one Eastern chapter there was a dispute over leadership and researchers had difficulties in obtaining logs from all parties involved. In other chapters, personal problems of leaders hindered the transfer of the data (e.g., health, family disputes). The major gaps in time for which logs were not available could be determined, and this factor was taken into consideration when computing the average patrols per week. Third, comparison of data from interviews and patrol logs may be misleading because the data reflect different time frames. In the interviews, leaders were estimating the number of patrols occurring at the time of the first site visit. The patrol logs represent a six-month period after the first visit.

Inconsistencies in the estimates of the number of patrols are apparent in Table 10. For example, in Boston the leader stated that Angels patrol seven times a week; whereas, based on logs available, the number is 1.6 times. Due to conflicting data, definitive conclusions cannot be reached regarding the number of patrols occurring in these cities. In San Diego, interview and patrol log data are most consistent adding confidence to the validity of the estimates. In this city, Angel patrol activity was compared to reported crimes to assess the effectiveness of the Angels (Chapter 5). This analysis adds insight into the question of the relationship between level of activity and impact on crime.

Observations by researchers suggest that in some cities Angels are not able to patrol on scheduled days because a sufficient number of members is not available. This is particularly true in smaller chapters. Even when the researchers

were on-site, some leaders could not put a patrol together, despite the fact that they had advance notice of the dates of the site visit. This problem affects the number of patrols per week and helps to explain why some cities may have only two or three patrols per week (e.g., Sacramento and San Diego). The potential impact of the Angels may be diminished by low visibility due to infrequent patrols in large urban areas. This issue is also explored in the following chapter.

TABLE 10
 MEAN NUMBER OF PATROLS PER WEEK
 CHAPTER LEADER INTERVIEWS AND PATROL LOGS
 EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
 1984

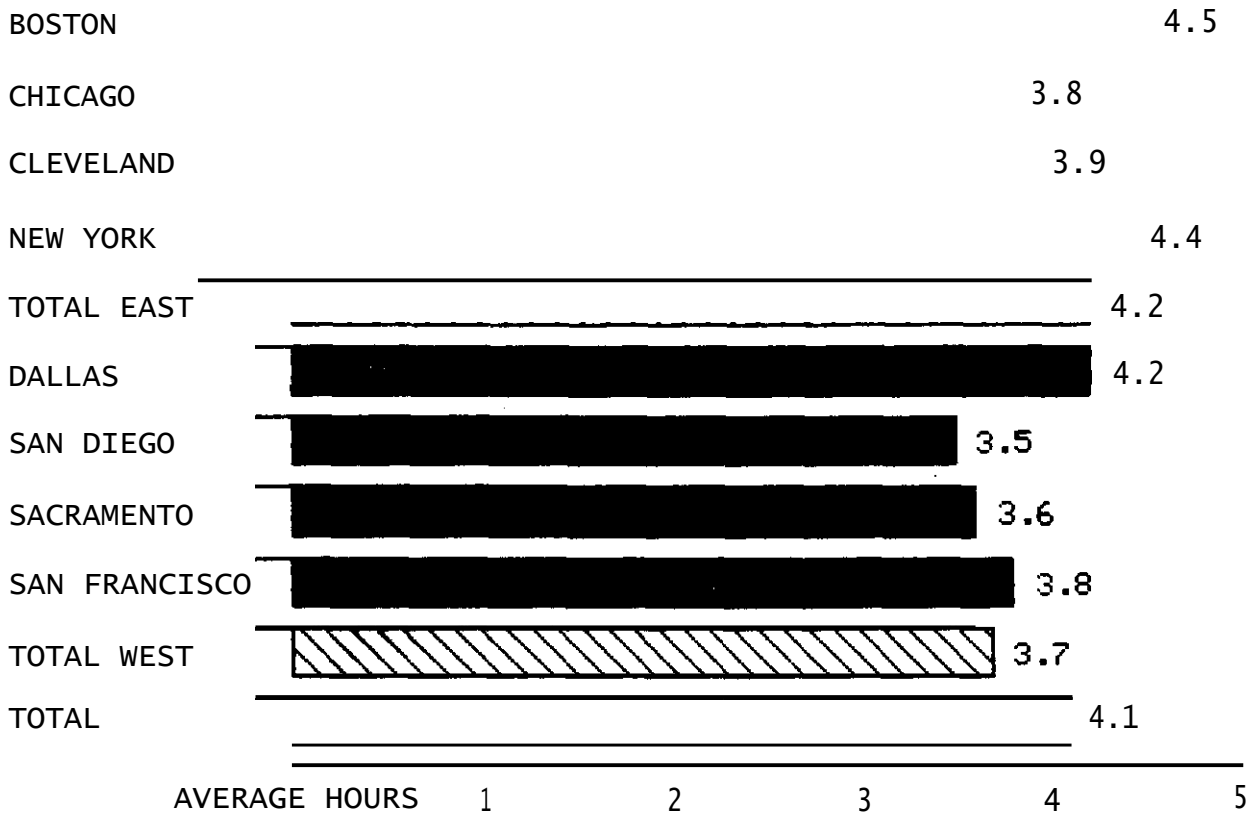
	Mean Number of Patrols Per Week	
	Chapter Leader Estimates	Patrol Log*
EAST		
Boston	7	1.6
Chicago	7	3.4
Cleveland	6	2.3
New York	18-19	13.3
WEST		
Dallas	2	L1
Sacramento	3	2.3
San Diego	2-3	2.6
San Francisco	4	1.7
Total Respondents/Patrols	12	672

*Adjusted to exclude time periods for which logs were not available.

Length of Patrols

The chapters in the primary sites were similar with regard to the mean number of hours per patrol during the six-month study period, ranging from 3.5 hours in San Diego to 4.5 hours in Boston (Figure 2). The mean for all eight chapters was 4.1 hours. The longest patrol documented was 24 hours at the Republican National Convention in Dallas.

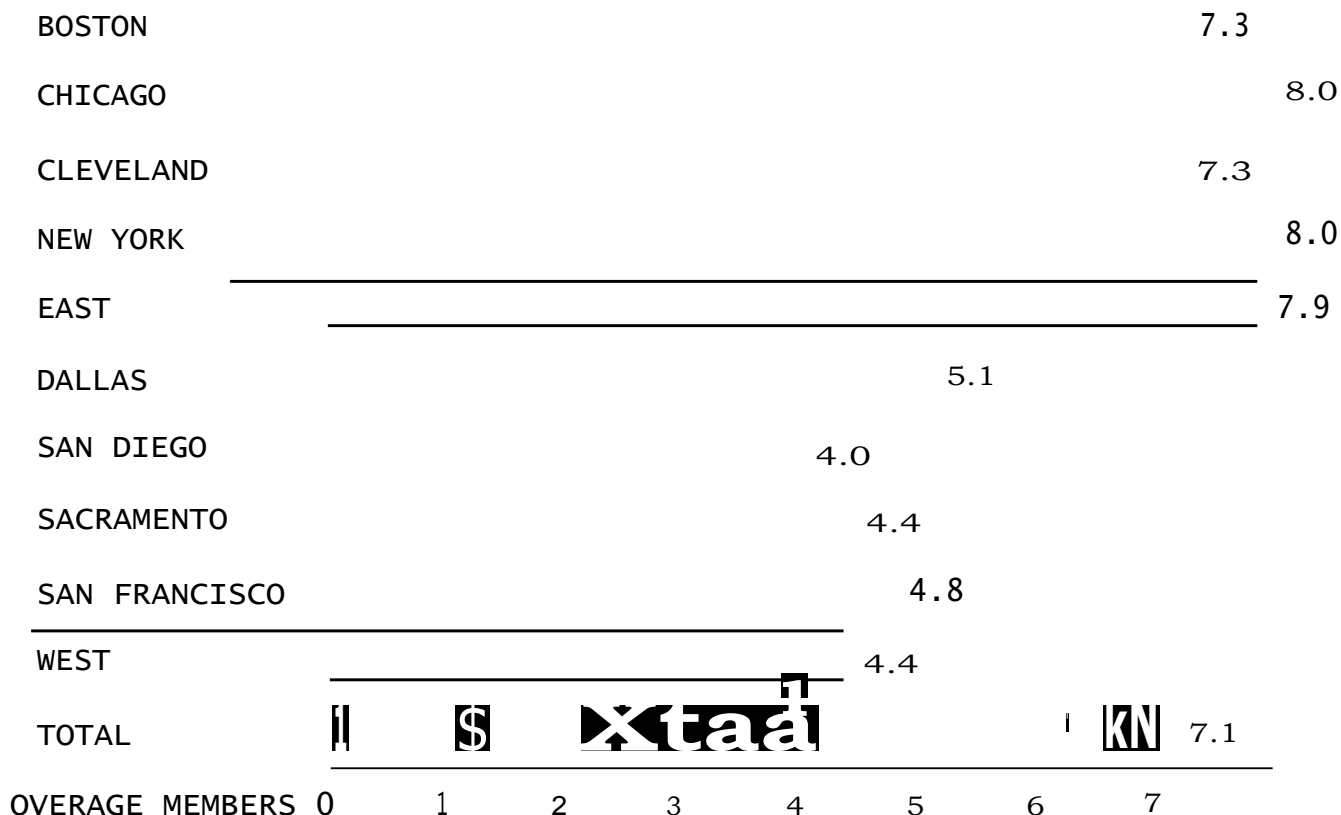
FIGURE 2
AVERAGE HOURS PER PATROL
PATROL LOGS—EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
N = 672
1984



Size of Patrols

Figure 3 reflects the average number of members on a patrol in primary sites based on the review of patrol logs. Data indicate that patrols in Eastern primary cities are considerably larger than in the West, with 7.9 members on the average compared to 4.4. This difference is related to types of patrols conducted and the size of the chapter. Subway patrols, more common in the East, ideally have at least one Angel per car, and in cities like New York a train may have eight to ten cars. Walking patrols may require fewer members, but national guidelines suggest that patrols should consist of eight or more members. In Western cities, the patrols are smaller than this, primarily due to the lack of available members.

FIGURE 3
AVERAGE MEMBERS PER PATROL
PATROL LOGS—EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
N=672
1984



Level of Participation by Members

Most chapters require Angels to patrol twice a week. Data from Angel member interviews, presented in Figure 4, suggest that members exceed this requirement. Angels in the primary sites estimated that they patrol an average of 2.6 times a week, with respondents in the East more active than those in the West (2.8 patrols per member versus 2.1). In Eastern chapters, 55% of the Angels interviewed stated that they patrolled three or more times a week compared to 36% in the West.

Angels responding to the interviews may not have been representative of the total membership with regard to participation in the group. Fifty-eight percent (58%) of those interviewed indicated that they were more active than other members of their chapter (63% in the East and 49% in the West stated they were more active) (Table 11). This finding suggests that the averages presented may be higher than would be found if all members at each site had responded to the interview.

FIGURE 4
MEAN NUMBER OF PATROLS BY
EAST AND WEST COAST MEMBERS
ANGEL MEMBER INTERVIEWS—EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
N=105
1984

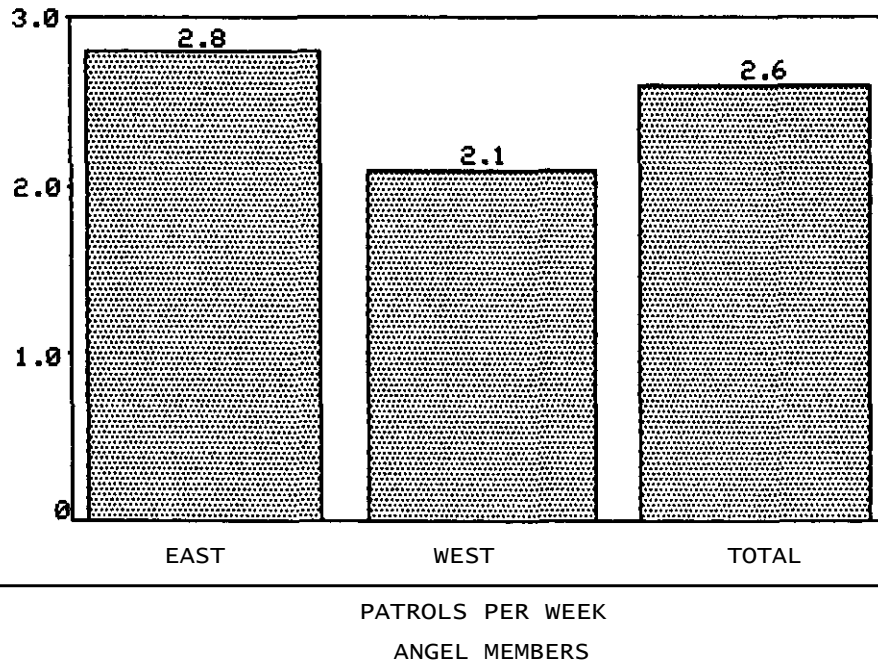


TABLE 11
LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION
ANGEL MEMBER INTERVIEWS
EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
1984

Question: **How would you describe your participation?** **Would you say you are...**

	East	West	Total
More Active than Other Members	63%	49%	58%
About as Active as Other Members	34%	43%	37%
Less Active than Other Members	3%	9%	5%
Total Respondents	70	35	105

Types of Activities

Members were asked to name the types of activities they had been involved in with the Guardian Angels (Table 12). Responses vary between East and West chapters which is, in part, due to the **availability of public transportation** in the cities. Almost all Angels interviewed **had** been on street patrols (97%). In order of frequency, the other types of patrols **Angels had participated** in included: subway patrols (62%), **shopping** malls (57%), bus patrols (55%), senior escorts (39%), concerts (28%) and school patrols (21%).

Additionally, Angels perform functions related to perpetuation of the chapter. The majority of those interviewed had been involved in recruiting efforts (75%), 43% had given presentations about the Guardian Angel organization to citizen groups, and 33% had participated in fund-raisers (e.g., selling Guardian Angel buttons).

TABLE 12
PARTICIPATION IN ANGEL ACTIVITIES
ANGEL MEMBER INTERVIEWS
EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
1984

	East	West	Total
Street Patrols	97%	97%	97%
Bus Patrols	63%	39%	55%
Subway Patrols	91%	6% *	62%
School Patrols	24%	14%	21%
Shopping Mall Patrols	60%	50%	57%
Concerts	23%	39%	28%
Senior Escorts	44%	28%	39%
Presentations	43%	44%	43%
Recruiting	86%	56%	75%
Fund-Raising	31%	36%	33%
Other	17%	28%	21%
Total Respondents	70	36	106

***Two respondents from San Francisco considered the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) train equivalent to a subway.**

Discipline Problems

While on patrol, Angels are to follow guidelines set forth by the national organization ranging from a prohibition on use or possession of drugs to wearing the proper attire. Patrol log data indicate that discipline problems occurred on 6% of the patrols. The list below describes the types of misconduct noted and the number of incidents:

- o Failure to show up for patrol (14)
- o **Misbehavior while on patrol (e.g., talking, not following directions) (10)**
- o **Late for patrol (5)**
- o **Possession or use of drugs/alcohol (1)**
- o **Possession of a weapon (1)**
- o Not wearing proper uniform (1)
- o **Other (e.g., not carrying notepad, equipment problem, failure to lock office, recruit got lost) (11).**

INTERVENTIONS

Citizen Contacts

According to patrol log data, 17% of the patrols during the study period involved incidents in which citizens were assisted. This is in contrast to Angel member interviews which suggest that citizen contacts are routine. Eighty-six percent (86%) of the Angels stated that they have been involved in incidents in which citizens were helped. The differences may be partially attributed to the fact that Angels do not always list minor encounters on the logs (e.g., checking on drunks, senior escorts). Two cities in the West seemed to be more conscientious about recording complete information during the study period (San Diego and San Francisco).

Table 13 presents summary data from the logs on citizen incidents. Based on these data, 6% of the patrols (40) involved assistance in a crime incident. These figures are probably more reliable than data related to other types of contacts because of the more serious nature of the event. The logs show that the Angels were involved in 75 non-crime related incidents involving citizens.

The following list provides a description of some citizen contacts reported on patrol logs:

- o Helped a woman start her car
- o Woke a person on the street
- o Took a description of a lost woman
- o At an accident scene, called an ambulance and police; also set up a perimeter to keep people away
- o Assisted the Red Cross with a citizen who had passed out
- o Informed a driver that he should turn on his headlights
- o Gave minors a ride home
- o Returned a shopping cart to a market
- o Called police regarding a traffic light that was out
- o Tied shut an abandoned refrigerator
- o Gave first aid to a man who had been beaten
- o Helped a woman with her packages
- o Checked on a couple trying to open car with a hanger
- o Broke up a potential fight
- o Contacted juveniles regarding fare-jumping and made them pay
- o Assisted woman who was being bothered by a transient
- o Searched for a reported mugger.

These are just a few examples of the types of incidents encountered by the Guardian Angels during the study period. The researchers also observed similar types of incidents when on patrol with the Angels in the primary sites.

TABLE 13
CITIZEN CONTACTS*
PATROL LOGS
EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
1984

	East	West	Total
Crime Incident	14 (3%)	26 (16%)	40 (6%)
Non-Crime Incident	18 (4%)	57 (35%)	75 (11%)
Other Contact	18 (4%)	19 (12%)	37 (6%)
No Contacts	464 (91%)	94 (58%)	558 (83%)
Total Patrols	509	163	672

*More than one type of contact could be indicated per patrol; therefore, the percentages may be greater than 100%.

Angel Member Interviews. In interviews, Angel members noted the following types of assistance given to citizens:

- o Provide directions
- o Call police
- o Help people on buses, subways and to cross the street
- o Escort senior citizens
- o Assist drunks
- o Stop crimes.

Angel members noted that, in addition to helping citizens, they engage in conversations with people while on patrol. The nature of the discussions is described in Table 14. Angel members most frequently mentioned talking to citizens about the Angel organization (74%). This included citizen questions regarding how to join and what the Angels do. Thirty percent (30%) recalled positive remarks made by citizens regarding the Guardian Angels, and 10% said that some individuals make negative or taunting remarks.

The researchers heard both favorable and unfavorable comments during patrols with the majority being supportive of the Angels. Many citizens would tell the Angels they were glad to see them on the streets, while others would wave or use hand signals to show support. However, the research team also heard jeers in a few cases and once a bottle was thrown at the patrol.

TABLE 14
 NATURE OF CONVERSATIONS WITH CITIZENS
 ANGEL MEMBER INTERVIEWS
 EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
 N = 106
 1984

Topics	East	West	Total
Guardian Angel Organization	74%	72%	74%
Problem Areas of City	14%	17%	15%
Positive Remarks about Angels	36%	19%	30%
Negative Remarks about Angels	9%	14%	10%
Other*	26%	50%	34%

*Includes providing information regarding train schedules, giving directions, citizens asking for escorts, saying hello, etc.

Police Contacts

Table 15 displays information from patrol logs on police-related incidents and contacts. Data indicate that, in 672 patrols, only two citizen's arrests were reported. In addition, only 10 crime-related incidents resulted in the Angels coming in contact with police (1% of all patrols). Because of the more serious nature of these incidents, they are the most likely to be reported on the logs. Nine of eleven chapter leaders interviewed said that their members had been involved in citizen's arrests, with the estimated number ranging from 87 to 108 in the eight primary sites since the inception of the chapters. Curtis Sliwa has stated that almost 500 citizen's arrests have been made by Angels in a six-year period (Moskowitz & Fultz, 1984). Documentation for these figures was not available through either the police or the Guardian Angels.

There may be confusion regarding the legal definition of a citizen's arrest which results in conflicting evidence regarding arrests by Angel members. The laws relevant to this procedure differ from state to state. In some states, an actual arrest by a citizen involves the signature of the person effecting the arrest. Researchers determined that, in some of the cases referred to as citizen's arrests, the Angels detained a suspect until police arrived or the Angels arrived at an incident simultaneously with the police and Angels assisted, but the Angels were not listed as the persons making the arrest.

TABLE 15

POLICE CONTACTS*
PATROL LOGS
EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
1984

	East	West	Total
Citizen's Arrest	2 (<1%)	0	2 (<1%)
Crime Incident	4 (1%)	6 (4%)	10 (1%)
Non-Crime Incident	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)
Discuss Crime Problems	1 (<1%)	2 (1%)	3 (<1%)
Other Contact	8 (2%)	6 (4%)	14 (2%)
No Contact	494 (97%)	152 (93%)	646 (96%)
Total Patrols	509	163	672

*More than one type of contact could be indicated per patrol; therefore, the percentages may be greater than 100%.

Other Involvement With Police. According to the logs, police contacts occurred in only 4% of all patrols. Less than 1% of the patrols involved police contacts related to non-crime incidents and discussions regarding crime. Other types of contacts occurred in 2% of the patrols and 1% involved crime-related incidents, as discussed previously (Table 15).

Examples of Police Contacts. To provide an overview of the types of police contacts, the following list provides examples from the logs:

- o Angels told police about a shell game in which a marine was being conned.
- o Two policemen asked the Angels if they had seen any prostitutes, and Angels told them of a location.
- o The Angels broke up a fight and notified the police.
- o Angels apprehended a man who was running from police.
- o Two men threatened the Guardian Angels; the police were called.
- o Angels discussed crime problems with police.
- o The Angels were attacked by a crowd; the police responded.
- o Angels stated they were harassed by a police officer.

Angel Member Interviews. Angel member interview data suggest that most members have been involved in crime-related incidents while on patrol. Eighty-six percent (86%) of the respondents told of stopping a street fight and 46% had stopped a theft (Table 16). Almost half said they had participated in a patrol when a citizen's arrest was made. As stated previously, these "arrests" or detentions may not have met the legal criteria of a citizen's arrest. Forty-five percent (45%) stated that they had identified a suspect for police and 20% had been a witness in court.

TABLE 16
INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME-RELATED INCIDENTS
ANGEL MEMBER INTERVIEWS
EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
1984

	<u>East</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>Total</u>
Stopped Theft	60%	19%	46%
Stopped Fight	89%	81%	86%
Made Citizen's Arrest	50%	39%	46%
Identified Suspect	49%	39%	45%
Held Suspect	61%	44%	56%
Witness in Court	24%	11%	20%
Total Respondents	70	36	106

Discussion

Despite conflicting reports regarding involvement in crime incidents, the overwhelming evidence suggests that Guardian Angel patrols are somewhat uneventful. In over a dozen patrols, the researchers did not observe a single intervention in a crime incident by the Guardian Angels. Leaders complained of losing members because patrols are not as exciting as what is expected by recruits. Much of the patrol time consists of walking or riding public transit and occasionally talking to citizens. Of 672 patrols, only 52 crime incidents were documented in the logs during 2,755 hours of patrolling. This lack of criminal activity may be due to a deterrent effect of Angel presence. It is unlikely that someone would commit a crime when a group of Guardian Angels was in view. However, it may be that a would-be burglar or thief would go to a nearby area, out of the sight of the Guardian Angels, to burgle or steal. The issue of Angel effectiveness in reducing or deterring crime is discussed in the next chapter.

CITIZEN INTERVIEWS

San Diego

The household **and** business interviews conducted in areas patrolled by the Guardian Angels in San Diego provide information on citizen interactions with the Angels from the citizens' perspective (see Research Approach, Chapter 2). Findings indicate that 90% of the 240 citizens interviewed had heard of the Guardian Angels (Table 17). However, a smaller percentage (42%) were knowledgeable about Angel patrols in their **neighborhood** (Table 18). Of the 88 respondents who were aware of Angel patrols, *only* three (3) **had** never seen them. Over one-third (38%) observed the Angels once a week or more (Table 19) and 27% had talked to the Angels (Table 20).

Five (5) of those interviewed had received assistance from the Angels (Table 21). The circumstances are described below:

- o "They indirectly helped me by acting as a deterrent towards crime in the area."
- o "We had someone who was causing trouble on the property ... The Guardian Angels happened to see our security chasing after them and helped stop them."
- o "They escorted us around the neighborhood and gave us (their) phone number."
- o "I got drunk, and they brought me home and put me in bed."
- o "They helped us across the curbs and they escorted us places."

Additionally, 36% (of 85) had seen the Angels help someone else (Table 22). Types of assistance mentioned included escorts, first aid, giving directions and intervention in a crime incident.

Eleven percent (11%) of the 85 respondents had seen the Angels act in what they thought was an inappropriate manner (Table 23). The following list provides examples of these incidents.

- o In a disturbance on the street, the "Guardian Angels stepped in and dealt with the wrong person. The Guardian Angels would not listen ... to this person (and) did not believe me. They ended up shouting and pushing. Guardian Angels made things worse."
- o "They didn't respect our security guards and we informed them not to patrol in the area of my store and they did (patrol)."
- o They are "rowdy sometimes ... raucous and noisy."
- o "They were walking through the neighborhood in formation making people nervous."
- o "A Guardian Angel abused his authority and was full of self importance and tried to boss around a guest at the hotel for throwing down a paper or something. They should be more selective about who they let join."
- o "They are loitering on the street. That's against the law."

TABLE 17
KNOWLEDGE OF GUARDIAN ANGELS
SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS
1984

Question: **Have you ever heard of the Guardian Angels, the volunteers who patrol the streets and wear red berets?**

	Number	Percent
Yes	217	90%
No	23	10%
Total	240	100%

TABLE 18
KNOWLEDGE OF GUARDIAN ANGEL
PATROLS IN NEIGHBORHOOD
SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS
1984

Question: **Do the Guardian Angels patrol in this neighborhood?**

	Number	Percent
Yes	88	42%
No	54	26%
Don't Know	68	32%
Total	210	100%

TABLE 19

**HOW OFTEN CITIZENS
SEE THE GUARDIAN ANGELS
SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS
1984**

Question: How often do you see the Guardian Angels anywhere in this neighborhood?

	Number	Percent
Never	3	3%
Every two weeks or less	52	59%
Once a week or more	33	38%
Total	88	100%

TABLE 20

**HOW OFTEN CITIZENS TALK
TO THE GUARDIAN ANGELS
SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS
1984**

Question: How often do you talk to the Guardian Angels?

	Number	Percent
Never	62	73%
Every two weeks or less	16	19%
Once a week or more	7	8%
Total	85	100%

TABLE 21
 ASSISTANCE PROVIDED TO CITIZENS
 SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS
 1984

Question: Have the **Guardian** Angels ever **helped you**, either in this neighborhood or elsewhere?

	Number	Percent
Yes	5	6%
No	80	94%
Total	85	100%

TABLE 22
 GUARDIAN ANGEL ASSISTANCE NOTED BY CITIZENS
 SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS, 1984

Question: **Have you** ever seen the **Guardian** Angels **help** someone else?

	Number	Percent
Yes	31	36%
No	54	64%
Total	85	100%

TABLE 23
 INAPPROPRIATE INTERVENTIONS BY ANGELS
 SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS
 1984

Question: Have you ever seen the Guardian Angels act in a manner that you thought was not right, either in this neighborhood or elsewhere?

	Number	Percent
Yes	9	11%
No	76	89%
Total	85	100%

TRANSIT RIDER SURVEY

Eastern Primary Sites

In the Eastern cities (Boston, Chicago, Cleveland and New York), 286 transit riders completed surveys regarding the Guardian Angels which provide information on their knowledge of the group. Data presented in Table 24 indicate that 97% of the transit riders surveyed had heard of the Guardian Angels and 83% had actually seen Angels on patrol. A smaller percentage indicated that they had talked to Guardian Angels (25%). Over one-third (37%) said they had observed the Angels provide assistance to someone else and 11% had been assisted.

TABLE 24

**CITIZEN CONTACTS WITH THE GUARDIAN ANGELS
TRANSIT RIDER SURVEY
EASTERN PRIMARY SITES
1984**

Question	Yes		Number of Respondents
I have heard of the Guardian Angels, the volunteers who patrol the streets and wear red berets.	97%	3%	283
I have actually seen Guardian Angels in person.	83%	17%	285
I have talked with the Guardian Angels.	25%	75%	277
The Guardian Angels have helped me.	11%	89%	274
I have seen the Guardian Angels help someone else.	37%	63%	276

POLICE LINE OFFICER SURVEYS

A total of 500 city and transit police line personnel were surveyed in seven of the eight primary sites regarding contacts with the Guardian Angels and knowledge of incidents in which Angels intervened. The surveys were conducted at roll call or line up in divisions or precincts patrolled by Angels. Specific shifts were selected for surveys based on the times Angels patrolled in particular cities. The San Diego surveys are discussed separately because of differences in the survey instrument which affect comparability of results.

Almost all police respondents in six primary sites were familiar with the Guardian Angels and 92% had seen them patrolling the streets or subways (Table 25). Slightly less than half of the officers **had** engaged in discussions with Angels (49%). However, only 6% had actually received assistance while on patrol. The majority of the police officers who were **knowledgeable** of Guardian Angel activities agreed that Angels had:

- o Helped citizens (61%)
- o Made citizen's arrests (66%)
- o Detained a suspect (61%)
- o Identified a suspect (51%)
- o Been involved in an inappropriate intervention (70%)

A significant proportion of the officers indicated "don't know" or no response to the last series of items. Therefore, the total numbers of respondents for specific questions noted in Table 25 are considerably less than the total 444 surveyed in six sites.

San Diego Surveys

In San Diego, the officer survey included more detailed questions regarding contacts with the Angel patrols. Most of the San Diego officers surveyed knew that the Guardian Angels patrol in the Central division area (93%). Of the 56 officers responding, 84% had observed the group in the Central area of the City, and 11% saw the Angels once a week or more (Table 26). Of those who had talked with the Angels (25), only one talked to Angels on a regular basis (Table 27). The conversations described by the police officers included these topics:

- o Crime problems
- o Occurrences on the street
- o Social conversations/greetings
- o Arrests of Angels
- o **Inappropriate** actions by Angels.

Sixteen percent (16%) of the San Diego officers stated that the Guardian Angels had assisted them while on patrol. Officers **provided** the following examples of assistance given to police by Angels:

- o Provided information
- o Interrupted a sexual assault
- o Broke up a fight
- o Detained an assault suspect
- o Witnessed a crime.

Thirteen (13) of the 56 officers told of incidents involving citizen assistance such as:

- o Escorting citizens
- o Preventing a crime (e.g., fight, purse-snatch)
- o Providing first aid to a victim
- o Deterring crimes by their presence.

TABLE 25

POLICE CONTACTS WITH THE GUARDIAN ANGELS
POLICE LINE OFFICER SURVEYS*

N=444
1984

Question	Yes	No	Total Respondents
I have heard of the Guardian Angels.	99%	1%	442
I have seen the Guardian Angels.	92%	8%	441
I have talked to the Guardian Angels.	49%	51%	440
Guardian Angels have assisted me on patrol.	6%	94%	435
Guardian Angels have given help to citizens.	61%	39%	160
Guardian Angels have been involved in citizen's arrests.	66%	34%	137
Guardian Angels have been involved in detention of a suspect.	61%	39%	134
Guardian Angels have been involved in <i>identification</i> of a suspect.	51%	49%	113
Guardian Angels have been involved in an inappropriate intervention.	70%	30%	152

*Does not include San Diego respondents.

Over one-third of the officers responded that the Angels had been involved in resolving a disturbance or making a citizen's arrest (36%) (Table 28). A slightly smaller proportion knew of the Guardia Angels identifying a suspect (29%) or detaining a suspect (32%).

Thirty-two percent (32%) felt that the Angels had acted inappropriately in certain situations (Table 28). Inappropriate interventions discussed by San Diego officers are as follows:

- o "They incite calm situations into fights"
- o Angel "arrested for minor misdemeanor"
- o "While investigating (burglary) alarm, Guardian Angels were down the street 'play fighting' which distracted and endangered officers".

TABLE 26
HOW OFTEN PATROL OFFICERS
SEE THE GUARDIAN ANGELS
SAN DIEGO PATROL OFFICERS' SURVEY
1984

Question: When you are on patrol, about how often do you see the Guardian Angels?

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Never	9	16%
Less than Once a Week	41	73%
Once a Week or More	6	11%
Total	56	100%

TABLE 27

HOW OFTEN PATROL OFFICERS TALK
TO THE GUARDIAN ANGELS
SAN DIEGO PATROL OFFICERS SURVEY
1984

Question: About how many times do **you talk** with Angel **members during** a month on patrol?

	Number	Percent
Less than Once a Week	24	96%
Once a Week or More	1	4%
Total	25	100%

TABLE 28

ACTIVITIES GUARDIAN ANGELS INVOLVED IN
SAN DIEGO PATROL OFFICER'S SURVEY
N = 28

Question: Have the Guardian Angels been involved in the following activities in San Diego?

	Yes		No	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Resolution of a disturbance	(10)	36%	(18)	64%
Citizen's arrest	(10)	36%	(18)	64%
Identification of a suspect	(8)	29%	(20)	71%
Detention of a suspect	(9)	32%	(19)	68%
Inappropriate intervention	(9)	32%	(19)	68%
Other	(6)	21%	(22)	79%

CONCLUSION

Review of Guardian Angel activities focused on the eight primary cities and included interviews with Angel leaden and members, analysis of 672 patrol logs and observation of Angel patrols. In addition, perceptions of Angel activities were addressed through interviews and surveys of law enforcement personnel and citizens.

The primary reasons for the patrols, according to members, is to prevent or deter crime and to help other people. The majority of the Angels have received some

training in martial arts, self-defense and citizen arrest procedures. According to the national rules and regulations, the training for new recruits should consist of three months of instruction before the trainee goes on patrol. Most chapters studied have deviated from this training program, with on-patrol training the norm in most areas.

In the East, subway patrols are the most prevalent, with one or two Angels riding in each car on the train. Walking or street patrols are more common in the western states; however, they occur in all Guardian Angel chapters studied. Areas patrolled most frequently include downtown, inner city locations and other commercial and residential areas. Angels have also patrolled on school campuses, in shopping malls, in parks and at concerts. In addition, Curtis Sliwa and the Guardian Angels were present at the 1984 Republican and Democratic conventions and the Olympics in Los Angeles.

The duration of the patrols, on the average, is 4.1 hours. Patrols in the Eastern primary cities consist of more members than those in the West (an average of 7.9 members per patrol compared to 4.4 members). Individual members participate in approximately two patrols per week. Definitive conclusions regarding the number of patrols per week could not be reached in all cities due to data limitations.

Crime incidents encountered by patrols include fights, public drunkenness, car burglaries, purse snatches and other street crimes. In less than 10% of the 672 patrols analyzed, Angels actually intervened in a crime incident. Only two citizen's arrests were documented by Angels in eight cities during a six-month study period. Angels provided assistance to citizens in 75 non-crime related incidents.

Survey and interview data from police and citizens substantiate that the Guardian Angels provide assistance to citizens and become involved in crime-related incidents. However, some citizens and most police officers expressed concern over the appropriateness of the intervention in certain instances.

The discussion of Angel activities indicates that Angels assist both citizens and police while patrolling on public transit and urban streets. In addition, they become involved in crime incidents by identifying or detaining suspects and making citizen's arrests, although there is a question regarding the number of interventions. The logical question is whether or not the Guardian Angel patrols deter or prevent crime. The following chapter assesses the impact of the Angels on reported crimes in San Diego.

CHAPTER 5
EFFECTIVENESS OF
GUARDIAN ANGELS IN
REDUCING CRIME

Effectiveness of Guardian Angels in Reducing Crime

INTRODUCTION

One objective of the Guardian Angels is to reduce violent crimes, including assault, battery, rape, robbery and purse snatching in which force is used. To measure the effectiveness of the Angels in attaining this objective, a study of reported crimes was conducted in San Diego. Using a quasi-experimental research design, reported offenses were compared in an experimental area in downtown San Diego where the Angels routinely patrol and adjacent control areas in the inner city which are not patrolled (Figure 1). Data from the control areas allow measurement of the differences or similarities in crime trends.¹

Major violent crimes analyzed include willful homicide, forcible rape, robbery and aggravated assault. Simple assault data were also collected since this offense is included in the crimes targeted by the Guardian Angels. Definitions are consistent with those used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

While property crimes are not considered target offenses, observation by the research team, review of patrol logs and interviews with members suggest that Angels become involved in theft-related offenses which occur on the street (e.g., car prowls, pick-pockets). Therefore, a separate analysis was conducted of burglary, larceny and motor vehicle theft offenses as defined under the FBI Index.

The time period studied is January 1, 1982 through December 31, 1984. This includes six months before the Angels began patrolling in San Diego (July 1982) and 30 months during the time the Angels have been active. Crimes reported between 7:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. were selected because these are the times the Guardian Angels patrol.

An in-depth discussion of the methodology, selection of comparison areas and study limitations is presented in Chapter 2.

Reported crime data are presented graphically for experimental and control areas to allow an analysis of changes over time. A graph on Angel patrols is also included to compare Angel activity with the level of reported crime. Correlation coefficients were computed to measure the relationship between Angel patrols and changes in crime.

¹ Sufficient data were not available to analyze the possibility of displacement of crime from one area to another as an explanation of changes in crime in the experimental area.

Survey and Interview Data

Surveys of police, citizens, city officials and Angel members provide a subjective view of the effectiveness of the Guardian Angels in reducing crime. Results are presented to compare perceptions of effectiveness with quantitative crime data from San Diego.

REPORTED CRIMES

Violent Crimes

Figure 5 shows the major violent crimes reported in the experimental and control areas for six-month intervals. The Angels began patrolling after the first time period. Between the first and second six-month periods, major violent crimes dropped in number in the experimental area. This decline continued through December, 1983. During this time, Angel patrols reached their peak, as demonstrated in Figure 6. However, the fact that violent crimes show a similar trend in the control area suggests that the reduction was probably due to external factors and was not related to Guardian Angel patrols. In the experimental area, reported violent crimes dropped 22%, from 104 to 81, between the pretest period and the six-month time frame when Angel activity was the highest (January-June, 1983). This is compared to a 42% decline in the control area (33 to 19 violent crimes) (Figure 5). Therefore, these crimes declined at a slower rate in the areas patrolled by Angels. It is apparent that the pattern of reported violent crimes in the control area is substantially different from the experimental area, with fewer crimes reported in control census tracts (33 in the pretest period compared to 104 in the experimental area). Areas **patrolled by Angels have** more commercial establishments, including bars, and greater street traffic which could result in a greater number of violent crimes observed by and reported to police. Differences in the nature and volume of violent offenses may explain the variations in change over time in the comparison areas (i.e., a 22% decline in the experimental area versus a 42% reduction in control areas). Due to the limited observations in the pretest period (six months), more sophisticated regression techniques could not be used in the trend analysis.

The correlation coefficient was computed using monthly Angel activity data (number of patrols) and reported violent offenses. Pearson's correlation coefficient measures the strength of a relationship between two variables. The calculation produces a number between -1 and 1, with a number closer to one indicating a stronger relationship. The correlation coefficient computed was -.10, showing that a significant correlation does not exist between major violent crime and the level of Angel activity. (Data used in computing correlation coefficients are presented in Appendix B.)

The Angels do not appear to have **had** an effect on reported simple assaults. Simple assaults rose 26% in the experimental area during the first six months of Angel patrols (50 to 63) compared to a 27% increase in the control areas, which shows a similar trend. In the experimental area, simple assaults increased slightly when comparing January to June 1982 and 1983 (the second six-month posttest period) while there was a decline in the control area (Figure 7). The correlation coefficient, based on monthly data, (-.03) suggests that there is not a significant relationship between patrols and simple assaults.

Property Crimes

Property crime data for the comparison areas are presented in Figure 8. Similar to major violent crimes, property offenses declined in both the experimental and control areas after the Angel chapter implemented patrols in the downtown area. The trends are similar; however, the reduction in the experimental area was somewhat greater between the pretest period and January through June 1983 when Angel activity peaked (-25% in the areas patrolled versus -15% in the control areas). Property crimes began increasing during July through December 1983 in both areas, despite continuation of patrols in the experimental area. However, the number of patrols declined substantially during this period.

The correlation coefficient comparing the level of Angel activity (i.e., patrols) and reported property crimes during 27 months in the experimental area shows a significant relationship between the variables ($r = -.55$), which could explain 30% of the variation in crime ($r^2 = .30$).

Confounding the results is the fact that the San Diego Police Department began foot patrols in the experimental area in November 1982. This could affect the level of crime in the posttest period in areas patrolled by Angels. An alternative experimental area could not be selected because the Angels do not routinely patrol elsewhere in San Diego.

Results suggest that, if the Angels did have an impact on crime, it was a short-term effect on property-related offenses occurring when the Angels first began patrolling. The greatest decline in property offenses was when there *was* an average of six patrols per week. This suggests that Angels may be most effective at times of high visibility (i.e., media coverage and a maximum number of patrols). This hypothesis is only speculative and requires further testing under more controlled conditions.

Monthly Crime Data

Figures 9 through 11 present monthly violent and property crime data for the experimental and control areas. The graphs show that the crime figures are erratic, with no consistent trends. The major changes in the number of crimes reported, based on monthly data, may be attributed to a "regression effect" in which extremes are followed by a return to a normal level. Glass explains that "whether or not any intervention is made in a time series, it will appear to change direction back toward the normal level of the series after the series attains an extreme location" (Glass, 1975). This limits any conclusions that can be drawn regarding significant shifts in crime after the intervention of the Guardian Angels, based on monthly statistics. Additionally, more sophisticated auto-regressive techniques could not be employed to analyze trends due to the limited number of observations in the pretest period (six months). The data for six-month periods provide a better indication of general trends in crime and, therefore, were used in the analysis.

¹² Based on 25 degrees of freedom, the correlation coefficient is significant at the .05 level. Spearman's rank order correlation coefficients were also calculated and show similar results.

FIGURE 5
MAJOR VIOLENT CRIMES REPORTED BETWEEN 7:00 PM AND 11:00 PM
EXPERIMENTAL & CONTROL AREAS
JANUARY 1982-DECEMBER 1984

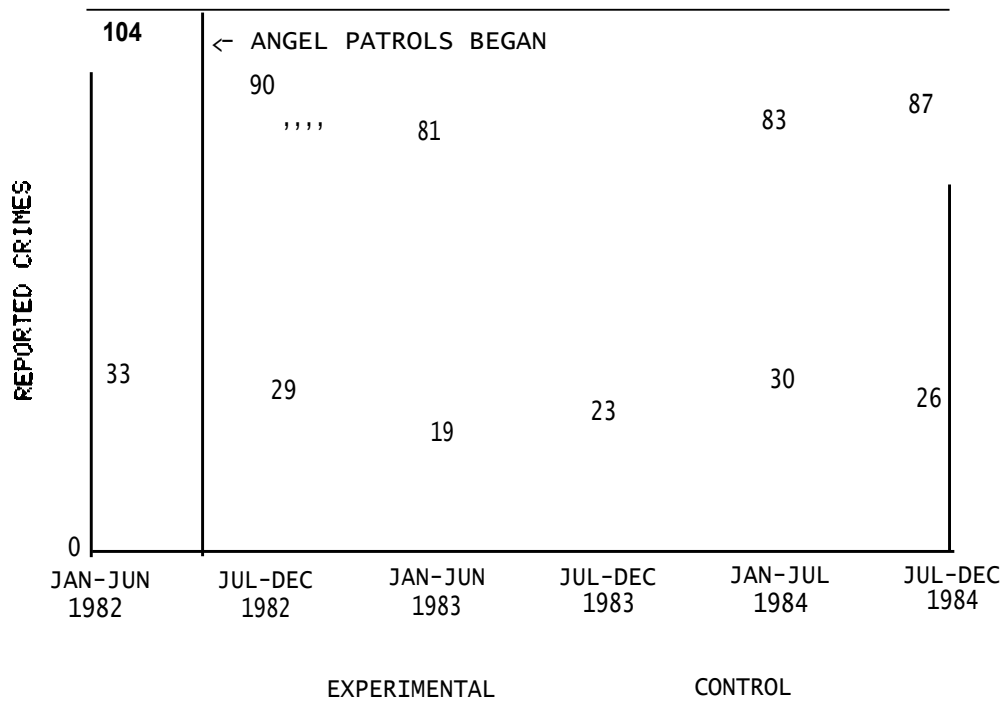


FIGURE 6
SAN DIEGO GUARDIAN ANGEL PATROL ACTIVITY
JULY 1982-DECEMBER 1984

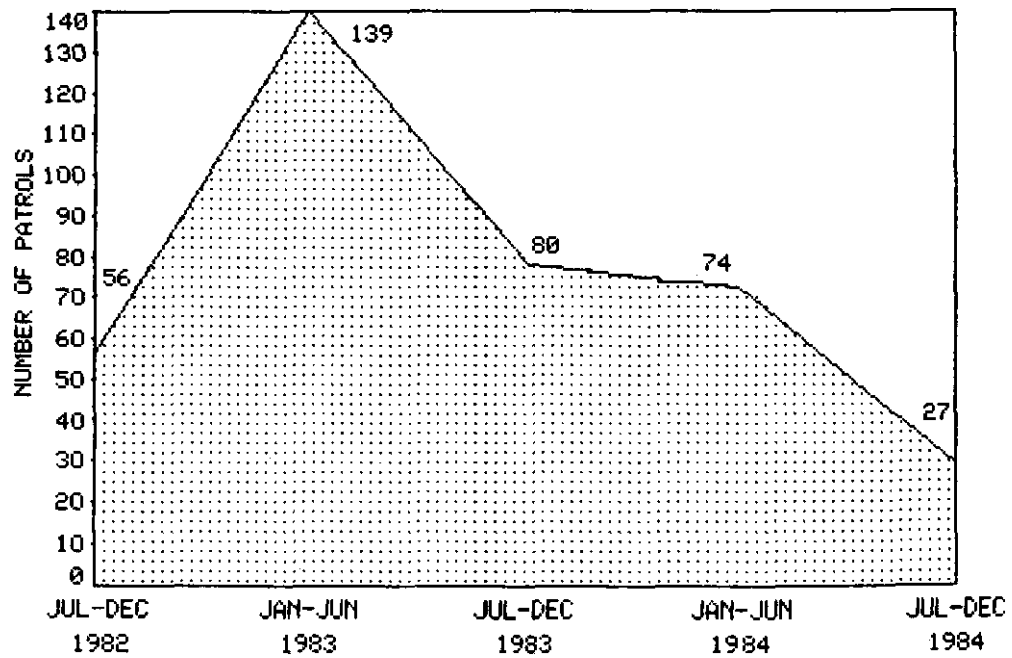


FIGURE 7
SIMPLE ASSAULTS REPORTED BETWEEN 7:00 PM AND 11:00 PM
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL AREAS
JANUARY 1982-DECEMBER 1984

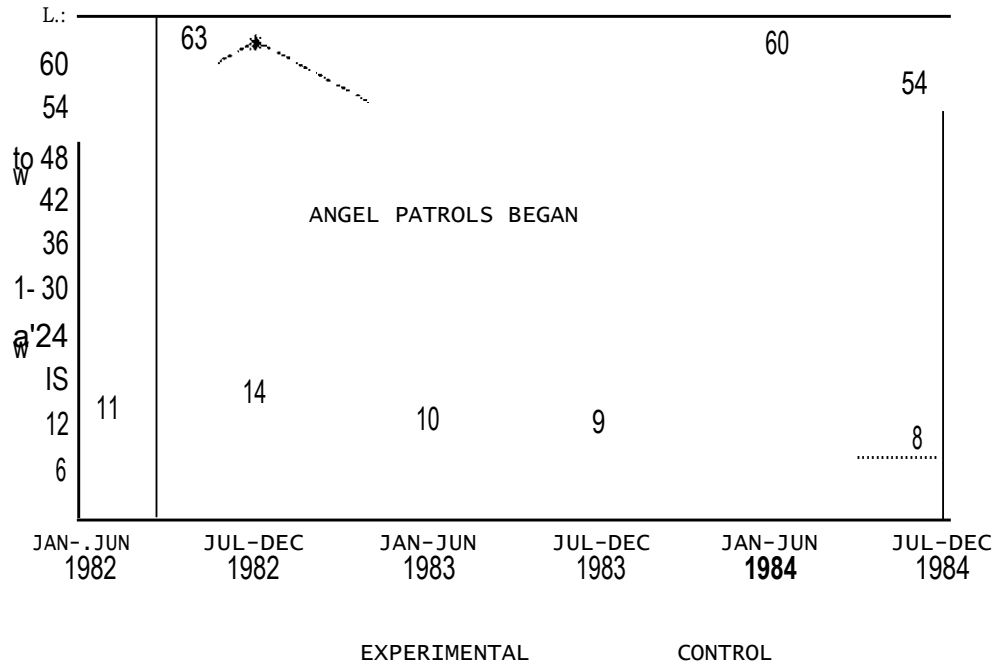


FIGURE 8
PROPERTY CRIMES REPORTED BETWEEN 7:00 PM AND 11:00 PM
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL AREAS
JANUARY 1982-DECEMBER 1984

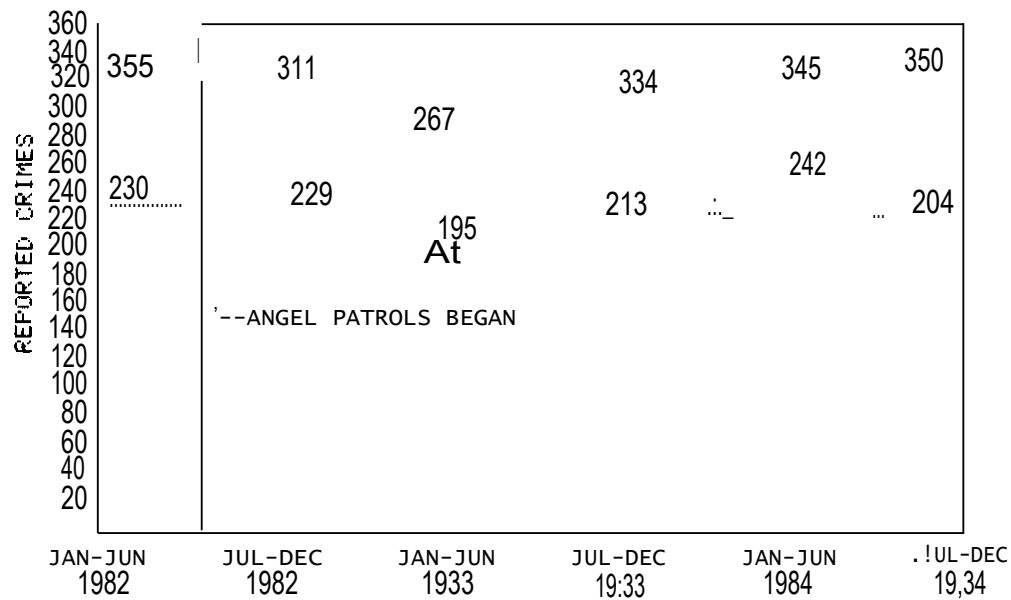


FIGURE 9
MAJOR VIOLENT CRIMES REPORTED BETWEEN 7:00 PM AND 11:00 PM BY MONTH
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL AREAS
JANUARY 1982-DECEMBER 1984

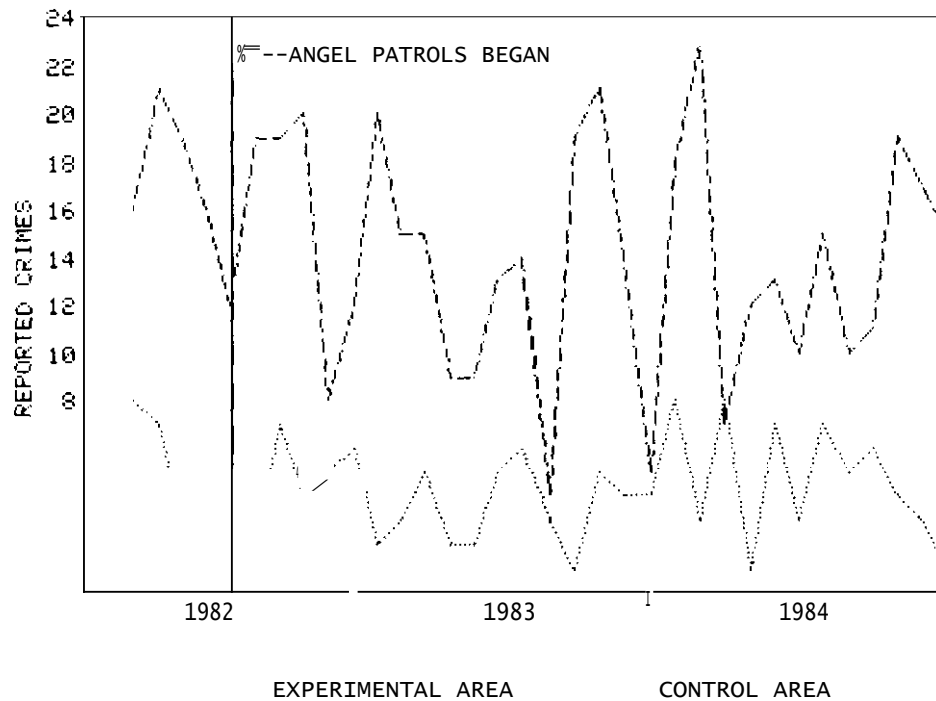


FIGURE 10
SIMPLE ASSAULTS REPORTED BETWEEN 7:00 PM AND 11:00 PM BY MONTH
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL AREAS
JANUARY 1982-DECEMBER 1984

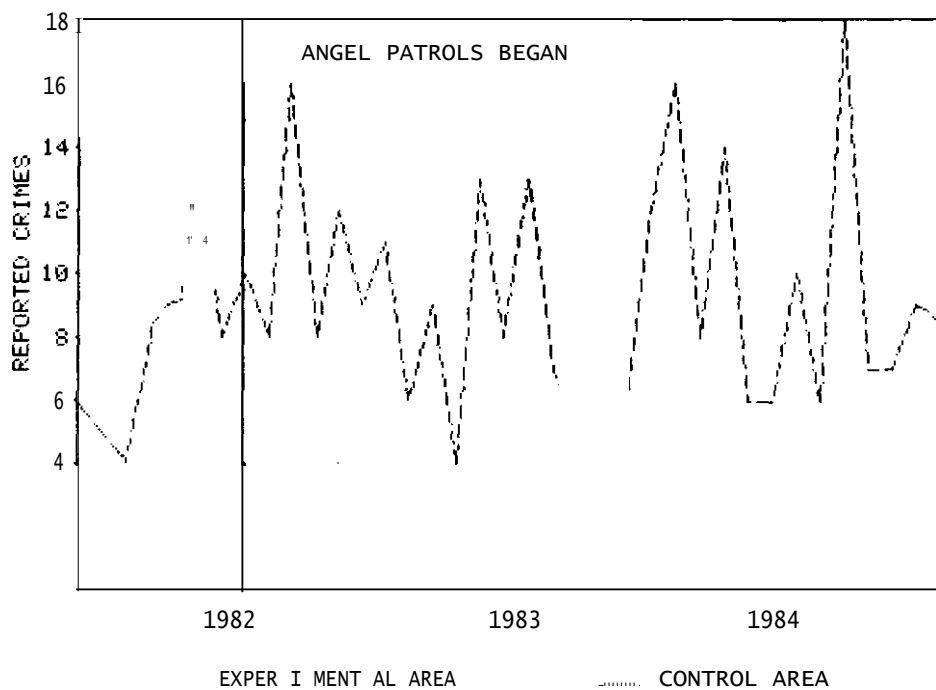
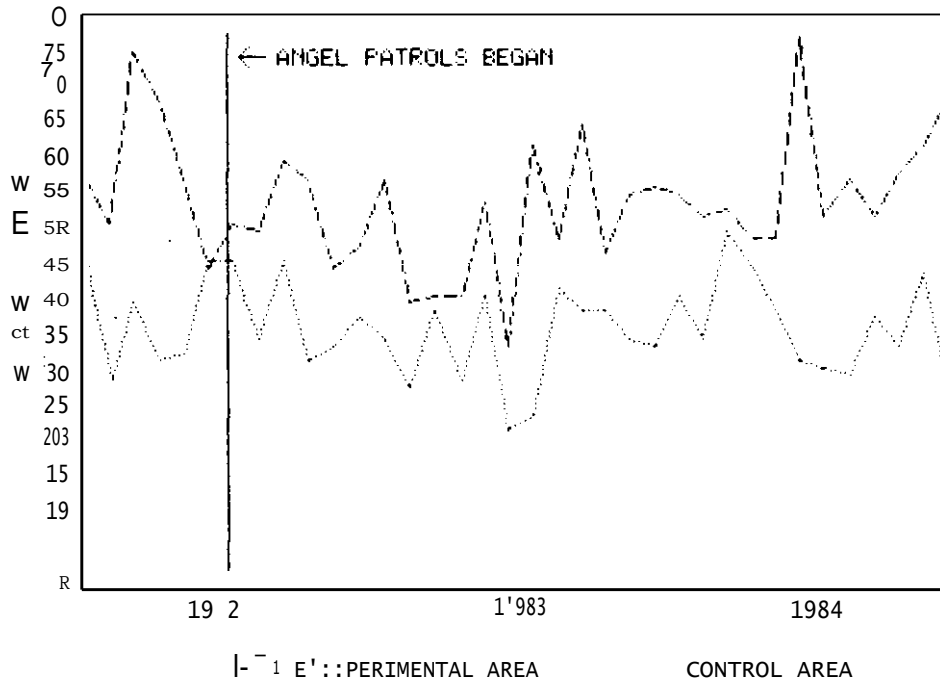


FIGURE 11
PROPERTY CRIMES REPORTED BETWEEN 7:00 PM AND 11:00 PM BY MONTH
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL AREAS
JANUARY 1982 TO DECEMBER 1984



Police Patrols

Complete, historical data were not available on the number of officers fielded and special details (e.g. vice, narcotics) working in the areas **patrolled** by Angels which could have affected crime. Therefore, a statistical analysis could not be conducted which would adequately measure the impact of police operations.

The Central Division of the San Diego Police Department implemented the following programs during the period reflecting a reduction in major violent and property crimes in the experimental and control areas:

- o In November, 1982, a foot patrol beat was added in the experimental area which could have affected crimes in the posttest period.
- o In March, 1983, staffing assignments were shifted for field patrol officers which resulted in more patrol cars fielded during times with high crime and calls for service (i.e., evening hours).
- o As of July 1, 1983, the Navy began providing marked Shore Patrol vans to transport arrested personnel. This program relieved San Diego officers from transporting sailors, which allowed additional time for routine patrol.

- o Local liquor store owners, in June 1983, agreed to discontinue the sale of cheap wine in small containers and limit the sale of alcoholic beverages during specified times. They also stated that they would participate in the prosecution of panhandlers and trespassers.

In addition to police activities, other changes in the experimental area which occurred as a result of redevelopment may have influenced the level of crime. New businesses replaced residential hotels in some areas which affected the sociological and economic environment. These changes occurred gradually throughout the study period.

PERCEPTIONS OF EFFECTIVENESS

Survey and interview respondents were asked to rate the effectiveness of the Guardian Angels in reducing crime on a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being very effective and 1 being not at all effective. Mean scores for police, citizens and Angel members in San Diego are presented in Table 29. Similar data for the eight primary sites are displayed in Table 30, with the addition of data for city officials. Caution should be used in comparing interview and survey data due to the different methodologies employed.

A clear distinction is found between police attitudes and those of citizens and Angel members. Police administrators and line officers in San Diego and the eight primary sites rated the Angels' impact on crime lower than other respondents, with mean scores ranging from 1.9 to 2.1. The larger sample of 35 police administrators from throughout the United States and Canada gave the Angels a ranking of 1.8, on the average. The score for 27 community relations officers throughout the country was 2.3. (Not shown in the tables)

In contrast, citizens interviewed in San Diego **had** a mean score of 3.5, and transit riders who completed surveys in Eastern cities **had** a score of 3.3 on the question regarding Angel effectiveness in reducing crime. Positive responses from citizens may be related to the fact that the presence of Angels makes them feel safe. This issue is addressed in Chapter 6. In San Diego, of the citizens who lived in the downtown area before the Angels started patrolling (51), over a third observed (37%) that crime had decreased since the Angel patrols began.

City officials in primary sites are between the police and citizens in their opinions regarding Angel effectiveness, with a mean score of 2.5 on the effectiveness question.

Not surprisingly, the Angel members interviewed were the most favorable in rating the crime reduction strategies employed by the Guardian Angels. In San Diego, the score for Angel members was 3.9 compared to 4.0 in the eight primary sites.

TABLE 29

OPINIONS REGARDING THE EFFECTIVENESS
OF THE GUARDIAN ANGELS IN REDUCING CRIME
SAN DIEGO
1984

Question: Using a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being very effective and 1 being not at all effective, what number best describes how effective you feel the Guardian Angels are in preventing or reducing crime in the areas patrolled?

SAN DIEGO

	<u>Police Officer Survey</u>	<u>Citizen Interviews</u>	<u>Angel Member Interviews</u>
Mean =	1.9	3.5	3.9
N =	48	179	9

TABLE 30

OPINIONS REGARDING THE EFFECTIVENESS
OF THE GUARDIAN ANGELS IN REDUCING CRIME
EIGHT PRIMARY SITES
1984

Question: Using a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being very effective and 1 being not at all effective, what number best describes how effective you feel the Guardian Angels are in preventing or reducing crime in the areas patrolled?

PRIMARY SITES

	<u>Police* Administrator Interviews</u>	<u>Police Officer Surveys</u>	<u>San Diego Citizen Interviews</u>	<u>Transit Citizen Surveys</u>	<u>City Officials Interviews</u>	<u>Angel Member Interviews</u>
Mean =	2.1	1.9	3.5	3.3	2.5	4.0
N =	11	450	179	247	7	105

*Includes transit and city police in some cities.

COMMENTS REGARDING ANGEL EFFECTIVENESS

The comments made by police administrators and community relations officers in response to the survey question rating Angels' crime fighting abilities provide insight into the reasons for their rankings:

- o Angels are not visible enough to deter crime (18)
- o Angels increase the perception of safety (9)
- o There has not been sufficient time to evaluate their activities (5)
- o People do not perceive them as effective (5)
- o They are a crime deterrent (5)
- o Angels may give a false sense of security (1)
- o Angels are seen as vigilantes (1)
- o Angels lack motivation and leadership (1)
- o They antagonize people (1).

Suggestions for Improving Effectiveness

Police administrators (35) and community relations officers (34) were asked to provide suggestions for increasing the effectiveness of the Guardian Angels. Their responses are summarized below:

- o Angel members should join auxiliary (volunteer) police or other crime prevention groups (7)
- o Angels should project a better image (7)
- o Angels need higher visibility and more members (7)
- o Their efforts should be coordinated with police (5)
- o The group needs more consistent leadership (5)
- o The group needs to be more organized (4)
- o Leaders should take more care in screening recruits (2)
- o The group should be dissolved (2)
- o They need more adequate training (1)
- o Patrols should be more consistent (1)
- o Angels should maintain a position of non-enforcement (1)
- o Angels should patrol high crime areas (1).

Member Interviews

The 106 Angel members in primary sites were questioned regarding ways that the local chapter could be more effective in preventing crime or decreasing citizen fear of crime. Frequent responses related to recruiting more members (24%), patrolling more often (15%), improving public relations (8%), getting involved in more activities (8%), increasing donations (7%), obtaining equipment (7%), obtaining transit passes (7%), and improving accessibility to transportation (6%).

The following quotes reflect a cross-section of the responses to this question:

- o "Training and new recruits"
- o "Talk to people; tell them to be aware of what (we) are doing"
- o "Longer and more training; should get first aid (training)"

- o **"More training facilities"**
- o **"Talk to citizen groups and show them self-defense techniques ... talk to the public"**
- o **"More neighborhood patrols; talk to people"**
- o **"Emphasize to citizens that we're still out; tell people where they can go to join"**
- o **"Better community support - better relations with police"**
- o **"Angels should dress uniformly"**
- o **"Get handcuffs back"**
- o **"More authority on violations like smoking on trains"**
- o **"Get government involved; commissioners and mayor to pay more attention to problems"**
- o **"Get walkie-talkies"**
- o **"Have asked (transit) Board for subway passes and they refused"**
- o **"Patrol more"**
- o **"Going in high crime areas; some Angels are scared to go in these areas"**
- o **"More official support"**
- o **"Donations"**
- o **"Need money for training, equipment and transportation"**
- o **"Members should be 17; younger kids can't handle situations"**
- o **"Educate people not to be victims".**

CONCLUSION

Study results indicate that the Guardian Angels have not had a significant effect on reported violent offenses in San Diego. Evidence suggests that Angel patrols may have had a short-term impact on property crimes during the first year of operation when they were patrolling more frequently and media coverage of their activities was greater. Correlation coefficients computed comparing reported crime and Angel activity (i.e., number of patrols) were significant for property crimes but not violent offenses. However, results are not definitive due to changes in police activity in the experimental area, including addition of a foot patrol beat, which could have contributed to a reduction in theft-related offenses.

Both citizens and Angel members gave the Guardian Angels a relatively high rating on effectiveness in reducing crimes. Police, on the other hand, had a less positive view. City officials, representing mayors in six cities, took a position somewhere between citizens and law enforcement on the effectiveness issue. Citizens' feelings about Angel effectiveness may be related to fear of crime and concerns about personal safety, which is the topic addressed in Chapter 6.

The findings related to effects of crime reduction strategies are preliminary. Actual crime data were analyzed in only one city. In San Diego, the Guardian Angels patrol the streets in a downtown redevelopment area which limits the generalizability of the results. In addition, the San Diego chapter experienced problems with a declining membership and continuity of leadership. Further study is required to assess the question of the deterrent effects of the Guardian Angels in other cities and in cities with different types of patrols (e.g., subway patrols). While definitive conclusions cannot be reached regarding the influence of the Angels on total reported crime in San Diego, it is apparent that Angels do intervene in crime incidents, they assist victims and they detain suspects, according to responses of police and citizens. The extent of this involvement is not well documented; however, the incidents cited provide an indicator of the potential for **assisting the criminal justice system.**

CHAPTER 6
IMPACT OF GUARDIAN
ANGELS ON CITIZENS'
FEELINGS OF SAFETY

Impact of Guardian Angels on Citizens' Feelings of Safety

INTRODUCTION

A basic tenet of the Guardian Angel approach is that their presence in selected areas increases citizens' feelings of safety or, conversely, reduces fear of crime. To measure this effect, 240 San Diego residents and merchants were interviewed, and surveys were distributed to Eastern transit riders. Citizen responses concerning Angel effectiveness were compared to responses by police administrators and city government officials.

The research approach was twofold:

- o To describe citizen opinions regarding Angel effectiveness.
- o To account for the fact that some citizens compared to other citizens perceived the Angels as more effective.

The pertinent literature indicates that certain subgroups in the population are relatively more fearful (Lavrakas, Lewis & Skogan, 1980) and general correlates of fear have been postulated in several studies (Warr & Stafford, 1983). The conceptual model presented in this study suggests that perceptions about crime and safety act as intervening or conditional variables between sociodemographic characteristics and perceptions of Angels.

Two major groupings of variables were used to explain differences in citizen opinions about the effectiveness of the Guardian Angels. The groupings include crime and safety variables and sociodemographic variables. Survey questions relative to crime and safety were based on national crime victimization surveys. The following issues were addressed:

- o Perception of undesirable elements as a problem in neighborhood.
- o Opinions regarding whether crime had increased, decreased, or stayed the same in the past year.
- o How safe citizens feel alone in their neighborhood at night.
- o Opinions about people limiting activities due to crime.
- o Whether or not respondents go out in their neighborhoods after 7:00 p.m.
- o How often citizens worry about specific types of crime.

The sociodemographic variables included sex of respondent, age, income and if the respondent had been a crime victim.

Three significance tests were used in these analyses. The level of measurement of the dependent and independent variables dictated the particular test chosen (Table 31). If both the independent and dependent variables were nominal scale, a chi square significance test was used (χ^2); if the independent variable was nominal and the dependent variable interval, a difference of means t-test was employed (t); if the independent variable was interval, and the dependent variable interval or dichotomous, the significance of Pearson correlation coefficient was examined (r). Throughout the analysis, a significance level of .05 was used. (Please refer to Appendix D for frequency and bivariate tables of interview responses.)

TABLE 31
VARIABLES ADDRESSED
AND LEVEL OF MEASUREMENT
SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS
1984

<u>TYPE OF VARIABLE</u>	<u>LEVEL OF MEASUREMENT</u>
<u>Sociodemographic</u>	
Sex	Nominal
Age	Nominal*
Income	Nominal*
Crime victim	Nominal
<u>Perceptions of Crime and Safety</u>	
Undesirable element in neighborhood	Nominal
Changes in crime (increase, decrease, same)	Nominal
Feelings of safeness at night	Interval
People limit activities due to crime	Nominal
Go out in neighborhood after 7:00 p.m.	Nominal
Fear Index (mean scores for frequency of worrying about specific crimes)	Interval
<u>Perceptions of Guardian Angels</u>	
Feel more safe knowing Guardian Angels are patrolling	Nominal
Effectiveness of Guardian Angels in increasing citizens' feelings of safety	Interval

* Age and income were treated as nominal variables. Each was collapsed into two groups (age: 49 and under, 50 and over; and income: \$9,999 and under, \$10,000 and over), due to the small number of cases and the way they were distributed in the sample. Other nominal variables were dichotomized into yes or no responses, except the question addressing changes in crime levels.

Limitations

The findings presented in this chapter should be considered exploratory. It is difficult to generalize the survey results to other populations since the sample size overrepresented some segments of the population. It was necessary to combine the merchant and resident responses for analytic purposes, although the original intent was to identify differences between the two groups.

RESULTS

Angel Effectiveness

Two questions related to effectiveness of the Guardian Angels:

- o Using a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being very effective and 1 being not at all effective, what number best describes how effective you feel the Guardian Angels are in increasing citizens' feelings of safety?
- o Do you feel more safe when you know the Guardian Angels are patrolling in your neighborhood?

Citizens gave the Guardian Angels a relatively high rating on their effectiveness in increasing citizens' feelings of safety. The total mean score was 3.5, leaning toward effectiveness (see Table 32).

Citizens who were aware that the Angels patrolled in their neighborhood (85) were asked if they felt more safe knowing the Angels were patrolling. Over half (60%) observed that they felt more safe (Table 33). Citizens who were aware of the Angels felt more safe alone at night (crime and safety variable) than citizens who did not know the Angels patrolled (significant at .05 level). However, there was no relationship between awareness and the effectiveness of the Angels in increasing citizens' feelings of safety (not shown in tables).

TABLE 32

PERCEPTION OF GUARDIAN ANGELS'
EFFECTIVENESS IN INCREASING CITIZENS'
FEELINGS OF SAFETY, MEAN SCORES
SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS
1984

Question: Using a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being very effective and 1 being not at all effective, what number best describes how effective you feel the Guardian Angels are in increasing citizens' feelings of safety?

Number of Respondents

175

Mean Score

3.5

TABLE 33

**PERCEPTION OF SAFETY
DUE TO GUARDIAN ANGELS
SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS
1984**

Question: Do you feel more safe when you know the Guardian Angels are patrolling in your neighborhood?*

	Number	Percent
Yes	51	60%
No	30	35%
Don't know	4	5%
Total Respondents	85	

*Asked only to respondents who were aware of patrols.

Sociodemographic Variables and Angel Effectiveness

Responses to the questions about Angel effectiveness were examined by sociodemographic variables. Bivariate analysis showed that the sex of respondent, income and being a crime victim were not significantly associated with citizen opinions of Angel effectiveness (Table 34). Age was the only sociodemographic factor related to the variable of effectiveness of the Guardian Angels. Those respondents aged 50 and over were more likely to give the Angels a higher rating with respect to Angels' effectiveness in increasing citizens' feelings of safety than respondents who were in a lower age category (3.7 vs. 3.2). Although females and respondents with lower income levels also reflected higher mean scores, these differences were not statistically significant.

No sociodemographic variables were significantly related to the question about feeling more safe knowing Angels are patrolling.

TABLE 34

PROBABILITY VALUES OF SIGNIFICANCE TESTS
ON PERCEPTIONS OF GUARDIAN ANGELS
AND SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC **VARIABLES****
SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS
1984

Sociodemographic Variables	Dependent Variables	
	Feel More Safe Knowing Angels are Patrolling	Effectiveness of Guardian Angels in Increasing Citizens' Feelings of Safety
Sex	0.3101 (χ^2)	0.059 (t)
Age	0.0666 (χ^2)	0.006 (t) *
Income	0.09940 (χ^2)	0.088 (t)
Crime Victim	0.7045 (χ^2)	0.350 (t)

* Significant at the .05 level.

**Please refer to page Z07 for bivariate tables.

Sociodemographic Variables and Perceptions of Crime and Safety

Before addressing how perceptions of crime and safety may be related to opinions about the Angels, it is important to examine the factors associated with feelings about crime and safety. Our analysis demonstrates that specific sociodemographic factors are associated with perceptions of fear and safety.

Using various statistical tests dependent on level of measurement (e.g., nominal, interval) and nature of variables (independent), analysis showed these variables to be significantly associated (Table 35):

- o Sex of respondent and feeling safe at night; going out after 7:00 p.m.: Females were less likely than males to feel safe and also less likely to go out in the evening.
- o Age and feeling safe at night; going out after 7:00 p.m. and the fear index: Respondents age 50 and over felt less safe than younger respondents and were not as likely to go out after 7:00 p.m. However, citizens in the younger age group indicated higher scores on the fear index, perhaps because they are more likely to be exposed to victimization than older citizens who live in more secure settings.
- o Income and perception of undesirable element as a problem in neighborhood: Citizens with higher income levels were more likely to perceive undesirable elements as a problem in the neighborhood.

- o **Crime victim** and the fear index and perceptions about changes in crime: Respondents who had been crime victims scored higher on the fear index, meaning that they worried more about crimes than respondents who had not been victims. Victims were also more likely to indicate that crime had increased.

TABLE 35

PROBABILITY VALUES OF SIGNIFICANCE
TESTS FOR SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
AND PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND SAFETY**
SAN DIEGO CITIZEN INTERVIEWS
1984

Dependent Variables Perceptions of Crime & Safety	Independent Variables - Sociodemographic			
	Sex	Age	Income	Crime Victim
Undesirable element in neighborhood	0.8685 (x ²)	0.0626 (x ²)	0.0057* (x ²)	0.2021 (x ²)
Changes in crime	0.3964 (x ²)	0.2044 (x ²)	0.1530 (x ²)	0.0291* (x ²)
Feeling safe at night	0.000* (t)	0.019* (t)	0.703 (t)	0.419 (t)
People limit activities	0.5834 (x ²)	0.1217 (x ²)	0.3552 (x ²)	0.4350 (x ²)
Go out in neighborhood after 7:00 p.m.	0.0072* (x ²)	0.0084* (x ²)	0.2335 (x ²)	0.3098 (x ²)
Fear Index	0.130 (t)	0.000* (t)	0.030* (t)	0.000* (t)

* Significant at the .05 level.

**Please refer to page 204 for bivariate tables.

Crime and Safety Variables and Effectiveness of Guardian Angels

Examining the crime and safety variables as independent variables and perceptions about effectiveness of Angels as dependent variables, only two relationships were found to be significantly associated (Table 36). Responses about undesirable elements in the neighborhood and mean scores on the fear index were associated with mean scores about effectiveness of Angels in increasing citizens' feelings of safety. Respondents who did not indicate concern regarding undesirable elements showed higher scores (3.7) on the effectiveness of the Angels than respondents who cited undesirable elements (3.3). One explanation for this finding is that citizens who perceive vagrants and transients as a problem do not feel that Angels have impacted this situation. The correlation between the fear index and Angel effectiveness suggests that for those who are fearful, the Guardian Angels are not perceived as impacting that fear. That is, as the level of fear increased, scores on Angel effectiveness decreased.

TABLE 36

PROBABILITY VALUES OF SIGNIFICANCE TESTS
ON FEELINGS ABOUT GUARDIAN ANGELS
AND PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND SAFETY

Dependent Variables

Independent Variables	Feel more safe <i>knowing</i> Angels are patrolling	Effectiveness of Guardian Angels in <i>increasing</i> citizens' feelings of safety
	Responses: Yes/No	Scale: 1 ————— 5 Not at all effective Very effective
<hr/>		
Undesirable element in neighborhood	0.3655 (x ²)	0.030 (t)*
Changes in crime	0.2977 (x ²)	0.1333 (t)
Feeling safe at night	.198 (r) **	.486 (r)
People limit activities	1.0000 (x ²)	0.899 (t)
Go out after 7:00 p.m.	.3439 (x ²)	0.323 (t)
Fear index	.475 (r) **	.031 (r)*

* Significant at .05 level.

** There is some question as to the appropriateness of doing significance tests on Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) estimates involving a **binary** dependent variable. While other models are better suited to this *condition* (*i.e.*, logit or probit), it has been shown that OLS estimates do not differ greatly from these more sophisticated procedures when the dependent variable is relatively symmetrical (Hanushek and Jackson, 1977). Given that the distribution of responses for the "feeling more safe when Angels patrol" question is 60% yes and 40% no, use of OLS procedures is not likely to yield an erroneous inference.

The previous analysis indicated that sex, income, and age are associated with some crime and safety variables. Undesirable elements in the neighborhood and mean scores on the fear index were negatively associated with effectiveness of Guardian Angels in making citizens feel safer. And finally, age was significantly related to perceptions **about** the **Guardian Angels'** effectiveness. No crime and safety variables or sociodemographic factors were associated with the variable of feeling safe knowing the Angels are patrolling.

Although significant associations were very limited, the analysis went one step further. The fear index was introduced as a test factor to interpret the relationship between the sociodemographic variable and the Guardian Angel effectiveness variable. The fear index was the only variable related to both the age variable and feelings about Guardian Angel effectiveness. When the test factor is significantly related to both the independent and dependent variables, partial correlations are used to further examine the relationship (Rosenberg, 1968).

When controlling for fear, the correlation between age and Angel effectiveness was .238, which is lower than the bivariate relationship between these two variables ($r = .264$). The test factor caused the correlation between age and Guardian Angel effectiveness to decline; however, a significant relationship still exists. While the fear index accounts for some of the relationship between age and perceptions of Angels' effectiveness, age has a relationship with effectiveness that is independent of its relationship to the fear index. In other words, age has both a direct and indirect effect on feelings about Angel effectiveness. Thus, it is suggested that older citizens feel the Guardian Angels increase feelings of safety irrespective of their scores on the fear index.

EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS SURVEY

A brief survey of 285 transit riders revealed responses similar to the San Diego citizens. Transit riders (285) in four Eastern cities gave the Angels a positive rating of 3.3 on their effectiveness in increasing citizens' feelings of safety. (Bivariate tables of the survey data are in Appendix D.)

Feelings of safety on the train or bus were significantly related to sex and ethnicity (see Table 37). Females and non-whites were proportionately more likely to feel unsafe than males and whites. Over half of the females (53%) said they felt unsafe compared to 29% of the males. And half of the non-whites surveyed (50%) did not feel safe in contrast to 30% of the whites.

Sex and age were significantly related to citizen responses about Angel effectiveness. Females and respondents over 30 perceived the Angels as more effective in increasing citizens' feelings of safety as indicated by higher mean scores on the Angel effectiveness question (males, 3.3; females, 3.6; age 29 and under, 3.4; 30 and over, 3.8). Sex was the only sociodemographic variable related to both feelings of safeness and perceptions of Guardian Angels' effectiveness (Table 38). Similar to San Diego citizens, older transit riders were more likely to think Guardian Angels increase citizens' feelings of safety, resulting in a relationship between age and perceptions about Angels. While sociodemographic characteristics were related to both feelings of safety and Angel effectiveness, there was no relationship between feeling safe on the train/bus and the effectiveness of the Guardian Angels (see Table 39).

In sum, sociodemographic variables (sex and age) are related to perceptions about safety and feelings about the Guardian Angels, but feelings about safety do not appear to be related to perceptions about Guardian Angel effectiveness. There may be other untested intervening variables that explain the relationship between feeling safe and perceptions about Angels such as views toward police and attitudes about citizen involvement in crime prevention. Other studies of citizen attitudes toward the Angels revealed similar findings. In late 1984, 61% of the 2,698 subway riders surveyed in the Bronx and Harlem agreed that the Guardian Angels make people like themselves feel safer. Elderly and female respondents were most likely to feel this way. When Guardian Angels were present on the train, citizens were significantly more likely to agree. (Kenney, 1985)

A telephone survey of 239 Chicago citizens in 1982 found the majority of citizens (76%) stating that they would feel safer on the subways if the Angels were there. Women, Blacks and older citizens were most likely to hold these views. Citizens who were most afraid on the subways had significantly more favorable attitudes toward the Angels (Lavrakas, 1985).

TABLE 37
FEELINGS OF SAFETY ON TRAIN BY
RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS
EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS' SURVEY
1984

<u>Feelings of Safety</u>	Male	Female	Probability Level
Very Safe/Safe	89 (71%u)	58 (47%)	0.0002 (x ²)•
Unsafe/Very Unsafe	36 (29%)	65 (53%)	
Total	125	123	
	<u>Crime Victim</u>		
	Yes	No	
Very Safe/Safe	49 (57%)	91 (61%n)	0.6762 (x²)
Unsafe/Very Unsafe	37 (43%)	59 (39%)	
Total	86	150	
	<u>Age</u>		
	<u>29 & Under</u>	<u>30 & Over</u>	
Very Safe/Safe	90 (56%)	64 (67%)	0.1037 (x²)
Unsafe/Very Unsafe	72 (44%)	32 (33%)	
Total	162	96	
	<u>Ethnicity</u>		
	White	Other	
Very Safe/Safe	75 (70%)	66 (50%)	0.0026 (x ²)*
Unsafe/Very Unsafe	32 (30%)	66 (50%)	
Total	107	132	

*Significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 38

PROBABILITY VALUES OF SIGNIFICANCE
TESTS OF ANGEL EFFECTIVENESS VARIABLE
AND SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS SURVEY
1984

Angel Variable	Sex	<u>Sociodemographic Variables</u>		
		Age (29 & Under- 30 & Over)	Ethnicity White- Non-White	Crime Victim
Effectiveness of Guardian Angels in increasing citizens' feelings of safety**	0.023* (t)	0.002* (t)	0.110 (t)	0.252 (t)


*Significant at .05 level.

**Scale: Not at all effective 1 5 Very effective

TABLE 39

PERCEPTIONS OF ANGEL EFFECTIVENESS IN
INCREASING CITIZENS' FEELINGS OF SAFETY BY
HOW SAFE CITIZENS FEEL ON TRANSIT SYSTEM
MEAN SCORES AND **PROBABILITY** VALUES
EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS SURVEY
1984

Safety on Train/Bus	N	<u>Angel Effectiveness</u>		
		Mean Scores	T-value	Probability
Very safe/Safe	(135)	3.4	-1.76	0.080
Unsafe/Very unsafe	(94)	3.6		

Scale: Not at all effective 1 —  5 Very effective

CITIZEN VIEWS COMPARED TO OTHERS

Table 40 displays a comparison of mean scores for citizens, police and city officials on the effectiveness of the Guardian Angels. As might be expected, both San Diego citizens and transit riders perceived the Angels as more effective than the other groups surveyed, except Angel members. Police administrators had the lowest mean score (2.0), indicating that they perceive the Angels as minimally effective in increasing citizens' feelings of safety. Line officers and community relations officers indicated only slightly higher scores (2.2 and 2.3, respectively). Angel members rated themselves the highest with a mean score of 4.2. (Comparisons should be interpreted with caution based on different procedures used in surveys and interviews.)

TABLE 40
 PERCEPTION OF GUARDIAN ANGELS' EFFECTIVENESS
 IN INCREASING CITIZENS' FEELINGS OF SAFETY,
 POLICE, CITY OFFICIALS, AND CITIZENS,
 MEAN SCORES

Question: Using a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being very effective and 1 being not at all effective, what number best describes how effective you feel the Guardian Angels are in increasing citizens' feelings of safety?

	Mean Score	Total Respondents
Police Administrators	2.0	29
Patrol Officers	2.2	391
Community Relations Officers	2.3	28
City Officials	3.1	8
San Diego Citizens	3.5	175
Eastern Transit Riders	3.5	235
Angel Members	4.2	116

Scale: ~~Not at all effective~~ 1 ————— **5 Very effective**

CONCLUSION

Most citizens feel that the Guardian Angels increase citizens' feelings of safety. Although the findings must be considered in light of limitations that reduce attempts to generalize, it is suggested that opinions about Angel effectiveness are indirectly associated with sociodemographic variables, perceptions about crime and visibility of the Angels.

Over half of the San Diego citizens who knew the Angels patrolled in their neighborhoods indicated that they felt more safe knowing the Angels were patrolling. Citizens gave the Angels a high rating on their effectiveness in reducing crime. Age of the respondent was significantly associated with responses concerning Angel effectiveness. Although older citizens showed higher fear levels on crime

and safety questions, this finding was only indirectly associated with their views about the Angels. Results of the transit riders surveys showed similar associations between sociodemographic characteristics and feelings toward Angels and perceptions of safeness. However, feeling safe on the subway or bus was not related to opinions about Angels.

Extensive research has demonstrated that feelings of safety and, correspondingly, fear of crime are influenced by a myriad of factors, incorporating personal characteristics, environmental attributes (density, crime rate) and perceptions of the environment (street lighting, neighborhood problems) (Lavrakas, 1982). Opinions about Guardian Angels may be related to other factors not tested in this analysis. The sample size **precluded** further segmentation **by sociodemographic** variables or crime and safety variables. The extent to which the Angels affect citizen fear of crime warrants further study in areas where the Angels are more visible than in San Diego and controlled comparative analysis should be undertaken with citizens who see the Angels regularly and those who do not.

Our on-site observation revealed that Angels rarely encounter criminal incidents requiring their intervention. Whether this is due to their deterrent effect is difficult to measure. It *may* be difficult for citizens to view the Angels as "crime-fighters" since intervention is seldom observed, although citizens do feel that Angels reduce crime by their presence. Citizens may perceive the Angels in a "Good Samaritan" role as well as possibly providing an informal social control function. These issues are examined in the next chapter. Also, it is apparent that citizens hold views about Angels' effectiveness that are quite different from law enforcement personnel and city government officials. Perceptions about Angels are addressed in the following chapter.

**CHAPTER 7
PERCEPTIONS AND
OPINIONS REGARDING
THE GUARDIAN ANGELS**

Perceptions and Opinions Regarding the Guardian Angels

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents opinions and perceptions of law enforcement toward the Guardian Angels in over 30 cities. Results of interviews with city government representatives in the primary sites are also discussed. Citizen reaction to the Guardian Angels is examined in four Eastern cities and San Diego and opinions are compared to perceptions of police and city officials. In an effort to increase participation in this study, police and city government respondents were advised that their responses would not be presented by individual locale.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CITY GOVERNMENT PERCEPTIONS

The majority of police administrators (74% of 35) and city administrative staff (7 of 8) were familiar with the activities of Guardian Angels in their cities. Police administrators were more aware of specific areas patrolled by the Angels (e.g., downtown, center city, residential areas) than city representatives.

Twenty-seven (27) of the police administrators (77% of 35) observed that police administrative staff have had meetings with Angel members with most (78%) indicating that Angels had requested the meetings. Nearly a third (31%) indicated that other personnel in their agencies have also met with Angel members. Seventeen of these agencies have had two or more meetings (70%).

The focus of initial meetings was primarily on the Angels' requests for either police support, recognition or endorsement for their activities. According to police administrators, Angels explained their intentions and police personnel delineated legal guidelines regarding Angel patrol activity. Meetings with community relations personnel tended to address operational issues such as provision of identification cards for Angels, possible training by police regarding citizen's arrest procedures and consideration of Angels' requests for record checks by police on potential recruits. Departments varied considerably with regard to arrangements developed with Angels (see page 113). The meetings between Angels and police personnel generally occurred when a chapter was in the development stage. In several cities, these joint meetings were a direct result of the leader, Sliwa, calling a press conference during a recruitment phase or at graduation of a new chapter.

Upon request by the Angels, most city government officials/representatives (6 of 8) held meetings with Angels when chapters were initially started. In Boston, several meetings took place in late 1984 due to conflicts between Angels and members of one community (Impemba & Clifford, 1984). Efforts were taken to diffuse a potentially volatile situation by bringing together the Angels, residents,

police and mayor's representatives. The research team was in Boston and attended one of those meetings. Law enforcement personnel and community leaders sought to find out more about the motivation of the Angels and the types of activities in which Angels participate. Suggestions were made concerning ways that Angels could cooperate with the police and the community.

In other cities in which Angels met with city officials, consensual terms could not be reached, according to mayors' personnel. In Cleveland, Angels were initially advised on how to gain community acceptance and no meetings have been held since the chapter started. In two cities, Angels either did not request a meeting with the mayor or that office saw no need to meet with the Angels. With the exception of New York, no city in the eight primary sites has a written agreement with the Angels. Most interviewed stated there was no need since the Angels are considered like any other citizen group. In some cases, city staff expressed negative opinions regarding Angel strategies (e.g., telling media they had set up meetings with mayors when this had not occurred, Angels not following stated guidelines of the Angel organization such as fare-beating and accepting volunteers under the age of 16).

Police Perception of Public Reaction

Law enforcement personnel were asked if their departments had received calls from the public about the Angels, if Angels had provided any assistance to citizens, and if the police **had** received complaints from citizens about the Angels.

The majority of police departments (25) have responded to public inquiries concerning the Angels. The most prevalent type of call related to the relationship between the police and the Angels (63%). Citizens wanted to know if police support the Angels and whether Angels have authority to patrol. Other calls from citizens requested general information about the Angels and how to contact the Angels, either to request a patrol or to join the group.

Almost half (41%) of the community relations officers (14 agencies) observed that Angels have provided help to citizens and 61% of 160 line officers also agreed that citizens have received assistance from Angels. (It should be noted that the 160 officers reflect less than half of the total officers surveyed due to non-responses). Most frequently mentioned types of assistance were stopping crimes in progress and deterring crime by their presence. Respondents also noted escort services provided by Angels, particularly to senior citizens.

Problems With the Angels

Thirty-seven percent (37%), or thirteen (13) of the police agency administrators, said their departments had received citizen complaints about the Guardian Angels. Twenty-six percent of the line personnel surveyed indicated that citizens **had** complained to them about the Angels (Table 41). Specific complaints involved Angels soliciting contributions, patrolling in areas where they were not wanted, and Angels acting in an overly aggressive manner. Other complaints were perceived perceptions of citizens that the Angels were a gang or a vigilante group. Over three-fourths (79%) of the line officers stated that police have had problems with the Angels. A smaller proportion of police administrators (12 of 35) indicated there had been problems. According to administrators, examples of types of problems associated with the Angels included: Angels not following initially-

agreed upon rules such as returning identification cards of former members, evading the fare on subways, interfering with train operations (standing in doorways), using free bus or subway passes when not in uniform, and telling citizens to refrain from certain types of behavior (i.e., smoking in subway area). Other problems noted were arrests of Angels for carrying a weapon and minor misdemeanors, and Angels interfering with police **operations**.

Individuals in those departments that indicated no conflicts with Angels generally provided these reasons: Angels have a low profile due to lack of members so their impact, either positive or negative, is minimal (9) and the ground rules or expectations by police were determined very early and Angels have abided by the rules (8). One chapter was viewed as "well-disciplined, seeking cooperation, not conflict." Only three agency administrators observed that problems created by Angels had not been resolved.

TABLE 41
 PERCEPTIONS OF PROBLEMS WITH GUARDIAN ANGELS
 PERCENTAGE OF "YES" RESPONSES
POLICE SURVEY, 1984

	Police Administrators N = 35	Community Relations Officers N=34	Patrol Officers
Citizens have complained about Guardian Angels	37%	6%	26% N = 437
Police have had problems with Angels	34%	21%	79% N = 221

Assistance to Patrol Officers

Nearly half of the police administrators (46%) and the community relations officers (44%) observed that Guardian Angels have provided assistance to patrol officers. Several examples provided by police involved Angel intervention during a crime in progress. Four incidents involved apprehension of a rape suspect or a person committing aggravated assault. Other crimes in which Angels were credited for either deterring or apprehending the suspect were purse snatches, car prowls, and battery. Citizen's arrests were cited by respondents in six cities as well as other types of assistance provided by Angels, including crowd control, foot pursuit of suspects, provision of first aid, and giving information to officers about suspects or types of crimes (e.g., narcotics, prostitution).

Other Citizen Patrols

More than half of the police department administrators surveyed (66%) observed that their cities have other citizen patrols besides the Guardian Angels. Most of these groups work in tandem with the police department and receive training and

supervision from law enforcement. Administrators were quick to point out that the role of these groups is to observe and report suspicious activity. Actual intervention is discouraged according to those surveyed. Other citizen patrols mentioned were part of an overall neighborhood watch effort and initiated on a sporadic, as-needed basis. The majority of citizen patrols are mobile. In addition, a few youth-oriented groups were cited and compared to the Guardian Angels because of their age and walking patrols. These groups, Angel Guardians (New York), Brown Berets (Dallas), and Dragon Force (Boston), were perceived as very loosely structured, with minimal visibility and few members. Also mentioned within the context of citizen patrols were auxiliary police, particularly in departments in the East. When asked to compare the effectiveness of Guardian Angel patrols with other citizen patrols, 23% of the police administrators (8 agencies) observed the Angels were as effective or more effective. The majority (77%) felt the Angels were less effective.

Value of Guardian Angel Patrols

Police personnel were asked if they felt there *was* a benefit in having Guardian Angels patrol the streets and transit systems. Just over half (51%) of the police administrators and 59% of the community relations officers indicated that there was a benefit. A percentage of both groups (23% and 9%) said they didn't know if there was a benefit. Line personnel were less likely to perceive the Angel patrols as beneficial with 38% responding favorably. Patrol officers surveyed in the West were more likely than their Eastern counterparts to perceive the Angel patrols as beneficial (48% vs. 31%).

A follow-up question asked if police personnel felt that the Angels should continue in their cities. Just under half of the administrators (46%) indicated that patrols should continue, although 29% were non-committal by responding that they did not know. Thirty-seven percent (37%) of the line officers indicated that the Angels should continue patrolling, and over half the community relations officers (53%) gave this response.

TABLE 42

**LAW ENFORCEMENT OPINIONS
OF BENEFIT OF GUARDIAN ANGELS
SURVEY RESULTS, 1984**

<u>Survey Questions:</u>	<u>Police Administrators</u>	<u>Community Relations Officers</u>	<u>Patrol Officers</u>
Do you feel there is a benefit in having the Guardian Angels patrol the streets/buses/subways?			
Yes	51%	59%	38%
No	26%	32%	62%
Don't know	23%	9%	N/A
Total	35	34	374
Do you think the Guardian Angels should continue in this city?			
Yes	46%	53%	37%
No	26%	23%	63%
Don't Know	29%	23%	N/A
Total	35	30	358

Respondents who felt there were benefits to Angels patrolling and that the group should continue elaborated with these comments:

- o "Any assistance to prevent crime is welcome as long as they continue to stay within legal guidelines."
- o "The more citizens that become involved, the less crime we will have. "
- o "Their mere presence is a deterrent to criminal activity."
- o "Citizens seem to feel safer/more comfortable when they are around."
- o "It's a positive statement about citizen involvement and a good way for young people to participate in their community."
- o "They should get more members and expand their efforts."
- o "The goals and objectives are good. They could become a positive force in the community."

The following remarks were provided by police personnel who perceived no benefit in Angels continuing their activities:

- o "They seem like vigilantes."
- o "Their limited patrols and sporadic presence are ineffective."
- o "The militaristic demeanor and style of dress are not well-received by citizens."
- o "We don't want citizens dependent on other citizens for their personal safety."
- o "Patrolling the streets is the job of the police."
- o "I have only arrested Angels, so I know of no benefit."
- o "It makes no difference if they are here or not — they have no effect."
- o "They were not asked to set up a chapter here."
- o "They lack motivation and have no **understanding** of criminality."

Respondents who were non-committal observed that Angels either had a very low profile or had not been in their community for a sufficient length of time to make a decision as to their value.

Official Position Toward the Angels

Most police administrators indicated a neutral stance (57%) when asked to describe their department's position toward the Guardian Angels (Table 43). Twenty-three percent (23%) characterized their position as supportive (8 agencies) **and** 17% indicated an **unsupportive** view. (One **administrator did** not respond.)

Some of those holding a neutral perspective tended to adopt a "wait and see" attitude because *the* Angels "have not established any performance record." Other respondents noted that they see the Angels as any other citizen group and will neither help nor hinder them. A few expressed ambivalence based on the fact that ,they have no authority or control over the Angels.

Expressions of support were frequently cautious and clarified with statements such as "we extend the Angels the same courtesy as any other group involved in crime prevention" and "we don't resist their efforts but will provide them no resources." One administrator noted that the public outcry about safety on the trains led to issuance of transit passes to Angels and another indicated that his department is willing to meet with Angels whenever they (Angels) wish and has provided Angels permission to give presentations to line personnel.

TABLE 43

LAW ENFORCEMENT POSITION
TOWARD THE GUARDIAN ANGELS
POLICE ADMINISTRATORS' SURVEY
1984

<u>Position</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Supportive	8	23%
Neutral	20	57%
Unsupportive	6	17%
No Response	1	3%
Total	35	100%

Administrators with an unsupportive position (6) elaborated with these comments:

- o ... "can **hardly** take a position toward an ineffective group seen as a non-entity."
- o "See them as a liability with the potential for violating citizen rights."
- o "There's no place in this city for unsupervised vigilante activity. "

Only two city governments in the eight primary sites hold a supportive position toward the Angels, according to those interviewed. One respondent characterized the city's position as unsupportive and the remaining respondents expressed a neutral position. However, the majority of those interviewed agreed that there is a benefit to the Angels patrol and they should continue in their cities. Their reasons generally were associated with the perception of safety felt by citizens when Angels are patrolling and the observation that Angels provide additional "eyes and ears" in the fight against crime.

Reservations were expressed about the leadership of the Angels with respect to a perceived unwillingness to work with local governments and in some cases not being responsible for living up to conditions set forth in initial meetings. Some respondents agreed that the concept of young, primarily minority citizens, engaging in a concerted effort to improve their community, is a good one. However, conflicts between Angels and local government officials and uncertainty about the mission of the Angels lead to reluctance by most city officials to officially recognize the group.

Police Line Officers' Perceptions

Line personnel expressed stronger opinions than police administrators. The less favorable comments about the Angels characterized the group as "troublemakers," "thugs," "gang members" and "vigilantes" who are "useless," "worthless," "have poor leadership" and "cause more trouble than prevent crime." Several respondents indicated that the Guardian Angels are seldom around. Another typical comment addressed the presumption that Guardian Angels do not receive adequate

training in the law and procedures for effecting citizen's arrests. Positive remarks were less frequent and more likely to be made by line officers in the West. Several noted that the Angels are an effective deterrent to crime but they need more visibility and positive media coverage. Respondents observed that Angels have been helpful in communicating crime information to police and Angels may be a means to increase citizen involvement in crime.

Angel Members' Perception of Law Enforcement

Over half of the Guardian Angels interviewed (53%) perceived a supportive attitude by police toward the Angels. A small proportion (15%) viewed the police position as unsupportive and 32% noted a neutral attitude by police. Members were quick to point out differences between the official position of a police agency and the attitude and behavior of the line officer on the street or transit system. Generally, members perceived reluctance of police administrators to openly support the Guardian Angels, whereas line personnel were viewed as more outspoken in their favorable and unfavorable opinions toward the Guardian Angels. Differences were also noted between perceptions of transit police and city police. In some Eastern cities, transit police were seen as more supportive while in others the city police were viewed as more favorably disposed toward the Angels. Examples given by Angels of a supportive police attitude included:

- o Police respond quickly when Angels call.**
- o Police are always there to back up Angels.**
- o Police thank Angels for helping them and being "out there".**
- o Police are friendly.**
- o Police provide Angels with crime and suspect information.**
- o Police request Angels to patrol in certain areas.**

Less favorable attitudes were characterized by the following observations:

- o Police sometimes make rude remarks, try to provoke Angels and tell Angels to get off the train.**
- o Some clerks in transit systems allow Angels to *pass* through turnstiles and police subsequently arrest Angels for "fare-beating".**
- o When Angels are involved in an incident to assist police, some police refuse to give their names and badge numbers.**

Angels perceived the following reasons for police acting in a negative manner:

- o Police think Angels are taking over their jobs.**
- o Police fear public support for Angels.**
- o Police think Angels are crazy for patrolling without weapons and with little training.**

- o Police perceive Angels as vigilantes.
- o Police recall arresting some Angel members when Angels were younger. According to one Angel, "police don't realize that people can change."

Agreements With Guardian Angels

Eleven of the 35 police and transit administrators (31%) indicated that formal or informal agreements have been developed between the Guardian Angels and either the law enforcement agency or the transit authority. Most of these are informal in nature and are more likely to be with the transit system than the city police department. Angels are provided with free subway or bus passes and identification cards in four of the cities studied (Boston, Cleveland, Portland, Syracuse). In exchange, the Angels are to notify the transit personnel of trains or routes they intend to patrol. Informal agreements with police agencies are characterized by police departments assigning a liaison person to meet with the Angels and in some cases providing identification cards, training facilities, and information relative to citizen's arrest procedures. Some departments have issued in-house bulletins to police personnel describing the department position toward the Angels and the administrative expectations with respect to officer interaction with the Angels. One police administrator observed that it was "politically feasible and appropriate for the police to have an agreement with the Angels." At the time of this writing, four of the police departments studied are known to have initiated formalized, written agreements with the Angels: New York City, Buffalo, Las Vegas and Syracuse. The most comprehensive of these is the City of New York, with a memorandum of understanding (MOU) developed in May of 1981. The agreement delineates terms and conditions agreed to by the Alliance of Guardian Angels and the New York City Police Department and Transit Police. The responsibilities of each party are similar to those informally agreed to in other cities (e.g., police will issue I.D. cards, assign department liaison, render necessary courtesy, provide legal training and conduct criminal record checks). Angels are expected to provide membership lists, notice of proposed patrol areas, and copies of patrol logs to the police department. The agreement also states that the City of New York is not liable for actions taken by Angels.

Discussions with New York City police and transit police administrators and Curtis Sliwa suggest that neither party has responded satisfactorily to the terms outlined in the agreement. Both sides appear to hold each other responsible for non-compliance and the result appears to be a formal agreement to which neither party subscribes.

The Syracuse and Buffalo memorandums are similar in nature to the City of New York but relatively recent (Fall 1984) and thus untested with respect to compliance of both parties. The agreement in Las Vegas was never acted upon because of dissension and instability within the Guardian Angels according to police personnel in Las Vegas.

OPINIONS TOWARD GUARDIAN ANGELS

A series of opinion questions were asked of police personnel, city government staff and citizens in five primary sites. A shortened version of a questionnaire developed by Ostrowe and DiBiase (1983) provided the basis for the five opinion

questions. Responses were examined in two ways: (1) the proportion in each group who agreed or disagreed with the statements; and (2) calculation of mean scores based on a scale from 1 to 5, with responses closer to 5 reflecting a favorable attitude toward the Guardian Angels.

Results

Citizens hold more favorable views toward the Angels than police and city officials based on percentage responses and mean scores (see Tables 44 and 45). Generally, police line officers reflected the least favorable opinions toward the Angels and Eastern transit riders gave the most favorable responses. Responses by police administrators and city officials were similar and, overall, reflected the mid-range or "no opinion" response category.

The majority of the transit riders agreed with this statement (75%): "I wish there were more Guardian Angels patrolling the streets." Nearly three-fourths of the San Diego citizens also agreed (70%). However, less than half of the police administrators (46%) and only a third (33%) of the city officials gave a similar response. Line police officers were the least likely to agree that there should be more Angels patrolling (12%). Citizens were also more likely to favor the view that the city government should support the Angels (transit riders, 81%; San Diego citizens, 62%). Police administrators and city officials were **proportionately** less likely to agree with this statement (38% and 33%, respectively). With the exception of police line officers, responses were proportionately similar with respect to agreement with the following statement: "Crime-fighting should be done only by professional police." Responses for citizens, police administrators, and city officials ranged from 25% who agreed to 33%. This may be indicative of citizens' perception of Angels in a helping role in addition to a crime-fighting role as discussed in the previous chapter. Citizens may also see the Angels in a deterrent-oriented activity. The relative similarity among groups may also be associated with a reluctance to grant a civilian group "crime-fighting" status. Nearly three-fourths of the line officers agreed such efforts should be carried out by police professionals (74%). Forty-one percent (41%) of the line personnel also indicated that they opposed the actions of the Guardian Angels while a smaller proportion of the other groups reflected this view, ranging from 9% (San Diego citizens) to 15% (police administrators). Less than a third of all groups, except citizens, agreed that they would like to see the Guardian Angels expand to other cities which have a crime problem. The majority of transit riders (78%) and San Diego citizens (72%) held this view. Comparing the mean scores showed similar patterns between the groups, with Eastern transit riders reflecting the most favorable scores and line officers giving the least positive view of the Angels. It is interesting to note that, despite methodological and sampling differences, the percentage responses are similar to the results presented by Ostrowe and DiBiase in 1983 when they surveyed civilians **and** city and transit police in Manhattan.

Overall, these researchers found that citizens were more favorably disposed toward the Guardian Angels than either New York City police or transit authority police. Police views paralleled the findings in the present study. That is, police have concerns about Angel activities based on the perceived lack of training of Angels which could affect the safety of Angels as well as negatively impact the constitutional rights of citizens (Ostrowe & DiBiase, 1983). The civilians, **although** more supportive than the police, also expressed reservations about the lack of control and official supervision of the Angels. The present study revealed similar concerns of citizens as discussed in the next section.

TABLE 44

OPINIONS TOWARD GUARDIAN ANGELS
 PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO STRONGLY AGREE/AGREE
SURVEY RESULTS
 1984

	Police & Transit Administrators N=13	Patrol Officers N = 436	City Officials N=9	Eastern Transit Riders N = 279	San Diego Citizens N = 211
I wish there were more Guardian Angels patrolling the streets.	46%	12%	33%	75%	70%
Crime fighting should be done only by professional police.	31%	74%	33%	25%	31%
The mayor and city officials should support the Guardian Angels.	38%	14%	33%	81%	62%
I would like to see the Guardian Angels expand to other American cities which have a crime problem.	23% ⁿ	19%	33%	78%	72%
In general, I oppose the actions of the Guardian Angels.	15%	41%	11%	12% ^u	9%

TABLE 45
 OPINIONS TOWARD GUARDIAN ANGELS
 SURVEY RESULTS
 1984

Cumulative Mean Scores

	Police & Transit Administrators N=13	Patrol Officers N=429	City Officials N=9	Eastern Transit Riders N=274	San Diego Citizens N=210
I wish there were more Guardian Angels patrolling the streets.	3.2	2.3	2.8	4.1	3.7
Crime fighting should be done only by professional police.	3.2	1.9	3.4	3.4	3.2
The mayor and city officials should support the Guardian Angels.	3.2	2.4	2.8	4.1	3.6
I would like to see the Guardian Angels expand to other American cities which have a crime problem.	3.0	2.5	3.2	4.0	3.7
In general, I oppose the actions of the Guardian Angels.	3.8	2.7	3.7	3.9	3.9

*Response categories: 1 = Strongly agree; 2 = Agree; 3 = No opinion; 4 = Disagree; 5 = Strongly disagree

1
Least favorable
toward Angels

5
Most favorable
toward Angels

TRANSIT RIDERS' PERCEPTIONS, BY CITY

Brief surveys of almost 300 citizens in the Eastern cities of Boston, Chicago, Cleveland and New York indicated that the majority of respondents (82%) ride the subway or bus every day. An almost equal number of males and females responded to the survey with 45% indicating their ethnicity as white, 37% stating black and 15% were Hispanic. Forty percent (40%) observed that they felt unsafe or *very*

unsafe on the transit system and over a third (36%) said they had been victims of crimes (Table 46).

Analysis of the transit rider surveys by city revealed some interesting differences. Presumably, citizen perceptions about the Angels are influenced by a variety of factors including how often they see Angels, the frequency of transit ridership, and knowledge of the extent and nature of media coverage about the Angels. It should be remembered that respondents were selected on the basis of availability and willingness to cooperate. Also, in Cleveland, surveys were completed while citizens were waiting for buses to arrive, while in other cities respondents were surveyed on the subway. **Notwithstanding** the survey limitations, positive citizen responses in the City of Cleveland may be associated with the frequency and nature of Angel activity in that city. In Cleveland, a relatively higher proportion of citizens said they felt very safe or safe on the buses. This finding may affect the degree of difference among cities since buses were the primary public mode of transportation of those surveyed. If researchers had surveyed on the rapid transit train in Cleveland, the responses may not have differed. An additional potential confounding factor may be the proportion of females and respondents over 50 years of age. Proportionately, Cleveland citizens showed a slightly higher number of both females and older people. As discussed in Chapter 6, these variables are associated with perceptions of crime and safety.

From Monday through Friday, from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m., the Angels congregate in the Public Square area which is a central point for the bus system. Angels assist citizens on buses and urge people to stay behind the lines where the buses stop. This activity allows for high visibility for the Angels and provides opportunities for Angels to interact with citizens in ways that are not as easy on crowded subways. The Cleveland citizens, proportionately, were more likely than other transit riders to have talked with Angels, to have been helped by Angels and to have seen Angels help someone else (see Table 47). Cleveland citizens also were more likely to agree that the Angels should expand. However, nearly a third of the Cleveland citizens agreed (30%) that crime-fighting should be done only by professional police (Table 48). This proportion was higher than in both New York and Boston. A possible explanation is that Cleveland citizens may be less likely to perceive the Angels in a "crime-fighting" role because they see Angels performing an "order-maintenance" function as well as a "helping" role (e.g., lifting packages or baby strollers on the buses). However, Cleveland citizens also revealed the highest mean scores on the questions relative to Angels' effectiveness in preventing crime and increasing citizens' feelings of safety (see Table 49).

This suggests that citizens' perceptions about the Angels may be associated with high visibility of the Angels and the nature of the activity performed by the Angels. Although the Angel chapter in Cleveland has experienced changes in leadership, the patrol activity in Public Square has remained fairly constant.

Responses by citizens in Boston are of interest in light of activities that occurred prior to the survey of transit riders. In August of 1984, Angels patrolled in the predominately Black Mattapan community and were met with hostility by a group of youth in the area. On subsequent nights, the police provided escorts for Angel patrols and community leaders then requested that the Angels not patrol. A confrontation ensued when Lisa Sliwa came to Boston and met with community leaders and elected officials. When Sliwa returned to New York, the Boston Angel leader conferred with police administrators and community leaders to discuss

TABLE 46

**CHARACTERISTICS OF TRANSIT RIDERS
IN BOSTON, CHICAGO, CLEVELAND AND NEW YORK
EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS' SURVEY
1984**

	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	New York	Total
AGE					
Under 20	12%	7%	27%	10%	12%
20-29	51%	48%	33%	58%	50%
30-39	16%	18%	11%	21%	18%
40-49	4%	12%	9%	4%	7%
50 & Over	16%	15%	20%	7%	13%
Total	49	73	45	101	268
SEX					
Male	51%	51%	46%	48%	49%
Female	49%	49%	55%	52%	51%
Total	47	71	44	95	257
ETHNICITY					
Black	30%	28%	47%	42%	37%
Hispanic	2%	3%	9%	31%	15%
White	59%	66%	42%	25%	45%
Other	9%	3%	2%	2%	4%
Total	44	65	43	95	247
EDUCATION					
High school or less	16%	18%	43%	16%	21%
Some college	35%	38%	25%	40%	36%
College graduate	28%	20%	13%	26%	22%
Graduate school	19%	23%	20%	18%	20%
Total	42	60	40	94	237
FREQUENCY OF TRANSIT RIDERSHIP					
Every day	74%	81%	78%	88%	82%
2-3 times a week	16%	10%	9%	8%	10%
1-3 times a month	10%	10%	13%	4%	8%
Total	49	74	45	103	271
HAVE YOU BEEN A VICTIM OF A CRIME?					
Yes	55%	35%	21%	36%	36%
No	46%	65%	79%	64%	64%
Total	44	63	42	95	244

ways that Angel activities could correspond to the needs of the community. Review of newspaper articles reporting on these events revealed many stories reflecting negatively on the Angels. Yet the responses in the transit rider survey were quite positive. This may be related to the nature of the subway patrol compared to a street patrol in a specific **neighborhood**. The transit systems are more or less neutral territory compared to communities in which feelings of loyalty, pride and ownership are more evident. Guardian Angel patrols may be more acceptable on the subways than in areas where Angel patrols have not been specifically requested. San Diego was the only area surveyed that did not focus on transit riders. Despite methodological differences, it is interesting to note that only 48% of the San Diego sample were aware of Angels patrolling in the downtown area. Visibility of the Angels may be more apparent to citizens on subways and buses. A random telephone survey in 1982 of 239 Chicago citizens indicated that Chicagoans had favorable attitudes toward the Guardian Angels. A high proportion of those surveyed believed that the Angels were helpful in preventing crime (76%) and thought the city administration should give official recognition to the group (50%) (Lavrakas, 1985).

Further examination is needed to address the issues raised through the surveys: (1) the extent to which Angels are viewed favorably by **neighborhood** residents in most cities, (2) whether residents' opinions differ from transit riders, and (3) the extent to which differences are due to the type of patrol, i.e., subway vs. street patrol.

TABLE 47
 AWARENESS OF GUARDIAN ANGELS, BY CITY
 PERCENTAGE OF YES RESPONSES
 EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS' SURVEY
 1984

	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	New York	Total
I have heard of the Guardian Angels	N= 54 (100%)	N = 74 (96%)	N = 49 (92%)	N = 106 (98%)	N=283 (97%)
I have seen the Guardian Angels	N = 53 (85%)	N = 74 (58%)	N = 49 (90%)	N = 109 (95%)	N = 285 (83%)
I have talked to the Guardian Angels	N = 52 (29%)	N = 71 (15%)	N = 49 (33%)	N = 105 (25%)	N = 277 (25%)
The Guardian Angels have helped me	N = 50 (10%)	N = 71 (1%)	N = 48 (21%)	N = 105 (13%)	N = 274 (11%)
I have seen Guardian Angels help someone else	N=52 (29%)	N=72 (10%)	N=48 (63%)	N=104 (47%)	N=276 (37%)

TABLE 48

OPINIONS TOWARD GUARDIAN ANGELS
 PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO AGREE
 EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS' SURVEY
 1984

	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	New York	Total
I wish there were more Guardian Angels	N = 53 (77%)	N = 71 (72%)	N = 48 (83%)	N = 107 (73%)	N = 279 (75%)
• Crime-fighting should be done only by professional police	N = 53 (19%)	N = 70 (31%)	N = 47 (30%)	N = 107 (21%)	N = 277 (25%)
▪ The mayor and city officials should support the Guardian Angels	N=53 (85%)	N=69 (81%)	N=48 (83%)	N=109 (77%)	N=279 (81%)
I would like to see the Guardian Angels expand to other cities with a crime problem	N = 51 (82%)	N = 71 (82%)	N = 47 (85%)	N = 103 (71%)	N = 272 (78%)
• In general, I oppose the actions of the Guardian Angels	N=51 (14%)	N=67 (13%)	N=42 (14%)	N=105 (9%)	N=265 (12%)

TABLE 49

TRANSIT RIDERS' PERCEPTIONS
OF IMPACT OF GUARDIAN ANGELS
MEAN **SCORES,* BY CITY**
EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS' SURVEY
1984

	<u>Boston</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Cleveland</u>	<u>New York</u>
<u>Question:</u> On a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being very effective and 1 being not at all effective, what number best describes how effective you feel the Guardian Angels are in preventing or reducing crime in the areas patrolled?	3.3	3.1	3.5	3.4
<u>Question:</u> Using the same scale, what number best describes how effective you feel the Guardian Angels are in increasing citizens' feelings of safety?	3.3	3.3	3.8	3.6

* Not at all effective 1 ~  5 **Very effective**

TABLE 50

**PERCENTAGE OF TRANSIT RIDERS
WHO FEEL VERY SAFE/SAFE ON
TRANSIT SYSTEM, BY CITY**
1984

<u>Boston</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Cleveland</u>	<u>New York</u>
75%	65%	70%	44%

Over a quarter of the transit riders (73) offered supplementary opinions about the Guardian Angels. The majority of the comments were positive reflections on the Angels. Typical responses included:

- o "They do a great job. We need more of them."
- o "They could be more effective if the community and government offered support."
- o "Their presence stops crime — they are a helpful deterrent — I feel safer when I see them."
- o "They are here to help us and are an asset to this city."

Twenty-three percent (23%) of those who responded to the open-ended question were less **favorable** toward the Angels (16). The responses suggest a cautious **approach** as well as possible apprehension about a civilian group carrying out perceived police functions. Several citizens observed that the Angels act in a "macho" and/or militaristic manner and "seem **aggressive.**" Another frequent reaction was the perception that Angels need to be better organized, receive professional training, and be more closely supervised. Additional comments included:

- o "**They should** stop conversation and work more."
- o "I've never seen them prove themselves."
- o "**They should not have weapons.**"
- o "There is a potential risk — they could endanger the public."
- o "The Angels give the impression of Hitler youth."

CONCLUSION

It was expected that the activities and impact of the Guardian Angels are influenced by the perception and reaction of law enforcement, city officials, and citizens. Although most law enforcement respondents agreed that Guardian Angels have assisted patrol officers and citizens, over half (57%) took a neutral official position toward the Angels. Their concerns reflected ambivalence based **on the fact that they have no authority or control over Angels and the perception that Angels have not yet established a track record. Negative opinions were related to problems police have** encountered with Angels. Over half of the police administrators agreed that there are benefits to the Angel patrols and 46% felt Angel efforts should continue in their cities. Positive observations were associated with the potential crime deterrent value, the fact that citizens may feel safer and that the Angels provide a means for young people to be involved. A survey of line patrol officers in the primary sites revealed line personnel to have less favorable views toward the Angels compared to police administrators.

Administrators in 11 of the 35 agencies (31%) described either formal or informal agreements between their departments and the Guardian Angels. Most individuals representing local governments expressed a reluctance to officially recognize the

Guardian Angels, although respondents favor a concept which motivates young people to participate in community crime prevention. Cities' administrative personnel perceived an unwillingness on the part of the Guardian Angels to work with local government.

Eastern transit riders and San Diego citizens reflected more positive views toward the Guardian Angels than either law enforcement personnel or city government representatives. Citizens were more likely to think the Angels should expand and that city officials should support the Guardian Angels. When citizen responses were examined by city, the residents of Cleveland displayed proportionately more favorable views toward the Angels than in any other city. The Cleveland chapter was initiated by the request of a congressman and Angels ride the transit system for free. However, our research suggests that the overriding factor associated with citizen reaction may be the activity performed by the Angels. On Mondays through Fridays, from 4 to 6 p.m., Angels congregate in Public Square, a major hub for the bus systems, and assist citizens in boarding the buses. The volume of people during "rush-hour" time is considerable and Angels also assist in keeping people behind the "lines" where buses stop. Surveying citizens in Public Square where Angels are routinely visible obviously had an effect on the positive responses and could reflect a methodological artifact. Nevertheless, it is quite likely that when Angels interact closely with citizens on a regular basis and in a positive way, citizens are more receptive and supportive. The patrol activity in Public Square allows this opportunity more so than on the bus or subway, or when a single file line of Angels is walking a sidewalk. The potential for active, regular citizen-Angel interaction was not observed in any other city. This exploratory finding could have implications for future Angel activities and their impact on citizens. Although evidence is limited, it is also suggested that subway patrols and street patrols in central downtown areas may be more acceptable to the citizenry because the area patrolled is perceived as more neutral than specific communities in which the idea of outsiders patrolling neighborhoods may create suspicion and resentment.

The extent to which the activities and impact of the Guardian Angels are influenced by acceptance and recognition by police and city government could not be determined in this study. The literature relative to citizen crime prevention efforts suggests that positive relationships with police are significant features of effective citizen groups. The motivation and activity level of the Guardian Angels do not appear to be affected by reaction of law enforcement. However, their effectiveness in gaining positive recognition from all citizens and their ability to deter crime could be enhanced by developing working relationships with police. If Angels are willing to notify police of areas patrolled, provide names of members for background checks and participate in consistent training efforts, law enforcement personnel may be more amenable to assisting Angels (e.g., provide information on citizen arrest procedures, share information about crime problems). In few cities does this type of interaction take place to the satisfaction of both the police and the Angels.

CHAPTER 8
ORGANIZATIONAL
STRUCTURE:
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS
OF CITIZEN CRIME
PREVENTION GROUPS

Organizational Structure: Comparative Analysis of Citizen Volunteer Crime Prevention Groups

INTRODUCTION

An issue of interest is the extent to which the Guardian Angels organization is similar to, or different from, other citizen crime prevention groups. The literature review provided an overview of the varied nature of such groups. To explore the issue further, other types of groups were selected for comparison with the Angels: eleven citizen volunteer groups within San Diego County and three organizations on the East coast and one in the West that include patrols as a primary program component. Personal or telephone interviews were conducted with all group leaders/presidents (15) and Angel chapter leaders in 21 cities. Angel interviews were conducted in the primary sites (8) and thirteen secondary cities (see Appendix A for complete listing). The total number of Angel leader responses is 25 because in New York leadership is divided among four boroughs and also includes Westchester. Issues addressed the following organizational features:

- o Perceived purpose
- o Nature and scope of activities to accomplish purpose
- o Leadership and management structure
- o Recruitment procedures
- o Training
- o Interaction with other groups and public agencies
- o Financial support
- o Factors relative to membership
- o Perceived effectiveness

This section will begin with a descriptive overview of each of the three types of organizations followed by a discussion of the organizational features. Table 51 provides a concise breakdown of the comparison of the two groups. Results of interviews and surveys of members of the East coast citizen groups and Angel members allow additional information regarding membership characteristics and aspects of motivation and commitment to volunteerism. In general, the comparative analysis will focus on the similarities and differences between the Guardian Angels and the other citizen groups. (The information presented in this section differs slightly from data in Chapter 4 because responses are from 25 leaders and 117 members from 10 chapters.) Specific differences relative to the citizen groups with patrols are noted when appropriate.

PURPOSE

San Diego Crime Prevention Groups

Of the eleven groups, seven (7) fall within the category of neighborhood watch groups with members organized to prevent crime in the community and educate

TABLE 51
**GUARDIAN ANGELS AND OTHER QHZEN GROUPS
DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES**

Surveys and Interviews, 1984

<u>VARIABLES</u>	GUARDIAN ANGELS - 25 GRAVITIES	tyEHER CITIZEN GROUPS (15)
<u>Goals and Objectives</u>		
o Purpose	Prevent and deter crime	Prevent and deter crime
o Primary activity	Street/subway patrol	Community awareness and crime prevention education/patrol (3 groups)
o Leadership	Nationally controlled	Locally controlled
o Perceived effectiveness: (scale 1-5)		
Preventing/reducing crime	4.0	4.4
Increasing citizens' feelings of safety	4.2	4.2
<u>Operating Procedure.</u>		
o Patrol activities		
Primary type	Foot	Mobile
Areas patrolled	Urban center city areas, residential section, parks, concern, and special events	Rely on police statistics, police suggestions, and community requests (50%); own neighborhoods (25%); whole city (25%). All patrol residential areas routinely.
Law enforcement guided	No	Yea (75%)
o Bylaws/Guidelines	National (100%)	53% have
o Major source of funds	Various contributors and donors	Member contributions
o Monthly expenses	\$50 - \$200	\$10 - \$1,740
o Frequency of meetings	Three or more times per week	Every other month or less
o Relationship with police	16% written agreements 84% informal, but generally independent	87% informal agreements, generally supported by police
o Recruitment procedures:		
Primary methods	Talking to people while on patrol	Community presentation and media coverage
Screening volunteers	56% final decision is leaden	47% indicated not applicable
Membership requirements	16 years of age, attending school, employed or looking for work, no serious felony record, participate in a training period, patrol once a week, carry no weapons, not be under the influence of drugs or alcohol	No specific requirements (53%), solicit dues from members (27%), regular monthly attendance (7%), minimum age of patrollers 18 and 21 (13%)
Membership exclusion/termination	Disobeying rules and guidelines of the chapter, inability to get along with others, attitude and behavior reflecting desire for authority and glory, alcohol/drug abuse, carrying weapons, committing crimes	Substantiated criminal background, disobeying specific rules

VARIABLES

GUARDIAN ANGELS

OTHER ADJUTANT GROUPS

Operating Procedures (Cont.)

Desirable characteristics for being in group

Self-control, commitment, respect, self-respect, respect for law, reliability, dependability, patience, maturity

Caring and concerned attitude toward the community, interest in crime prevention, willingness to accept responsibility, law-abiding

o Training

Reportedly, three 2-hour sessions weekly for several weeks to include physical conditioning, self-defense, citizen arrest procedures, first aid, CPR, and simulated response to potential incidents

Of the citizen groups that patrol: keeping patrol logs, equipment use, procedures for observing suspicious activity and reporting to police

Membership Factors

o Average number of members

20

45

o Range of group longevity

2 months - 5 years

2 years - 19 years

a Participation (members' responses)

- Percent who feel they are more active than other members

58%

49%

o Member characteristics:

117 members

47 members

How long member

Two years or more (28%)

Two years or more (36%)

Primary reason for joining

Desire to help people in need

To make community safer

Participation in other volunteer efforts

35%

77%

Satisfied with group (yes responses)

77%

100%

Intend to stay indefinitely

64%

89%

Sex

84% male

53% male

Age

66% 20 or under

66% 50 or over

Ethnicity

32% white

94% white

Employed

51%

51%

Education

59% less than high school

43% four or more years of college

- Income (annual)

38% less than \$5,000

62% 825,000 or more

Married

11%

72%

citizens about ways to avoid victimization. One group directs its efforts toward protection of the business community from burglaries and acts of vandalism.

One group provides an educational forum for members by providing a broad overview of the criminal justice system. The remaining two groups focus on specific concerns: drug abuse among youth and child molestation.

Activities

The neighborhood watch groups primarily observe activity in communities and organize meetings to increase residents' awareness of prevention measures. They may distribute newsletters, post warning signs and request speakers for meetings. Topics for discussion may range from home security to fraud or child abuse. The educational/informational groups set up seminars, organize field trips relative to crime and justice, and attend court hearings and trials. The crime-specific groups become involved in lobbying efforts for legislative changes and provide education and information to members. The Society's League Against Molestation (SLAM) is primarily a self-help group for parents of molestation victims. They provide counseling support and attend court with victims. The group is part of a national organization.

ORGANIZATIONS WITH PATROL COMPONENT

Through the literature review and sources provided by the National Association of Town Watch, several organizations with citizen patrols were identified. Those initiated by the police and auxiliary police were excluded from the review since these groups generally do not represent "grassroots", citizen-initiated efforts. Four citizen groups were selected for review. A brief descriptive overview is presented for each group.

Lower Merion Township Community Watch

The Lower Merion Township Community Watch originated in Haverford, Pennsylvania in January of 1978, and was developed by the Federation of Civic Associations in cooperation with the police department in response to crime escalation.

Their main purpose is to intensify the public's awareness of crime and promote active participation in local preventative programs in cooperation with the police.

Neither weapons nor force are employed on patrols. Volunteer members are strictly additional "eyes and ears" for the police department. Residents patrol in their own radio equipped vehicles on weekend evenings from 8-11 p.m. Senior citizens patrol weekdays from 10:30-1:30 p.m. All patrollers are briefed by the police department before every patrol.

L.I.A.I.S.O.N.

The L.I.A.I.S.O.N. (Long Island Association to Increase Security in Our Neighborhood) program, founded in August of 1982, was originated by a victim of armed robbery. This group is a non-profit, volunteer organization which believes crime can be deterred as a result of involvement and visibility. It serves the metropolitan area of Long Island.

The main purpose of L.I.A.I.S.O.N. is to inform and educate people of all ages about crime prevention and to encourage neighborhood involvement against crime. This is accomplished through the use of creative programs which include civilian patrols:

- o Neighborhood Watch on Wheels: the mobile patrol component;
- o Senior Citizens Program: addresses special concerns of seniors in crime prevention;
- o "Victims are Survivors": a 24-hour telephone counseling and referral program for crime victims;
- o Whistling for Safety: distributes whistles to seniors, children and the deaf;
- o "It's a Crime!": a weekly radio talk show which discusses crime prevention;
- o Playing It Safe: presentations about child safety, including child abuse and abduction, to preschool and kindergarten age children; and
- o Speaker's Bureau: provides qualified speakers to organizations.

Patrols, mainly mobile, act as additional "eyes and ears" for the police and community. The number of patrols vary by the size of geographical sectors. Members usually patrol in their own neighborhoods.

Florence Townwatch Program

The Florence Townwatch Program, incorporated in 1981, in Florence, New Jersey, has many purposes: to enhance neighborhood security, heighten the community's power of observation through their eyes and ears and encourage mutual assistance among neighbors and police. These are accomplished through continuing informational and educational programs to increase citizens' awareness of crime.

To further accomplish these purposes, the Florence Townwatch Program engages in foot and mobile patrols which patrol streets, alleys and parks, focusing on vandalism. Walking patrols are primarily used. Community residents also watch unoccupied homes in their neighborhoods and report any suspicious activities to patrols, who, in turn, report to police. Members patrol twice a week on weekend nights. There are usually two members per patrol, whether it is a foot or mobile patrol.

Citizens Patrol, Inc. - Stockton, California

This group was developed by a citizen in Stockton, a city in central California, in early 1984. The expressed objectives are to prevent crime on the streets, provide protection and assistance to senior citizens and to protect children from abduction and molestation.

To accomplish these objectives, members have formed both mobile and foot patrols to act as "eyes and ears" of the police department. Although they function to "observe and report," members will physically intervene if necessary and use citizen's arrest powers. Volunteers use their own cars, equipped with citizen band

radios, and wear uniforms and badges stating "special security officer". The group assists senior citizens by providing transportation to medical facilities, banks and markets. With respect to protection of youth, the group uses a mobile van at school crossings and playgrounds. Volunteers observe these areas to reduce the potential for child abduction. Also, Citizens Patrol, Inc., has developed a junior cadet program to provide positive alternatives for youth by organizing events and family outings. Initially, this group created concern among Stockton residents and prompted a police investigation based on their intent to carry nightsticks, firearms and tear gas. (Off the Record, April 1984)

Following the investigation by law enforcement, the group agreed to "give up plans to carry weapons and concluded its role is to be additional eyes and ears for the Stockton Police Department." (Off the Record, May 1984)

The group is currently seeking non-profit status to receive donations and contributions.

Guardian Angels

The Alliance of Guardian Angels began in 1979 with a small group of unarmed volunteers patrolling the subways in New York City. Through the leadership efforts of Curtis Sliwa, individual chapters were developed in major urban areas throughout the country. Estimates of the actual number of chapters range from 40 to over 50 with new chapters continually emerging. Information from police departments and discussions with Sliwa suggest that chapters have been initiated in several cities, but dissolved soon after (e.g., New Haven, Baton Rouge, Albuquerque, Phoenix). Sliwa explains these areas lacked strong leadership or did not have a city nearby with a stable chapter to assist in chapter development. Findings suggest that over a third (36%) of the Z5 chapters reviewed in this study were initiated by Sliwa, although his influence was predominantly in the East. Seven of the ten chapters in the West were started by Angels in other cities or on the basis of a request by the community. The major purposes of the Guardian Angels are to provide a visual deterrent to crime and provide positive role models for young people. The primary activity in pursuit of these objectives is the patrol of streets and/or subways. They believe that their presence is a deterrent to crime and they will intervene if they see a crime in progress in contrast to most other citizen groups that report incidents to police without taking action. Physical intervention is viewed by Guardian Angels as a last resort and to be used only to protect others from harmful physical attack. Angels will also give chase in situations where a known suspect is fleeing and attempt to detain the suspect until police arrive. They may effect a citizen's arrest if an offense is committed in their presence.

Other Angel Activities. Although street and subway patrols are the primary focus of the Guardian Angels, most chapters have become involved in other community-related activities. This has occurred more frequently in the East perhaps because of the relative longevity of chapters. Additional activities seem to evolve as a result of requests by the community and Angels welcome the opportunities because there is the potential for increased visibility. Also, continuous patrolling can become a monotonous activity, so outside efforts may also be a means for reviving interest of the members as well as influencing the public perception of the Angels' purpose. Many Angel chapters have developed a Junior Angel program in which youth from ages 11 to 15 become involved in assisting chapters. This

group is not allowed to patrol, but members learn the objectives of the organization and are expected to develop an understanding about community *involvement* and helping others. The focus of the Junior Angels is to help elderly people by volunteering to rake leaves, shovel snow and other jobs that might be needed by senior citizens. The purposes of the program are to "teach younger people to feel better about themselves by aiding others and bridge the gap between younger and older people." (Alliance of Guardian Angels, Inc., no date) Other efforts by chapters include:

- o Senior escort services which may include assistance with groceries or packages and walking with senior citizens to and from a community event to insure personal safety.
- o Assist social and civic organizations with food drives, toy collection and distribution during the holidays, Halloween festivities, donating blood, and collecting food and clothing for the needy.
- o Search for missing and runaway youth.
- o Community presentations involve speaking to various groups not only about the Guardian Angels, but providing information about self-protection and ways to avoid victimization. Angels have also given self-defense training to womens' organizations.

Guardian Angel Interaction With Other Organizations

Aside from Angels' interaction with police (discussed in Chapter 7), several chapters have both formal and informal agreements with other groups. In Cleveland and Boston Angels receive free passes to ride the transit systems with the stipulation that they wear their colors. In other cities, some bus drivers and subway fare collectors allow Angels to ride free. This informal, sporadic arrangement occurred several times when researchers were patrolling with Angels. Those chapters with donated space maintain a mutual arrangement with donors of headquarters. Angels agree to provide a degree of building security and surveillance in exchange for a place to meet and conduct Angel business. Several chapters provide regular escort services at senior citizen centers and, in turn, Angels receive an invitation to dinner. Other amenities offered on a regular basis include free passes to movies and plays in areas routinely patrolled by Angels. Such partnerships were observed by the research team, particularly in fast-food restaurants in which Angels were given food and drinks.

GROUP LONGEVITY

Citizen Groups

The length of time citizen groups have been in existence ranged from 12 months to 19 years, for a mean of about four years and a median of three years.

Guardian Angels

The Guardian Angels were initiated in 1979, but chapters in individual cities vary considerably with respect to date of initial development. The date used is when a chapter graduated its first group of volunteers. For the 25 chapters examined, the

time from graduation to interview with the chapter leader ranged from two months to five years with a median of just over two years (29 months). As might be expected, the Eastern chapters reflect longer periods of existence (median - 32 months) compared to the Western chapters (median - 22 months).

MEMBERSHIP FEATURES

Citizen Groups

Leaders were asked how many members participated in the organization on a regular basis. The number of members for the 15 groups ranged from 12 to 2,000. The latter figure was provided by L.I.A.I.S.O.N. and includes autonomous groups that operate within the guidelines of L.I.A.I.S.O.N. Thus, the average of 221 members may be somewhat misleading. The median figure was 45 members. The number of members was not associated with the longevity of the organization.

Turnover

To examine turnover of membership, leaders were asked to estimate the number of current members who joined the group at its inception. The proportion of original members in the groups ranged from 5% to 100% with a median of 38% of the members remaining with the organization.

Leadership in these groups appears to have remained stable with 13 groups having only 1 or 2 leaders (presidents, chairmen). One San Diego group has had from 10-12 leaders but has also been in operation for 19 years.

Guardian Angels

Current Members

Current active members specified by the ZS Guardian Angel leaders ranged from 7 to 125 with a median of 20 members. Chapters in the East were likely to have more members than Western chapters, with the median number at 29 compared to 15 for the West. Based on the number of members provided by the 25 leaders, it is estimated that these chapters comprise a total membership of approximately 757. Estimates based on these numbers suggest a total membership from 1,000 to 2,000 members in the United States and Canada, which is a lower figure than the 3,000 usually quoted by Curtis Sliwa. Since estimates of members were obtained from leaders, the numbers may be somewhat inflated.

Turnover

The number of original graduates who are currently active members ranges from none (0) to 100 in the East and from none (0) to 12 in the Western chapters. Overall, an estimated 15% of the initial volunteers are still active in the Angels, illustrating a higher turnover than other citizen groups.

Over half of the chapters (13) have had three or more different leaders since inception. Only 20% or five of the chapters have retained the same leader since the chapter started. Stable leadership was not associated with how long a chapter had been in existence but rather tied to individual features of the chapter (e.g., power struggles, leader leaving the group, etc).

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Leadership Attainment

Citizen Groups. Four leaders indicated **they had** been elected to their current position of leadership, whereas the majority (73%) either volunteered to be in charge or initiated the group due to a concern about crime.

GuardianAngels. Twenty-two of the **chapter** leaders (88%) stated that **they had** been appointed the leader either by Curtis Sliwa or by consensus of the members. The remainder of the leaders (3) obtained this position mainly because no one else wanted the responsibility or they were "second-in-command" when the previous leader left the group. All leadership positions are confirmed by Sliwa.

Sliwa observed that the strongest leadership generally emerges from persons who initially held a secondary position in the early stages of the chapter (e.g., patrol leader, trainer). Over time, these individuals sharpened their leadership skills, expressed a willingness to take increased responsibility and became chapter leaders.

Frequency of Meetings

Citizen Groups. Over two-thirds (67%) of these groups had a meeting every other month or less with four groups joining together only 2 to 3 times a year. The nature and scope of most of these groups is strongly tied to the neighborhood watch concept so that more frequent meetings are not necessary. Those with a patrol component meet more frequently, on a monthly basis and in one case once a week.

GuardianAngels. Comparatively, Guardian Angels meet far more frequently than other citizen groups because patrolling is the group activity. Using the patrol as the focal point for Angels meeting as a group showed 36% or 9 of the chapters meeting twice a week. The majority of the leaders (16) stated that their chapters patrolled three or more times per week. (Reliability of number of patrols is discussed in Chapter 4.) Generally, members arrive prior to the start of patrol to receive uniforms and determine areas to be patrolled.

Division of Labor

CitizenGroups. All but four of the groups have designated positions tied to specific tasks (e.g., record keeping, public relations, recruitment, section coordinator, district captain, etc.) In addition, four of the fifteen organizations have a Board of Directors or an Advisory Board to assist in the decision-making process.

Guardian Angels. The main organization is based in New York and has a Board of Directors. All chapters have designated positions with specific responsibilities, although assignments vary and fluctuate based on the chapter stability, leadership and number of members at a given point in time. The most constant positions appear to be chapter leader, patrol leaders and trainers. Six chapter leaders stated that their chapters had an advisor, often referred to as an archangel, who assisted with all aspects of the chapter (e.g., obtaining office space, public relations, fund-raising, etc.). Other types of positions noted in some chapters included secretary, accountant, recruitment coordinator, and public relations officer.

Some chapters use military designations for specific responsibilities such as captain, lieutenant and sergeant, as does the citizen patrol organization in Stockton, California. However, these titles were not typical in most of the chapters.

Bylaws and Guidelines

Citizen Groups. Just over half of the organizations (8) have formalized bylaws that describe the purpose and structure of the groups. The groups primarily dedicated to neighborhood watch activities generally did not have bylaws. The groups with a patrol component describe approved behavior to be exercised when confronting either a crime in progress or suspicious activity.

Guardian Angels. The Alliance of Guardian Angels has national guidelines or rules and regulations that refer to membership criteria, acceptable conduct, and activity level required to maintain membership. Each chapter is required to adhere to the national guidelines, although flexibility is expected and individual chapter leaders may expand or modify the guidelines based on unique situations if approved by the national leader. (National Rules and Regulations are included in Appendix C.)

Record Keeping

Citizen Groups. Eight of the groups consistently maintain minutes of meetings and expenses incurred. Only one group did not keep records of any kind. Other types of information compiled by some groups included rosters of members, correspondence, meeting agendas, number of hours volunteered by members and crime statistics. Groups with patrol components also maintain records of areas patrolled, date, number patrolling and description of incidents.

Guardian Angels. All Angel chapters are required to maintain patrol logs, although evidence suggests that information is not consistently recorded. Although the format may vary, the items recorded are similar: date, hours/time patrolled, number on patrol (including trainees and observers), names of members and incidents which occurred. Another requirement is the maintenance of records of chapter expenses and donations.

Organizational Expenses

Citizen Groups

Of the fifteen groups, two incur no expenses according to those interviewed. Primary types of expenditures mentioned by other leaders were office space, telephone, photocopying and supplies. Contributions from members and donations (including in-kind) were the major outside sources of funds. Estimates of monthly expenditures ranged from \$10 to \$1,740.

Donations and Fund-raising. Over half (8) of the organizations have received no donations and have not participated in any fund-raising activities. Most of the larger groups have received (or are currently seeking) non-profit status and have been recipients of contributions ranging from \$700 to \$17,000.

Guardian Angels

The costs for operating Guardian Angel chapters varies by chapter, but the kinds of expenses are similar to other citizen groups. Sixty percent (15) of the Angel chapters have space donated for headquarters. Examples include general office space, churches, martial arts centers and space in a bus station. The remaining chapters use the home and telephone of the chapter leader. The nature of the Angel activity (i.e., patrol) does not necessarily require a meeting place, but the need for a telephone and an area to conduct training are important. Since many Angels do not have access to transportation, this also becomes a major expense for individuals. The cost for berets and T-shirts is generally borne by Angels themselves unless specifically paid for through a donation.

Expenses ranged from less than \$50 per month to over \$200 with 11 chapters reporting in the lower category. The majority of chapters have participated on a limited basis in fund-raising activities (e.g., selling Angel buttons, bake sales, car washes). Estimates from chapter leaders concerning dollar amounts received in the past year from contributions and donations ranged from less than \$50 to \$10,000, with 17 chapters reporting \$1,000 or less. Donations have come from a variety of sources including foundations, merchants, civic organizations and private citizens. The national organization has non-profit status in the State of New York and most records associated with donations and contributions are forwarded to the national office, managed by Fran Sliwa, the mother of Curtis Sliwa. In 1984, the national organization received \$35,390 in contributions and donations. In the previous two years, amounts were \$83,269 (1983) and \$74,670 (1982). Reported expenses in 1984 were \$45,566. (Correspondence, Fran Sliwa, 1985)

Nineteen chapters send dollar amounts received along with receipts for expenses to New York and are subsequently reimbursed by national headquarters. The remaining six chapters handle their own financial accounting based either on a pre-arrangement with the national leader or a condition determined by a donor contributing a significant dollar amount. Inadequate funds seem to be a constant frustration expressed by leaders, particularly with respect to telephone service and transportation for Angels. According to Curtis Sliwa, a direct focus on fund-raising and soliciting of donations would be a detriment and an unhealthy diversion for the organization. He believes that the concepts of commitment and dedication relative to operational volunteerism would become secondary to fund-seeking efforts. Sliwa suggests that values inherent in the Angel philosophy could become less meaningful with an emphasis on funds to support chapters.

Sliwa's own lifestyle appears consistent with his attitude. He and his wife live in a small apartment in lower Manhattan and do not own a car. When Sliwa travels, he generally stays in the homes of Angels or sleeps in the chapter headquarters. The Sliwa income is derived from Lisa Sliwa's modeling activities and compensation from speaking engagements and talk shows.

RECRUITMENT ISSUES

Citizen Groups

Methods of Recruiting. Community presentations and media coverage were the primary means of recruiting new volunteers. Half of the organizations also distri-

bute newsletters. Just less than half of the leaders (7) interviewed indicated that they had no difficulty in obtaining volunteers. This response was likely to be associated with the function of the groups in that those developed primarily for "neighborhood watch" purposes do not require active, overt participation in program planning. Groups with multi-purposes expressed difficulty in both soliciting volunteers and retaining them. Continued involvement in such groups depends on maintaining interest, perceptions of the crime problem and other responsibilities of volunteers. Turnover of members is seen as a continuing problem.

Screening Volunteers. Less than half (7) of the group leaders indicated that the process of screening volunteers was not applicable to their type of organizations. Again, these groups tended to be neighborhood watch oriented. The remaining groups screen volunteers with the leaders having full responsibility, with two exceptions in which the police department determines eligibility based on background checks for potential involvement in criminal behavior. Other groups also request this service by police based on a signed waiver by the potential volunteer.

Membership Exclusion. Eleven leaders observed that specific kinds of behavior could preclude potential membership or lead to termination of a member from the group. The reasons cited are related to the nature and focus of the organization and include: known sex offender, known drug abuser, substantiated criminal background, and disobeying specific rules (i.e., insist on getting out of car while on mobile patrol).

Membership Requirements. Eight groups cited no specific requirements for joining the group beyond a willingness to become involved. Four groups solicit dues from members, one requires regular meeting attendance and two groups with a patrol component have minimum age restrictions of 18 and 21 years for members.

Desirable Characteristics for Volunteers. Respondents were asked which personal characteristics are most important for being members of their organizations. The majority of leaders (9) described a caring and concerned attitude toward the community as the most significant factor. An interest in crime prevention and willingness to accept responsibility and be law-abiding were other characteristics identified.

Guardian Angels

Recruitment Methods. Talking to people while on patrol was the primary method used for recruiting new members, according to 23 (92%) of the Guardian Angel chapter leaders. Use of posters and flyers and media coverage were also mentioned by over 75% of the leaders. Presentations to schools and community groups are an additional mechanism for increasing recruits. Twenty Angel leaders (80%) expressed difficulty in recruiting volunteers, although the problem generally arises after the initial sign-up period which is generally accompanied by extensive press coverage tied to a visit by the national leader. Additionally, a considerable number of potential volunteers fail to turn up for training after expressing an interest in joining. Leaders cited a number of reasons why this occurs.

- o Some leaders feel there is a perceived negative stereotype of the Guardian Angels organization that creates concern about the potential for vigilantism and a suspicious attitude toward a multi-racial group. Overall, it is a basic

misunderstanding of what the Angels' purpose is all about, according to the chapter leaders. The misunderstanding also results in individuals wanting to join for the wrong reasons as explained by leaders (e.g., perceived glory, glamour, increased authority and control).

- o It is difficult to find people who are willing to commit the time and energy necessary for patrolling.
- o Due to *insufficient* funds, it is difficult to obtain media coverage to advertise an upcoming recruitment phase.

Retaining members is problematic as well, as observed by 20 chapter leaders (80%) and is directly associated with the Guardian Angel mission. Patrolling the streets and subways on a regular basis is often a boring activity, but Angels are required to patrol at least twice a week. Frequently, Angels are subject to verbal abuse. Also, the patrol activity warrants a team approach with responsibilities defined. Inability to contend with these factors along with inclement weather, no access to transportation, and conflicts with a job or school results in recruits leaving voluntarily or being asked to leave.

Membership Requirements. The *national* rules and regulations state that a potential volunteer must be at least 16 years of age, attending school, employed or looking for work. In addition, a member must not have a serious felony record and must be willing to participate in a *training* period. Findings suggest that nature and scope of training varies considerably among chapters and felony backgrounds are not adequately verified (see Chapter 4). Members are expected to patrol twice a week, carry no weapons and not be under the influence of alcohol and drugs while on patrol. ("Questions and Answers," Guardian Angels)

Screening Volunteers. Like their counterparts in other citizen groups, most Guardian Angel leaders (14) have final decision-making authority in accepting a recruit. In other chapters, the responsibility is shared with other Angels or confirmed by the national leader, Sliwa.

Membership Exclusion and Termination. Generally, unless an individual displays initial overt inappropriate or unacceptable behavior (defined in National Rules and Regulations), potential volunteers are accepted for a training and a review period prior to receiving "colors" (T-shirt and beret) and becoming an Angel.

Reasons leading to termination of members, commonly referred to as "losing of colors," were features of attitude and behavior reflecting the converse of traits associated with being a "responsible" Angel (see following section). There were no differences between East and West leaders in reasons given for termination.

The reason for termination mentioned by almost every Angel leader was "disobeying the rules and guidelines of the chapter." Examples of unacceptable behavior included: disorderly or disruptive behavior on patrol; solitary, unauthorized patrol; and use of abusive language. In sum, any conduct "unbecoming of an Angel" was reason for termination. The second most frequently mentioned behavior can be characterized as an "inability to get along with others," exemplified by arguing with other members, "backstabbing," attempts to take over control (power plays) and unwillingness to work toward the objectives of the chapter. Other reasons cited for termination included attitudes and behavior reflecting

desires for authority and glory; which are the "wrong" reasons for joining the Angels, according to chapter leaders. Other members were asked to leave due to alcohol or drug use while on patrol, carrying weapons, or committing crimes.

Personal Characteristics Important for Being a Guardian Angel. When asked to describe characteristics considered important for being Angels, East and West leaders gave similar responses. Descriptions appear to be associated with national membership requirements and leaders' experience regarding personality characteristics that are necessary to an effective chapter. Three primary features were identified by a majority of chapter leaders: self-control, commitment, and respect. Leaders elaborated on these factors with the following descriptions:

- o Self-Control - Members must be disciplined, have common sense and be able to "think on their feet." Over-reaction is to be avoided and members must be able to withstand verbal abuse. The necessity for restraint was observed by researchers when patrolling with Angels. On several occasions, Angels were beset with name-calling and taunts from individuals.
- o Commitment - This trait was characterized with descriptions such as "having heart," a real concern about people, **and** a willingness to protect, help and come to the aid of persons in need. Also stressed was that a dedicated attitude should not be self-serving.
- o Respect - Leaders indicated that being an Angel requires a tolerance and acceptance of all people regardless of race, sex or lifestyle. Members must have the ability to relate to different types of people and behavior whether it be senility, abuse or drunkenness.

Other traits considered important by leaders were self-respect, respect for the law, reliability, **dependability**, patience **and maturity**.

TRAINING

Citizen Groups

With the exception of one group, the San Diego organizations do not require any training of volunteers. One **neighborhood** watch group expects block captains to become **knowledgeable** about crime problems and current measures to improve home security. The four groups with citizen patrols do require training, *although* only **one group specifies a required number of hours**. In general, instructions **relate** to **how** to **complete patrol** logs, **how** to use equipment (C.B: s), and procedures for observing suspicious activity and reporting to police. The three Eastern citizen patrol groups specify that volunteers do not leave their cars to investigate suspicious acts. The training is provided with assistance by law enforcement.

Guardian Angels

The National Rules and Regulations of the Alliance of Guardian Angels state that potential applicants must participate in several weeks of training consisting of three 2-hour sessions per week. The training program includes physical conditioning, self-defense, information about citizen arrest procedures, first aid, CPR and simulated response to potential incidents. ("Questions and Answers," Guardian Angels)

Chapter leaders varied considerably with respect to amount of time required for training. The general observation was that it depends on individual mental and physical capabilities. Only five leaders indicated that all phases of the training have to be completed prior to becoming a full-fledged member (i.e., receiving "colors").

RELATIONSHIP WITH POLICE

Citizen Groups

Thirteen of the fifteen groups have informal agreements with local police departments. The nature of the agreements is characterized by law enforcement either providing a liaison person to the group or acting in an advisory capacity. Support is given in terms of information regarding crime problems, crime statistics, training and background checks conducted for potential members. Groups with citizen patrols are likely to be under closer observation by police than neighborhood watch groups due to the nature of the activity. Citizens are expected to notify police of the areas patrolled. In one group the mobile two-way radio communication is through the police department.

Guardian Angela

The law enforcement perspective was addressed in-depth in Chapter 7. The Guardian Angel leader, Curtis Sliwa, has stated that close associations with law enforcement agencies are not necessary for Angels to accomplish their objectives. He has further stated that such relationships could affect the autonomy of the group and inhibit some youth from becoming members. Nevertheless, in some cases, a formal, written agreement has been developed between the police administration and/or the transit police and the Guardian Angels, perhaps due to a perceived political expediency on both sides. Only four chapters studied have written agreements designating roles and responsibilities. Perhaps more important to the Angels is the provision for free access to public transportation. This privilege is accorded to Angels in four cities (Boston, Cleveland, Portland, Oregon, and Syracuse) based on agreements with transit authorities.

PATROL ACTIVITIES

Citizen Groups

The four citizen groups with a patrol component were compared to the Guardian Angels with regard to features about the patrol activity and characteristics of members. The patrol programs are within the Lower Merion Townwatch, the Florence Townwatch, L.I.A.I.S.O.N., and the citizen group in Stockton, California. With the exception of the Florence group, the most prevalent type of patrol is mobile rather than foot patrol.

The groups vary in how areas are chosen to patrol. Two groups rely on police statistics, suggestions by police and community requests. The Florence citizens generally patrol in their own neighborhoods. In Stockton, the patrol covers the whole city. The number of patrols out on a given day also differs by neighborhoods within the groups. Both mobile and walking patrols generally have two people assigned. Assignments by area are determined by the police in one group while the other groups give this responsibility to neighborhood or sector leaders.

Assignments vary, based on availability of volunteers and level of perceived crime activity. All four groups patrol residential areas routinely. Three groups also observe downtown (center city) areas as well as other commercial locations. Most common crime problems mentioned in these areas were burglary and vandalism. The Stockton group leader identified street crimes such as robbery and assault as the crime problems in Stockton.

Guardian Angels

In contrast to the citizen groups, the patrol activity is the primary effort of the Guardian Angels. Angel leaders perceive a more direct role in crime prevention and deterrence than other citizen group leaders who are more likely to view their patrol purpose as an adjunct to law enforcement. According to Angel leaders in 25 chapters, Angels patrol from 2 to 7 days a week with an average of 3 times a week. (These data differ from responses in Chapter 4 which were based on 8 primary sites.) The East coast leaders were more likely to have three or more patrols out at one time. The estimated average number of volunteers per patrol is 6.5, although this is not consistent in most chapters. The most frequent type of patrol is a walking patrol (16 of 25). Four Eastern chapters concentrate their activity on the subways and five leaders indicated that patrol time is equally performed on the streets and subways.

Areas Patrolled. The majority of the Angel chapters (21) patrol the urban center city areas, other commercial areas (15), residential sections (16), and parks (16) on a regular basis. Forty percent (40%) of the chapters (10) routinely patrol concerts and six leaders stated that shopping malls were a frequent patrol area. Patrols of concerts or other events (festivals, fairs) generally take place in the parking lots where Angels watch for car prowls and unruly behavior. Sometimes, Angels are requested to provide security (i.e., Metropolitan Opera summer events in Central Park). Patrol efforts in shopping malls are dependent on the private security maintained by merchants. In some areas, Angels have been asked not to patrol in these centers.

Decisions Regarding Areas to Patrol. East and West chapters did not differ with respect to how decisions are made about areas to patrol. Generally, the same areas are patrolled (e.g., downtown, shopping malls, subway routes). The chapter leader decides the specific area with input from members. According to chapter leaders, decisions about patrol locations are influenced by several factors. These include (in descending order of frequency mentioned): media accounts of specific crime in certain areas, citizens' requests for patrol, member knowledge of criminal activity through "street talk", member awareness of events with large numbers of people in attendance, and discussions with police officers about problem areas. Decisions about locations for patrol are sometimes restricted due to inclement weather conditions and availability of transportation. Weather is more critical in the East, while transportation concerns are more important in the West where mass transit availability is limited. An additional factor influencing patrol decisions is the number of members who show up for patrol, their ethnicity and experience. It was explained to the researchers that safety of patrol members is an essential consideration. In some cities, patrols are not likely to venture into areas with a concentration of minorities unless the patrol that evening has a racial composition similar to the community. In areas with known gang members, Angel patrols generally travel only upon request or if some patrol members have past relationships with gang members and can travel in designated "turf" areas without

being harassed. Media reports and observations by law enforcement have been critical of the Guardian Angels because patrols are seldom seen in known crime-ridden areas with high potential for violent behavior. Personal observation by the research team confirm the perception by the media and police. Concern for personal safety and awareness of the potential for volatile situations due to Angel presence are determinants of patrol location selection.

Perceived Crime Problems. Angel leaders in the East described crime problems in areas patrolled in much the same manner as their Western counterparts. Center city areas were perceived as having larceny offenses (e.g., purse snatch, pick-pocket, shoplift) and fights related to alcohol and drug abuse. Less frequently mentioned were violent offenses such as rape and robbery. Other commercial areas were generally characterized as having burglaries, shoplifting incidents and vandalism. Drug-related offenses, burglaries, gang-related fights and domestic violence were mentioned with regard to residential areas. At major events such as concerts, leaders cited car burglaries, auto theft, and alcohol and drug related incidents as the primary problems. For the most part, data obtained from law enforcement interviews confirmed the Angels' descriptions of crime problems in these areas.

Patrol Formation. Angel members are assigned duties or functions before each patrol. Because it is a walking patrol with more than two people, the issues of patrol formation and specific responsibilities are more important to the Guardian Angels than groups with mobile patrols. Ideally, according to the national guidelines, there should be a sufficient number of volunteers in these positions to carry out the specified functions (see page 49).

MEMBER INTERVIEWS

Perception of Purpose

CitizenGroups

Members of both the citizen groups and the Guardian Angels perceive their purpose in similar terms **and** descriptions. Two-thirds (66%) of the members in both groups stated that the purpose or reason for patrol was to prevent and deter crime. The citizen groups, however, emphasized their role as supplementary to the police by "acting as eyes and ears" of the police and reporting suspicious activity. Non-interference in criminal behavior was frequently mentioned by the Eastern citizen patrol groups. Nearly a third (28%) of these volunteers viewed their role as creating awareness in the community about crime prevention and educating citizens about ways to avoid victimization.

Guardian Angels

Nearly half the Guardian Angels (48%) described their role as protecting and helping citizens and 27% perceived their purpose to keep the streets and community safe. Also mentioned by 10% of the Angels was the objective of being a role model for youth by setting a good example of positive, alternative behavior.

Several Angels mentioned the importance of demonstrating to the community that an ethnically-mixed group of youth "dare to care" by patrolling in high crime areas. This is an important distinction between the Angels and the citizen

groups. Generally, the citizen groups are expected to patrol in neighborhoods in which volunteers reside, although there is no strict policy that requires patrolling in their own neighborhoods. However, when not in their communities, citizen patrols are usually directed by the police. As noted earlier, Angels' decisions about patrol areas are based on a variety of factors. While the police may suggest specific areas, the Angel patrol locations are not guided by law *enforcement*.

GROUP PARTICIPATION FACTORS

Length of Membership

Over a third of the citizen volunteers (36%) have belonged to the organization for two or more years compared to 28% of the Guardian Angels. Guardian Angels in the East were more than twice as likely to have been members for two or more years (37%) compared to Western Angels (15%), which is not surprising since the Eastern chapters have been established longer.

TABLE 52

LENGTH OF TIME IN ORGANIZATION,
CITIZEN GROUPS AND GUARDIAN ANGEL MEMBERS
SURVEY RESULTS
1984

Question: How long have you been a member of this *organization* or group?

	Citizen Groups	Guardian Angels
One year or less	43%	58%
13-23 months	21%	14%
Two years or more	36%	28%
	47	117

Perceived Participation

As a whole, Guardian Angels were more likely to describe their own participation as "more active than other members" (58%) than members of citizen groups (49%), and East coast members had a higher proportion in this category than West coast Angels (63% vs. 53%).

TABLE 53

PERCEIVED PARTICIPATION, CITIZEN
GROUPS AND GUARDIAN ANGEL MEMBERS
SURVEY RESULTS - 1984

Survey Question: How would you describe your participation in this group?
Would you **say you are ...**

	Citizen Groups	Guardian Angels
More active than other members?	49%	58%
About as active?	47%	38%
Less active than other members?	4%	4%
	47	116

Citizen groups vary in the number of patrols per week and in the frequency which members patrol. Individuals in citizen groups are likely to patrol once a month because the pool of volunteers is much larger than the Guardian Angels. Nearly half the citizen volunteers (49%) indicated that they attend all or most meetings of their organization. However, this may be only on a monthly basis before their scheduled time for patrol. The nature of the Guardian Angel patrol activity results in Angel members meeting together far more frequently than other citizen groups. Also, the national guidelines require that volunteers must patrol at least twice a week. Forty-six percent (46%) of the members reported that they patrol three or more times per week, with an average of 2.5 times per person.

Nearly half of the Guardian Angels (48%) indicated they were patrol leaders in their chapters, while 32% of the citizen volunteers stated they were an officer in their organization. Citizen groups, however, are structured along common bureaucratic lines with positions such as president, vice-president and secretary. Members responding to the survey may be responsible for their areas (i.e., section coordinator), but do not consider this position as an officer in the traditional sense. With the Angels, the patrol leader is expected to direct the patrol and act in a decision-making capacity when necessary. It is probably important to have a significant number of patrol leaders due to turnover and the fact that different members may show up on different nights.

Perceived Effectiveness

Both the Guardian Angels and the members of citizen groups consider their groups effective in terms of reducing crime and increasing citizens' feelings of safety. On the average, citizens perceived their groups as slightly more effective in preventing or reducing crime on a scale from 1 to 5 with 5 being very effective (4.4 vs. 4.0 for Angels). In terms of increasing citizens' feelings of safety, the mean score for both groups was identical (4.2).

TABLE 54

PERCEIVED EFFECTIVENESS OF ORGANIZATION,
CITIZEN GROUPS AND GUARDIAN ANGEL MEMBERS
SURVEY RESULTS - 1984

Survey Question: Using a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being very effective and 1 being not at all effective, please indicate the number that best describes how effective you feel this group is in preventing or reducing crime.

	<u>Citizen Groups</u>	<u>Guardian Angels</u>
Mean Score	4.4	4.0

Survey Question: Using the same scale, please indicate the number that best describes how effective your group is in increasing citizens' feelings of safety.

	<u>Citizen Groups</u>	<u>Guardian Angels</u>
Mean Score	4.2	4.2

Reason for Joining Organization

Citizen Groups

The majority of members of the citizen groups (30) indicated that they became members to make their community safer by getting people involved to prevent and deter crime. Typical responses included:

"I felt there was a need to become personally involved in a program which helps communities fight crime in their area."

"Concerted community activity is absolutely necessary if we are to succeed in putting a dent in crime statistics."

"I felt it was my duty as a resident home owner to participate in the program."

"If you want a better place to live and work in, you have to do something yourself."

Other reasons given for membership were associated with a program component (e.g., member worked for radio station); member was prior victim of crime; or requested assistance in setting up community group. Several members observed that they were retired and this volunteer effort was a worthwhile way to get involved.

Guardian Angels

The primary reason for joining the Guardian Angels, according to 75 of the 117 members in ten cities (64%), was a desire to help people in need. The majority of the Angels elaborated on this reason by observing that the Guardian Angels reflected a cause or concept in which they believed and the group provided a means to help others by becoming involved. They perceived their involvement as a "positive and worthwhile contribution."

Over a quarter of the Angels (29%) said they joined because they were tired of crime and seeing elderly and young people hurt and/or scared. Other responses included:

- o Membership in the Guardian Angels was *a way* to stay out of trouble (14%).**
- o The group stops crime (12%).**
- o Members had been victims or had relatives and friends who were crime victims (9%).**
- o Membership provided a feeling of importance, self-pride, and a sense of belonging or being part of a group (9%).**
- o The Guardian Angels provided positive role models for youth and also demonstrated to adults that young people can participate in a positive way to improve the community (6%).**
- o Some Angels (6%) said they joined because they wanted a law enforcement career and thought that the Angels' activity would provide good experience.**

These responses were typical:

"I like helping people — I try to treat people the way I want them to treat me -- This will pay later in life, like help me to get a job — I don't like seeing friends or relatives scared to go somewhere."

"...because I like helping people. I've seen too many people beaten up and how families suffered."

"I felt my time should be spent in the community in a constructive way and show that there are compassionate people who care."

"I needed something like the Guardian Angels... It's the first time I ever graduated from anything. Angels give me a sense of belonging and togetherness, when I think about how my life could have gone. It kept me in high school."

"I wanted to contribute to the community. I read about people standing by watching crimes and not calling police. I wanted to get involved in an organization that may help and show people its OK to get involved."

A related question asked to Angels was, "Of all the things Guardian Angels do, what do you think they do best?" The most prevalent response of the 117 members (28%) was to be a visual deterrent to crime through presence on the streets and subways. Other opinions, in descending order of frequency, are as follows:

- o Make citizens feel safe, secure, comfortable because they know we're there to help (15%)
- o Communicate with all kinds of people, develop rapport with old and young alike (9%)
- o Give help to people (7%)
- o Set positive examples and role models for youth (4%)
- o Demonstrate commitment and determination to get involved (3%)

SATISFACTION WITH GROUP

Volunteers were asked how satisfied they were that participation in the group was what they had expected. Overwhelmingly, members of both groups expressed satisfaction; 100% of the citizen groups and 97% of the Angels. An additional question asked of the Angels was how their friends felt about their involvement in the Angels. Nearly two-thirds (64%) said their friends were supportive and 20% stated their friends did not express support. Others observed that their friends did not care or did not express an opinion (16%).

Another indicator of satisfaction was responses referring to how long members intended to stay with their respective groups. Citizen group members (89%) were more likely than Angels (64%) to express an indefinite period of time (e.g., "as long as rm able," "as long as the organization exists," "forever"). The difference may be related to the age of Angels. As a group, they are younger, and in the planning phases of their lives (e.g., education, career development). Citizen members have established their careers and in many cases have retired. This assumption was supported by reasons given by Angels for leaving the group which were related to life changes such as moving, finding employment and joining the military.

PARTICIPATION IN OTHER VOLUNTEER EFFORTS

Another factor possibly associated with age is involvement in other volunteer groups. Over three quarters (77%) of the citizen members said they participated in other groups. Types of groups mentioned were civic, social and health-related organizations. Several respondents noted participation in church and school-related activities. However, just over a third of the Angel members (35%) cited involvement in other volunteer efforts. Of the 41 Angels who volunteer in other groups, 24% cited church-related activities. Other types of efforts included school activities (10), involvement in various social and health organizations (8), martial arts (5) and auxiliary police (4).

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF MEMBERS

As shown in Table 55, Angel volunteers are more likely to be young male minorities currently in school than their counterparts in other citizen groups. Sixty-six percent (66%) of the Angels are 20 years of age or less, with a mean age of 20.4. In contrast, 66% of the citizen patrol members are 50 years or older. Ethnic differences are associated with areas served in that 94% of the citizen groups cited their ethnic background or race as white. The communities in which these groups function are predominantly middle/upper-middle class neighborhoods with a majority of the total population being white. Guardian Angels, on the other hand, tend to draw their ranks from inner-city areas which are, historically, minority-based. Close to one-third of the Angels interviewed were white (32%) with a higher proportion on the West (38%) than the East (27%). Over a quarter of the Angels (29%) described themselves as black and 23% indicated they were Hispanic. The latter group may be slightly under-represented because Eastern Angels differed as to whether they saw themselves as black or Hispanic when they were from Puerto Rico. A review of over 300 membership applications completed by individuals wishing to be Guardian Angels showed a Hispanic representation of 40%. The actual proportion of Hispanics who are members is likely between the 23% and 40% figures. While citizen groups reflect an almost even split between males (53%) and females (47%), Guardian Angels' membership is dominated by males (84%). This is not surprising, considering the stereotype of the Angels as a "type of gang" and sociocultural mores which limit female involvement in certain groups.

More than half of the Guardian Angels (59%) have not completed high school and 50% are still in high school. The majority of citizen volunteers (62%) are college graduates or have obtained higher educational levels. However, the same proportion of both Angels and citizen volunteers (51%) are employed. About half the volunteers in each group stated that they work 20 or less hours per week. As might be expected, based on age, citizen volunteers are more likely to be married than Guardian Angels (72% **vs.** 11%).

TABLE 55

**SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS,
CITIZEN GROUPS AND GUARDIAN ANGEL MEMBERS
SURVEY RESULTS, 1984**

	Citizen Groups	Guardian Angels
SEX		
Male	53%	84%
Female	47%	16%
Total	47	117
AGE		
15-17	0	26%
18-20	0	40%
21-25	0	20%
26-49	34%	14%
50 & over	66%	0
Total	47	117
ETHNICITY		
White	94%	32%
Black	4%	29%
Hispanic		23%
Other	2%	16%
Total	47	117
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION COMPLETED		
Less than high school	2%	59%
High school graduate	13%	25%
Some college or trade school	23%	15%
College graduate	19%	2%
More than 4 years college	43%	0
Total	47	114
EMPLOYED		
Yes	51%	51%
No	49%	49%
Total	47	117
ANNUAL INCOME		
Less than \$5,000	4%	38%
\$5,000-14,999	15%	30%
\$15,000-24,999	19%	30%
\$25,000 & over	62%	2%
Total	26	60
MARITAL STATUS		
Married	72%	11%
Other (single, divorced, widowed)	28%	89%
Total	47	117

Using the 1980 Census categories for occupations noted, the following breakdown emerged based on respondents' descriptions of their occupations:

<u>Citizen Groups</u>	<u>Responses</u>
o Managerial and professional specialty occupations (Examples: architect, engineer, attorney, medical physicist)	7
o Technical sales and administrative support (Examples: public insurance adjustor, credit manager)	6
o Service occupations (Examples: clergy, teacher, guidance counselor, nurse)	6
o Operators, fabricators, and laborers (Examples: bookbinder, auto mechanic)	3
<u>Guardian Angels</u>	<u>Responses</u>
o Managerial and professional specialty occupations (Examples: personnel manager, administrative assistant)	2
o Technical sales and administrative support (Examples: clerks, legal analyst, data entry operator, draftsman)	18
o Service occupations (Examples: cashiers, waiters, security guards)	28
o Precision production, craft, and repair occupations (Examples: auto mechanic, carpenter)	4
o Operators, fabricators, assemblers, laborers (Examples: usher, dishwasher, maintenance, delivery people)	28

Citizens in crime prevention groups are more likely to have employment in professional fields and earn considerably more income than Angels. Again, age is a factor, since Angels are either in school or just beginning their careers.

ADDITIONAL ANGEL RECRUIT INFORMATION

To examine Angel recruits' characteristics, applications filed by potential members were reviewed. The data set included available applications completed in the last year at each primary site. This effort also allowed a limited aggregate analysis of differences between individuals who sign-up to be Angels and those who actually become members (those interviewed).

It appears that persons who join the Angel ranks are likely to be older than individuals who initially file an application (Table 56). Fifty-five percent (55%) of

TABLE 56
 SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS,
 ANGEL MEMBERS AND ANGEL RECRUITS*
 1984

	Angel Members	Potential Angel Recruits
SEX		
Male	84%	85%
Female	16%	15%
Total	117	392
AGE		
15 & Under	4%	11%
16-17	22%	47%
18-19	29%	23%
20 & Over	44%	19%
Total	117	380
ETHNICITY		
White	32%	27%
Black	29%	26%
Hispanic	23%	40%
Other	16%	7%
Total	117	280
EMPLOYED		
Yes	51%	24%
No	49%	76%
Total	117	384
OTHER VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES		
Yes	35%	17%
No	65%	83%
Total	117	387

*Data source: Guardian Angel application forms in 8 primary sites.

the members interviewed were 19 years or less compared to 81% that signed up with the Angels. Eleven percent (11%) of the applicants were 15 or under, and therefore were presumably not eligible for membership, compared to 4% of the members in this age range. Perhaps related to the younger age of potential members is the finding that more than twice the proportion of members interviewed compared to recruits indicated that they were employed (51% vs. 24%). Current members were also more likely than recruits to be involved in other volunteer efforts (35% vs. 17%) which may also be related to age.

Since the number of interviews with members was not based on a random sample, it is possible that the data are skewed. One could speculate that only the older, more mature Angels showed up for interviews with the research team. However, after two site visits, it is the opinion of the authors that there was no organized effort to present specific Angels, although those interviewed are likely to be more active.

CONCLUSION

Comparing the Guardian Angels with fifteen other citizen groups reveals distinct differences in several areas and similarities in other organizational features. Generally, Angel members are more likely to be young, male and minority. The focus of their crime deterrence activity is foot patrol in center city areas including subways. Other citizen volunteers tend to be older, include a near equal number of males and females, and are more likely to be white. Their purposes are broader. Those groups with a patrol component usually conduct two-person mobile patrols in the volunteers' own neighborhood. Due to larger numbers, other citizen volunteers patrol less frequently (i.e., once a month) than Guardian Angels who are required to patrol at least twice a week. On an individual basis, the level and nature of involvement by Angels is greater than volunteers in other citizen groups in terms of time committed, the necessity for a group effort, exposure to the public and level of training required. Also, citizen groups are more likely to adopt a position that augments law enforcement efforts (i.e., "eyes and ears" for police), whereas Guardian Angels will intervene in a crime in progress or disturbance despite objections by police.

Leadership in citizen groups is generally localized at the neighborhood level, although volunteers may be affiliated with a national or state organization (i.e., National Association of Town Watch). Guardian Angel leaders are comprised of young community residents but strong leadership is exerted by the founder, Curtis Sliwa. Frequent communication occurs between Sliwa and chapter leaders, generally initiated by local leaders. The majority of chapters also send all financial contributions to the New York headquarters and are subsequently reimbursed for chapter expenses.

Both the Guardian Angels and the other citizen groups have organizational and structural features typical of groups organized for a purpose. They have specific positions or officers, maintain records of activity, have guidelines or bylaws and similar methods for recruiting volunteers. The Guardian Angels have more restrictive membership requirements and rules governing behavior of volunteers on patrol than other citizen groups. This is, in part, due to the visibility on the street and the potential for intervention which requires specific actions to be taken. The younger age of the Guardian Angels likely accounts for other differences between Angel members and citizen volunteers. Findings suggest that the Angel group has

a higher turnover of members, lower educational levels and annual income and are less likely to be involved in additional volunteer efforts than their counterparts in other groups.

Membership features of the Guardian Angels offer a resource for volunteers in crime prevention that has previously been untapped. The nature of their leadership is strongly associated with their ability to sustain their activities and is discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSIONS AND
RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions and Recommendations

This exploratory study of the Guardian Angels described the activities and organizational features of **a comparatively** unique volunteer citizen patrol **group**. Research efforts sought to address these questions:

- o Is crime reduced when Angels patrol?
- o Does their presence foster order and feelings of safety?
- o What elements of their activities and structure contribute to and detract from their effectiveness?

These issues logically lead to corollary questions, including:

- o Should efforts be undertaken to achieve some rapprochement between the **Guardian** Angels and the police?
- o Should the **Guardian** Angels recruit more members and increase their visibility on the streets of urban America?
- o What are the implications for future research on citizen patrols?

This concluding section will summarize the major findings and present recommendations based on conclusions. Despite the methodological limitations noted throughout the report, our evidence suggests the following conclusions regarding the Guardian Angels:

- o Analysis indicates that the Guardian Angels **had** minimal impact on violent crimes in one urban downtown area, but patrols may have had a short-term effect on property crimes when their visibility was at peak levels. Also, Guardian Angels have provided assistance to citizens and assisted police in a limited number of crime incidents. These efforts can have positive impacts on the criminal justice system.
- o Findings suggest that segments of the population perceive that the Guardian Angels are effective in reducing crime and that Angel patrols make citizens feel safe. Older citizens and females were most likely to hold these views.
- o The Guardian Angels have the potential for generating an informal social control mechanism that recent literature suggests is important to crime prevention and impacting fear of crime (Greenberg, 1985; Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Findings from studies on police foot patrol have shown that more police officers walking the beat may not reduce crime but may increase citizens' feelings of safety due to the presence of informal social controls

(Trojanswicz & Banas, 1985; McGovern, 1983). Positive views of citizens may be associated with citizen perception that Angels contribute to a sense of order and control. In Cleveland, the Angels actively performed a social control function. Citizens in this community reflected the most positive views toward the Angels. Although the Guardian Angels do not patrol in their own neighborhoods, the organizational structure of the group features several conditions that foster informal social control as identified by Greenberg: a cohesive, small group, frequent contacts and similarity in beliefs and social characteristics (Greenberg, 1985).

- o Favorable perceptions of Angels were also observed by Eastern subway riders. These findings may be associated not only with high visibility of Angels, their informal social control activity, but may also be related to the relatively autonomous nature of the subway compared to a specific residential neighborhood. The transit system represents comparatively neutral territory open to all citizens, whereas communities generate feelings of ownership and perhaps loyalty. When Angels venture into neighborhoods without contacting community leaders and residents, feelings of suspicion and resentment are not unexpected results as demonstrated in the Boston Mattapan community.
- o In the literature, several factors have been associated with the stability and maintenance of citizen groups organized to prevent and deter crime. Some of these factors are applicable to the Guardian Angels, yet the Angel organization reflects unique features that may also contribute or detract from its continuity. Marx and Archer (1973) studied the activities of vigilante groups during the 1960's and delineated specific factors relative to the stability of these groups. The authors stress the importance for groups to have "the approval of the community the group presumes to represent." Findings suggests that Angels do gain support in specific areas where their visibility is high.
- o Another feature cited by Marx and Archer is the need for a "strong, charismatic leader to bridge the gap between officials and the community." There is no doubt that Curtis Sliwa exhibits charismatic qualities that encourage and motivate young, minority youth to become involved in an organized crime prevention activity. Sliwa's emphasis on providing positive role models for youth is commendable as well.
- o Sliwa's philosophy reflects his understanding of the concepts of volunteerism and contributes to his ability to continue to attract Angel volunteers. The Guardian Angel organization addresses the underlying motivations associated with volunteerism, including a feeling of being liked and accepted, a desire for status, a desire to perform and have a position of authority. The act of volunteering allows participants to meet an unfulfilled need in their own personal lives (Routh, 1972). The Guardian Angels organization also provides its members with a sense of belonging, an opportunity to make rules, and offers a feeling that the effort contributes to human welfare c.f. (Naylor, 1967). Sliwa also is aware of other factors associated with volunteer motivation such as recognition, feedback, reinforcement and mobility within the organization (Naylor, 1967).

By tapping a previously unrecognized group of young people, Sliwa offers what is perceived as a "worthy mission," characterized by Marx and Archer as "a positive ideology that affirms what the group supports as well as what it opposes." Sliwa "dares" the Angels to "care" and combines the macho image with an orientation that supports the value of helping others. The Guardian Angels organization provides the opportunity for authority yet encourages resistance to verbal abuse and considers physical confrontation as a last resort. The Guardian Angel mission is structured with relevant training and provides opportunities for leadership. The uniform of the red beret and T-shirt recognizes the need for distinctive identification. In essence, Sliwa makes it "cool" to be a Guardian Angel. The extent to which Sliwa successfully bridges the *gap* between the Angels and the city officials is questionable, however, and is discussed along with other features of group stability.

- o Other factors related to group maintenance, according to Marx and Archer, are financial support and legitimacy from local government. Neither of these factors are granted to the Guardian Angels. With regard to finances, Sliwa acknowledges that contributions from private citizens and organizations are helpful, but he is reluctant to accept funds from any government entity and does not actively encourage fund-raising by local chapters. His justification for this position is associated with his feelings about the concept of the Guardian Angels and his desire to remain independent and autonomous. He observes that the motivation for helping and protecting people could be diluted with a focus on fund-raising. He feels that commitment to the Angel concept might be negatively redirected if the organization became financially comfortable. Sliwa also believes that positive relationships with police and city officials are not necessary for Angels to fulfill their mission. While he recognizes that formal agreements may urge local officials to communicate with Angels and such communication can reduce potential conflicts, he is unwilling to encourage close ties with public entities. It should be noted that some individual chapters have developed positive associations with police agencies. Sliwa accepts these interactions and in most situations respects the chapter leaders' efforts to sustain such communication. This is in line with another feature of stability: varying regulation by police (Marx & Archer, 1973). The authors of the "Urban Vigilante" conclude their study by observing that the groups most likely to survive are those that accommodate to the official power structure. However, they add an interesting paradox by stating that the "accommodations that help a group stay in business can estrange it from its presumed constituents. It is difficult to enjoy official toleration without being exploited or subverted by authorities" (Marx & Archer, 1973). Sliwa appears to recognize this potential.
- o Our empirical observation of the Guardian Angels confirms the reasons identified by Marx and Archer as to why local officials are reluctant to support groups that attempt to deter disorders or prevent crime:
 - Groups are not held accountable;
 - Power of groups is not legally subscribed;
 - Screening of members is inadequate.

In Reactions to Crime, McPherson and Silloway elaborate on the inherent tension between police and groups that take the initiative to prevent crime without assistance by police. These authors state that most crime reduction

programs that are government funded define crime in the legalistic sense and have strong ties to the police, who are most comfortable when they direct the prevention activities. When citizens take the lead and exclude law enforcement or activities do not correspond with police opinions, officers feel threatened (McPherson & Silloway, 1981). This rationale may underlie the reluctance of police administrators to openly support the Guardian Angels and explain the negative and often hostile remarks by line officers. Our research suggests that law enforcement and local government officials may be unclear about the Angel organization and mission and are uneasy about features relative to membership.

The Rules and Regulations of the Guardian Angels state that the first 50 volunteers cannot have arrest records that include felonies. Thereafter, only individuals with arrests for serious crimes are excluded. However, the screening process, in most cases, is not adequate because it relies on the volunteer to provide this information.

- o The results of this study do not support the label of vigilantism often attached to the Guardian Angels by the popular press and representatives of law enforcement. However, the reluctance of police administrators to officially support the Angels may stem from a police perception that places the Angels within the context of vigilantism. In their study of 28 vigilante groups prevalent in the 1960's, Marx and Archer found that supplemental or adversarial relationships with police did not determine positive or negative feelings of police toward such groups. The authors suggest that police often oppose supplemental groups (organized to provide assistance to police) because of the professional's dislike of sharing authority and prestige with an amateur, even nominally (Marx & Archer, 1973). Probably more relevant to the Angels, the police often fear the groups will make tactical mistakes and abuse their power, according to Marx and Archer. The potential for abuse by Angels was mentioned by many police personnel.

Although our evidence is limited, few instances were noted in which Angels intervened inappropriately, although most line officers felt that this had occurred. Inconsistent or inadequate training of members may be associated with such actions and can also impact the physical safety of the Angel members or result in false arrests.

- o This study pointed out features of the Guardian Angels organization both similar to, and different from, other citizen groups organized to prevent crime. The differences may provide insight into the relative longevity of the Angels and the continued emergence of new chapters. Another significant feature may be the conceptual framework in which most citizens operate compared to the Angels. Research suggests that citizens most likely to participate in crime prevention efforts are those who are integrated into their community and address other community issues along with crime (Lavrakas, 1981). Although the Guardian Angel mission may be responsive to citizen perceptions of fear, the motivation of the members is guided by additional factors that may contribute to sustaining the Angel organization.

The Guardian Angels organization presents an interesting form of crime prevention with some features that simultaneously contribute to, and detract from its stability and effectiveness, such as its relative autonomy and inde-

pendence, the composition of members (inner-city minority youth often perceived as perpetrators of street crimes) and the nature of leadership provided by Sliwa.

- o Although this study is exploratory and conclusions are tentative, it is suggested that the Angels do offer an alternative approach for citizen involvement in crime prevention by providing positive role models for the youth in need of such models, bridging the gap between older citizens and adolescents and reducing the fear of crime for certain segments of the general citizenry. Limited evidence suggests that Angel chapters that enjoy working relationships with other community organizations and become involved in activities beyond street patrol are more likely to be perceived favorably by the community. These activities also contribute to these chapters sustaining members.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study and the review of relevant research regarding citizen crime prevention efforts have led to the following observations regarding ways the Guardian Angels could improve their approach to crime prevention and **deterrence:**

- o **Guardian Angel chapters should adhere to the National Rules and Regulations.**
 - Particular attention should be given to minimum age of members.
 - Screening of recruits should be improved (i.e., possibility of felony arrests should be verified, references should be checked).
 - Uniforms should be standardized (i.e., T-shirts worn on outside so insignia is visible; no metal studs on wrist bands) to insure that Angels can be easily identified and not confused with a gang.
 - Angels should interact with police in a positive manner in areas patrolled.
 - Record keeping regarding patrols should be improved, including more complete recording of all contacts, detailed descriptions of interventions and names of suspects and witnesses. This kind of information may be useful in police investigations and in situations when Angels are asked to testify in court.
- o **The Guardian Angels should increase their interaction and coordination with other citizen groups.** The other groups could be crime prevention oriented or community-issue oriented. This type of interaction would increase the visibility of the Angels and allow citizen groups to learn about the objectives of the Guardian Angels. This recommendation is consistent with the literature which suggests that groups that expand their focus beyond crime prevention are more successful in sustaining members.
- o **In each city, Angel chapters should increase public awareness regarding the objectives of the group.** This can be accomplished through media coverage, and presentations to police departments, schools and community groups.

- o **Training** for Angel members should **be** standardized in terms **of nature and scope**. Each member should receive a specified number of hours of training in the following areas: self defense, legal issues pertaining to citizen's arrests, first aid, CPR and appropriate intervention for specific types of incidents. A mechanism for testing members' competence should be employed upon completion of training.
- o **To improve efforts to recruit members, the national leader should participate in local recruitment drives on an ongoing basis.** More members would increase visibility, allow for more frequent patrols and possibly strengthen their potential deterrent effect.
- o **The Guardian Angels should seek rapprochement with police, community leaders and decision makers in cities where there is not a clear understanding of respective roles.** The Angel mission must be clear and include the following caveats:
 - Angels do not take the place of police;
 - Angels have specific capabilities and limitations;
 - Angels have the potential to provide support mechanisms for communities.

If police personnel are apprised of the Angels' objectives, areas patrolled, and requested to assist the Angels with screening of potential members and/or citizen arrest procedures, police may acknowledge ways that Angels can assist in preventing and deterring crime. The Angels may benefit from positive recognition by police and could direct their patrols based on sound information concerning high crime areas or specific crimes that could be impacted by Angel patrols.

- o **Prior to setting up new patrols in neighborhoods, Guardian Angels should first meet with community leaders to identify concerns and needs of the citizenry and the types of groups in existence to address these problems.** Angels need to determine the tolerance level of the community with respect to types of crimes and incivilities and be sensitive to the reluctance of the community. Without the support and positive recognition of large and influential segments of the community, the Angels will continue to be viewed with distrust and skepticism.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This report provides a overview of the Guardian Angels and places this group within the framework of citizen crime prevention. The findings raise issues that warrant further study.

- o The impact of citizen patrols on serious crime, incivilities and citizen fear of crime requires research that would employ different models of patrols with a capacity to manipulate patrol styles and frequency of patrols in different experimental settings.

- o Research also needs to be conducted on the relationship between citizen patrols, order maintenance and social control, citizen feelings of safety and incidence of crime.
- o **The findings from this exploratory research concerning the issues of recruitment, training, leadership and relationships with police can provide the focus for future examination in more controlled settings and may be helpful in the formation of other citizen patrols.**
- o **And finally, this study suggests that inner-city minority youth can be motivated to contribute in positive involvement in the community. The dynamics involved in this process should be explored further.**

The results of this study should contribute to the current knowledge regarding citizen patrols. Such patrols represent a unique form of crime control and have increased in this country yet research has been limited regarding their effectiveness and their relationship to law enforcement. It is suggested that more extensive research be conducted based on the exploratory findings presented in this study of the Guardian Angels.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahern, James F. Police in Trouble. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1972.
- Akers, Ronald L. and Edward Sagarin (eds.). Crime Prevention and Social Control. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.
- Arnone, William J. "Mobilizing the Elderly in Neighborhood Anti-Crime Programs." Aging, March/April 1976, pp. 23-25.
- Associated Press. "Five Guardian Angels Plead Not Guilty to Trespass." Dallas Morning News, September 2, 1983.
- Beckman, Erik. Law Enforcement in a Democratic Society. Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hill, 1980.
- Bittner, F. B. Salt Lake City Anti-Crime Program - Evaluation - Final Report. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Justice, 1978.
- Blubaum, Paul E. "Maricopa County Sheriffs Department Volunteer Program." Police Chief, 43 (February 1976) 34-36.
- "Blue Print to Fight Crime; Community Mobilization Plan of F. E. Dunn and M. Stone." U.S. News and World Report, July 23, 1976, p. 76.
- Boostrom, Ronald L. and Joel H. Henderson. "Crime Prevention Models and Police Community Relations." Police Journal, 17 (October-December 1984) 373-382.
- Boostrom, Ronald L. and Joel H. Henderson. "Community Action and Crime Prevention: Some Unresolved Issues." Crime and Social Justice, 19 (Summer 1983) 24-30.
- Boston, Guy. Community Crime Prevention: A Selected Bibliography. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1977, p. 14.
- "**Buddy** Buzzers Prevent Crime." Aging, **January/February** 1981, pp. 315-316.
- California Assembly. Crime Prevention Select Committee Interim Hearing on Community Crime Prevention, Sacramento, 1978.
- California Crime Resistance Task Force. California Crime Resistance Task Force:—How It Can Help Your Community. Sacramento, CA: Office of Criminal Justice Planning, 1978.
- Campbell, Donald T. and Julian C. Stanley. Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research. Rand McNally & Company, Chicago, 1963.

- Castberg, A. D. "Assessing Community Based Citizen Anti-Crime Programs." U.S.A. Today, January 1980, pp. 33-35.**
- Cermak, Mary. "Sliwa Scores Big in Schenectady." Knickerbocker News, April 5, 1985.**
- Chamber of Commerce. Marshalling Citizen Power Against Crime. Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, 1970.
- Cianci, Laura. "Angels Stage Sit-In for Dotson." Rockford Register Star, April 23, 1985.**
- Cirel, Paul et al. An Exemplary Project: Community Crime Prevention. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1977.**
- Cohen, Fay G. "The Indian Patrol in Minneapolis: Social Control and Social Change in an Urban Context." Law and Society Review, 17:4 (Summer 1973) 779-786.**
- Community Crime Prevention. Washington, D.C.: National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, January 23, 1973, p. 14.**
- Community Crime Prevention Programs: Their Impact and Value for Pennsylvania Municipalities. Harrisburg, PA.: Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency, 1981.**
- Community Crime Prevention Task Force of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. "A Call for Citizen Action: Crime Prevention and the Citizen." April 25, 1974.
- Community Safety Information. Portland: Center for Urban Education, 1981, p. 15.**
- Cook, Roger F. and Janice A. Roehl. Preventing Crime and Arson: A Review of Community Based Strategies. Reston, VA: Institute for Social Analysis, July 1983.
- Crime in the United States. Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1983.
- Crime Resistance. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.
- De Campli, Thomas. Neighborhood Security Project, City of Wilmington. 1977. NCJRS 45757.
- Delong, William and Gail Goolkasian. Neighborhood Fight Against Crime: The Midwood Kings Highway Development Corporation. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, 1982.
- Diegelman, R. F. "We Can Prevent Crime." Justice Assistance News, February 1982, pp. 2-8.

- DuBow, Fredric, Edward McCabe, Gail Kaplan. Reactions to Crime: A Critical Review of the Literature. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 1979.
- Duffy, Marty. "A CB Patrol That Works." Police Chief, 49 (May 1982) 36-39.
- Duncan, D. T. Skip. Citizens Crime Prevention Tactics: A Literature Review and Selected Bibliography. Ed. John Stone. U.S. Dept. of Justice, 1980.
- Evaluation/Policy Research Associates. Edgewater Uptown Community Safety Program. 1978. NCJRS 45760.
- Fearon, Peter. "Sliwa Chooses Prison Over \$100 Fine." New York Post, April 24, 1984.
- Feins, Judith D., with Joan Peterson and Emily L. Rovetch. Partnerships for Neighborhood Crime Prevention. U.S. Department of Justice, Issues and Practices. National Institute of Justice, June 1983.
- Fernandez, Elizabeth. "Unruly Youths no Longer Get Sympathy." Sacramento Bee (No date).
- Fisher, Pamela. "Community Crime Prevention: A Selected Bibliography." Community Crime Prevention. National Council on Crime and Delinquency, pp. 375-393.
- Fowler, Floyd J., Jr., with Mary Ellen McCalla and Thomas W. Mangione. Reducing Residential Crime and Fear. The Hartford Neighborhood Crime Prevention Program. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, U.S. Government Printing Office, December 1979.
- Furstenberg, Frank, Jr. "Public Reaction to Crime in the Street." American Scholar, Vol. 40:4, Autumn 1971.
- Gandelman, Joe. "Tijuana Keeps Reins on Guardian Angels." San Diego Union, May 19, 1985.
- Garry, Eileen M. Volunteers in the Criminal Justice System: A Literature Review and Selected Bibliography. Ed. Nancy Arnesen. U.S. Dept. of Justice, June 1980.
- Gest, Ted. "Street Crime, People Fight Back." U.S. News and World Report, April 15, 1985.
- Gilman, Andrew. "Curtis Sliwa." Penthouse (August, 1982).
- Glass, Gene V., et al. Design and Analysis of Time Series Experiments. Colorado Associated University Press, Colorado, 1975.
- Gordon, D. A. "Crime: The Citizen Connection." Vital Speeches Pay, May 1, 1983, pp. 432-434.

- Greenberg, Martin Alan, Auxiliary Police:—The Citizen's Approach to public Safety. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Greenberg, Stephanie W., William M. Rohe, Jay R. Williams. Informal Citizen Action and Crime Prevention at the Neighborhood Level. U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, March 1985.
- Greer, C. and F. Reissman. "Crime Prevention: An Alternative Perspective." SocialPolicy. 12 (Spring 1982) Z.
- Gross, Bertram. "Some Anti-crime Proposals for Progressives." Crime and Social Justice. 17 (Summer 1982) 51-54.
- "Guardian Angels Arrested." Syracuse Herald Journal. March 15, 1985.
- "Guardian Angels Hold Subway Protest." Herald Examiner. May 14, 1984.
- "Guardian Angels Spread Their Wings." Newsweek. December 28, 1981.
- Hale, Donna C. and Robert G. Leonik. "Planning Community Initiated Crime Prevention." Journal of Police Science and Administration. 10 (March 1982) 76-82.
- Hanf, Linda. "Get Involved is Message." The Orangevale News. April 1985.
- Hanushek, Eric and John Jackson. Statistical Methods for Social Scientists. Orlando, Florida: Academic Press, 1977.
- Haskins, James. The Guardian Angels. New Jersey: Enslow Publishers, 1983.
- Hayes, J. F. Impact of Citizen Involvement in Preventing Crime in Public Housing. Washington, D. C., Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1982. NCJRS 81768.
- Henican, Ellis and Pamela Newkirk. "No Tents in Park, Sliwa Promises." KnickerbockerNews, September 29, 1984.
- Hindelang, Michael, Michael Gottfredson and James Garfalo. Victims of Personal Crime:—An Empirical Foundation for a Theory of Personal Victimization. Cambridge, Maine: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1976.
- "Holy Smoke, Guardian Angels versus Rajneeshees." Los Angeles Herald. October 30, 1984.
- Hulin, James O. "Community Based Prevention Project/ Crime prevention Review. 6 (April 1979) 26-34.
- Impemba, John and Timothy Clifford. "Hundreds Jeer as Angels March." Boston Herald, August 29, 1984.
- Johnson, Thomas A., Gordon E. Misner. and Lee P. Brown. The Police and Society. Prentice Hall, 1981.

- Kelly, A. "Neighborhood Patrols Scout the Enemy." U.S. News and World Report, July 13, 1981, pp. 53-54.
- Kenney, Dennis. "Examining the Role of Active Citizen Participation in the Law Enforcement Process." Ph.D. Dissertation. Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, 1985.
- Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965.
- Kish, Leslie. SPSSX User's Guide. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1983.
- Knopf, Terry Ann. "Youth Patrols: An Experiment in Community Participation." Civil Rights Digest, 3:2, Spring 1-7, 1970.
- Kohfeld, C. W., Barbara Salert and Sandra Schoenberg. "Neighborhood Associations and Urban Crime." Community Action, November/December 1981.
- Kresnak, Jack. "He Just Wanted His Property Back. What They Had Taken." Detroit Free Press, July 9, 1984.
- Latessa, Edward J. and Harry E. Allen. "Using Citizens to Prevent Crime: An Example of Deterrence and Community Involvement." Journal of Police Science and Administration, 8 (March 1980) 64-74.
- Lavrakas, Paul J. "Chicagoans' Attitudes Toward the Guardian Angels." Medill School of Journalism and Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University (mimeo), 1985.
- Lavrakas, Paul J. Citizen Self-Help and Neighborhood Crime Prevention. Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, December 198Z.
- Lavrakas, Paul J.**, with Janice Normoyle, Wesley G. **Skogan**, Elicia J. Herz, Greta Salem, Dan A. Lewis. Factors Related to Citizen Involvement in Personal, Household, and Neighborhood Anti-Crime Measures. An Executive Summary. Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University, 1980.
- Lavrakas, Paul. Factors Related to Citizen Involvement in Personal, Household, and Neighborhood Anti-Crime Measures: An Executive Summary. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Justice, 1981, pp. 2-3.
- Lavrakas, Paul and Dan Lewis. "The Conceptualization and Measurement of Citizens' Crime Prevention Behaviors." Journal of Research in 'Crime and Delinquency. 17:2 (July 1980) 254-272.
- Lavrakas, Paul, Dan Lewis and Wesley Skogan. "Fear of Crime and the Figgie Report: America Misrepresented." Criminal Justice Newsletter, V. 11, No. 22, November 10, 1980.
- Lavrakas, Paul and Elicia Herz. "Citizen Participation in Neighborhood Crime Prevention." Criminology, 20 (November 1982), 479-498, p. Z.

- Lewis, Dan, Editor. Reactions to Crime. Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, 1981.
- Lewis, Dan A. and Greta Salem. "Community Prevention: An Analysis of a Developing Strategy." Crime and Delinquency, 27 (July 1981) 405-421.
- Lindstrom, Mrs. Richard. Neighborhood Anti-Crime Project. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1978. NCJRS 50272.
- Martarano, Steve. "Students Give Total Attention to Angel." Sacramento Union. No date.
- Marx, Gary F. and Dane Archer. "Citizen Involvement in the Law Enforcement Process: The Case of Community Police Patrols." American Behavioral Scientist 15:1 (1971) 52-72.
- Marx, Gary and Dane Archer. "Community Police Patrols and Vigilantism." H. Jon Rosenbaum and Peter C. Sedenberg eds. Vigilante Politics. Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelphia Press, 1976.
- Marx, Gary T. and Dane Archer. "The Urban Vigilante." Psychology Today, January 1973, pp. 45-50.
- Maryniak, Paul. "Justice's Letter Asked Salmon's Ouster." Pittsburgh Press. March 29, 1985.
- McClellan, Theresa. "I Just Got Fed Up." Flint Journal, January 10, 1985.
- McGovern, Rebecca, ed. "The Fortress Mentality: A Look at the Public Fear of Crime." Criminal Justice Newsletter, V. 14, No. 10, May 9, 1983.
- McPherson, Marlys and Glenn Silloway. "Planning to Prevent Crime." Reactions to Crime. Dan Lewis, Editor. Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, 1981.
- Michalowski, Raymond J. "Crime Control in the 1980's: A Progressive Agenda." Crime and Social Justice, 19 (Summer 1983), 13-23, p. 11.
- More, Harry W. The American Police. West Publishing Co., 1976.
- Moskowitz, Donna and Mary Fultz. "Dwyer, Angels to Face Off Monday." Times Record, September 28, 1984.
- Napier, George. "Citizens Must Fight Black on Black Crime." Ebony, August 1979, pp. 113-117.
- National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Staff Report: "Law and Order Reconsidered." U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, p. 278.
- National Council on Crime and Delinquency. Citizen Action to Control Crime and Delinquency. New York, 1968.

- Naylor, Harriet. Volunteers Today: Finding, Training and Working With Them. New York: Association Press, 1967.
- New York Magazine. "Do It Yourself Patrols." February 6, 1982, p. 37.
- Newsweek. "Angels and Other Guardians." March 23, 1981, p. 49.
- North Shore Anti-Crime Program. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Justice, 1982. NCJRS 84960.
- O'Block, Robert L. Security and Crime Prevention. St. Louis, MO: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1981.
- Olson, R. L. _ "Neighborhood Crime Prevention: One Step Toward A Free Community." Police Chief. 50 (1983) 20.
- Ostrowe, Brian B. and Rosanne DiBiase. "Citizen Involvement as a Crime Deterrent: A Study of Public Attitudes Toward an Unsanctioned Civilian Patrol Group." Journal of Police Science and Administration. 11 (1983) 185-193.
- Paolantonio, Sal. Times Union. September 30, 1984.
- Pasquet, Trinda. "Turning the Tables Against Criminals." Sacramento Union. February 11, 1985.
- Pellegrini, Mike. "40 Protest Rape Charge Dismissal." Post-Gazette. No date.
- "Pension Posse Sun City, Arizona." Time. May 17, 1982, p. 43.
- Peskin, Matt, editor. New Spirit. National Association of Town Watch, Inc., Havertown, PA: January 1984.
- Pileggi, N. "Guardian Angels: Help or Hype." New York Magazine. November 24, 1980, pp. 14-19.
- Podolefsky, Aaron. Case Studies in Community Crime Prevention. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas-Publisher, 1983.
- Podolefsky, Aaron and Fredric DuBow. "Citizen Participation in Community Crime Prevention." Human Organization. 41 (Winter 1982) 307-314.
- Podolefsky, Aaron and Fredric DuBow. Strategies for Community Crime Prevention: Collective Responses to Crime in Urban America. Charles C. Thomas, 1981.
- Pollock, John Crothers and Arney Ellen Rosenblat. "Fear of Crime: Sources and Responses." USA Today. January 1982.
- Power in the Balance: Citizens' Efforts to Address Criminal Justice Problems in Cook County, Illinois. Chicago, Chicago Law Enforcement Study Group, no date, p. 15.

- President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 55.
- Press, S. James. "Police Manpower Versus Crime" in Statistics: A Guide to the Unknown. J. M. Tanur, editor, San Francisco, 1972.
- Research and Forecasts, Inc. Reducing Crime in America: Successful Community Efforts. Figgie International, Inc., Willoughby, OH, 1983.
- Reuther, Walter P. "Crime Prevention Project." Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Justice, 1980. NCJRS 75639.
- Robinson, Pat. New Castle County Crime Prevention, 1978. NCJRS 45757.
- Roehl, Janice A., Roger F. Cook. Evaluation of the Urban Crime Prevention Program, Executive Summary. U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, February 1984.
- Rosenberg, Morris. The Logic of Survey Analysis. New York and London: Basic Books, Inc., 1968.
- Rouse, W. Victor. Evaluation of the Community Anti-Crime Programs: Washington, D.C. Summary. American Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, no date.
- Routh, Thomas A. The Volunteer and Community Agencies. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1972.
- Royko, Mike. "Soft Heart." The Plain Dealer, March 30, 1985.
- Russell, Robert F. "Neighborhood Security Patrols Are Working in Anne Arundel County, Maryland." Police Chief, 45 (May 1982) 42-43.
- Selected Literature and Information Services: Community Action. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1973, p. 14.
- Skogan, Wesley G. "On Attitudes and Behaviors." In Reactions to Crime, Dan A. Lewis, editor. Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, 1981.
- Skogan, Wesley, Ed. Sample Surveys of the Victims of Crime. "The Limits of Victim Surveys: A Community Case Study." Fredric DuBow and David Reed, p. 165, Ballinger Publishing Co: Cambridge, MA, 1976.
- Skogan, Wesley G., Dan A. Lewis, Aaron Podolesfsy, Fredric DuBow, Margaret T. Gordon, with Albert Hunter, Michael G. Maxfield, Greta Salem. The Reactions—to Crime Project, Executive Summary. U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, May 1982.
- Skogan, Wesley G. and Michael G. Maxfield. Coping with Crime. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981.

- "Stockton Doesn't Want Modern-Day Vigilantes." Editorial, Off the Record, April 28, 1984.
- "Stockton's Citizen Patrol to Make Needed Changes." Off the Record, May 14, 1984.
- Stoneman, Dorothy. Youth Action Program of the East Harlem Block Nursery. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Justice, 1981. NCJRS 81770.
- Straub, Deborah. "Curtis Sliwa." Contemporary Newsmakers. March 1983.
- Taub, Richard P., D. Garth Taylor, and Jan D. Dunham. "Neighborhoods and Safety." In Reactions to Crime. Dan A. Lewis, editor. Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, 1981.
- Teitelbaum, Larry. "Area Residents Will Aid Police on 'Night Out'." Burlington County Times, July 22, 1984.
- Topical Bibliography: Community Crime Prevention Programs.** National Institute of Justice/NCJRS, June 1983.
- Trojanowicz, Robert C. and Dennis W. Banas. The Impact of Foot Patrol on Black and White Perceptions of Policing. National Neighborhood Foot Patrol Center: Michigan State University, 1985.
- Trojanowicz, Robert C., John M. Trojanowicz, and Forrest M. Moss. Community Based Crime Prevention. Goodyear Publishing Co., Inc., 1975.
- United Nations. "Participation of the Public in Prevention and Control of Crime and Delinquency," International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice, Vol. III, No. 2, Fall 1979.
- U.S. Department of Justice. "Households Touched by Crime, 1984." Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, May 1985.
- U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Research Bulletin, June 1979.
- Warr, Mark and Mark Stafford. "Fear of Victimization: A Look at the Proximate Causes." Social Forces, Vol. 61:4, June 1983.
- Washnis, George. Citizen Involvement in Crime Prevention. Center for Governmental Studies, Washington, D.C.; Lexington, MA. D. C. Heath and Company, 1977.
- We Can Prevent Crime. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Justice, 1979.
- Weinberg, David. "The Guardian Angels Are Watching You." Mademoiselle, October 1982, pp. 166-168+.

"When Citizens Mobilize Against Crime." U.S. News and World Report. January 21, 1980, pp. 49-51.

Williamson, Cheryl Bowser. Meguoan Crime Prevention Project. 1979. NCJRS 60630.

Willoughby, O. H. Figge Report, 1983.

Wilson, James Q. and George L. Kelling. "Broken Windows." Atlantic Monthly, March 1982.

Young, R. "Putting a Guard on the Block." New York Magazine. February 8, 1982, pp. 36-37.

Yin, Robert, Mary E. Vogel, Jan M. Chaiken, and Deborah Roth. U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Citizen Patrol Projects. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

APPENDICES

TABLE 57

**UNITS CONTACTED, BY TYPE OF RESPONDENT
GUARDIAN ANGEL STUDY**

<u>City</u>	<u>Police Administrators</u>	<u>Police Community Relations Officers</u>	<u>Patrol Officers</u>	<u>Angel Chapter Leads</u>	<u>Angel Members</u>	<u>City Government Officials</u>	<u>Citizens</u>
Boston, MA	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Buffalo, NY	X						
Camden, NJ	X						
Chicago, IL	X		X	X	X	X	X
Cleveland, OH	X			X	X	X	X
Dallas, TX	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Detroit, MI	X						
Fresno, CA	X	X		X	X		
Hammond, IN	X						
Harrisburg, PA	X	X		X			
Houston, TX	X	X		X			
Indianapolis, IN		X					
Kalamazoo, MI	X			X			
Las Vegas, NV	X			X			
Miami, FL	X	X		X			
Montreal, Canada	X						
New Haven, CT	X						
New York, NY	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Oakland, CA	X	X					
Ontario, Canada	X	X					
Philadelphia, PA				X			
Pittsburgh, PA				X			
Portland, ME	X			X			
Portland, OR		X		X			
Sacramento, CA	X	X	X	X	X	X	
San Diego, CA	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
San Francisco, CA	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Santa Ana, CA	X	X		X	X		
St. Louis, MO	X	X					
Seattle, WA		X					
Stockton, CA	X			X			
Toronto, Canada	X						
Syracuse, NY	X	X		X			
Toledo, OH	X	X					
Vancouver, Canada	X						

*Includes transit police administrators.

TABLE 58
MONTHLY PATROL ACTIVITY AND REPORTED CRIMES
BY TYPE OF OFFENSE - EXPERIMENTAL AREA
JANUARY 1982 TO DECEMBER 1984

	Crimes			
	Patrols	Major Violent	Simple Assault	Property
1982				
January		16	8	59
February		16	4	51
March	—	16	8	75
April		21	9	68
May		19	13	57
June	—	16	8	45
July	9	12	10	51
August	11	19	8	50
September	8	19	16	60
October	6	20	8	57
November	8	8	12	45
December	14	12	9	48
1983				
January	21	20	11	57
February	23	15	6	40
March	28	15	9	41
April	20	9	4	41
May	25	9	13	54
June	22	13	8	34
July	13	14	13	62
August	16	4	7	49
September	9	19	5	65
October	10	21	6	47
November	19	14	6	55
December	13	5	12	56
1984				
January	15	18	16	55
February	14	23	8	52
March	12	7	14	53
April	7	12	6	57
May	17	13	6	49
June	9	10	10	79
July	N/A	15	6	52
August	14	10	18	57
September	8	11	7	52
October	N/A	19	7	58
November	N/A	17	9	62
December	5	15	7	69
Correlation Coefficient - Patrols & Reported Crimes		r = -.10 r ² = .01	r = -.03 r ² = .0009	r = .55 r ² = .3025



NATIONAL RULES AND REGULATIONS

1. AGE REQUIREMENT

Members according to region (male and female) must be at least _____ years old.

<u>New York City</u>	<u>East Coast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>Nest</u>
13	1E	1E	1E

2. PROOF

A person's AGE-NAME-ADDRESS must be proofed through LEGAL PERSONAL I.D.

3. 3 STEPS BEFORE TRAINING

All volunteers must submit initially to:

- a filling out an application form.
- b Chapter Leader should conduct 2 separate interviews and verify information on application.
- c) Candidate must be tested by Physical Training Coordinator for his or her ability to:
 - c-1 block a punch
 - c-2) block a kick
 - c-3 black knife attack
 - c-4) block stick attack.

4. CRIMINAL RECORD

The first 50 members of any chapter must have no criminal record whatsoever. Any applicant thereafter may not have had any convictions for the following crimes:

- a armed robbery
- b armed assault
- c sex offense
- d child abuse
- e¹ burglary with tools
- f arson
- g) homicide

5. COLORS (BETE --SHIRT--I. :ARC)

- a) when are colors to be worn?
Colors are only to be worn while out on patrol or while performing group assigned functions.
- b) what is the timetable for receiving colors?
After 1 month of training purchase beret.
After 2nd month at graduation purchase shirt.
2 weeks after graduation purchase I.O. card.
- c) How are colors to be worn?
Beret is always to be worn, shirt is always to be worn on the outside of all clothing and the ID card should either be clipped to the shirt or worn on the outside of shirt strung around the neck like dog tag^s.
- d) who keeps possession of the colors (beret--shirt--ID)?
Colors, although purchased by the individual Guardian Angel at cost, are never to be kept after patrol. Colors (beret--shirt--ID) are to be kept by the Group Leaders and are to be given out before patrol and collected back by the Group Leader after each patrol. The Group Leader is solely responsible for this property, no one else, and will launder the shirts before each new patrol.

NOTE: A PATROL is always 8 or more persons with a leader and a secondary leader.

6. PHYSICAL SEARCH BEFORE PATROL

Every Guardian Angel (leaders also!) must be physically checked before going on patrol for:

- a) weapons
 - b) drugs
 - c) drug paraphernalia.
- If any of the above are located in a search that person is immediately expelled. Colors (beret--shirt--ID) are returned and their cost refunded.

EVERYONE SEARCHED BEFORE ENTERING CHAPTER HEADQUARTERS

All Guardian Angels or visitors of any chapter must be searched. The same rules as above apply.

(cont'd.)

7. DRESS CODE

Red Beret--GA Shirt--GA IC card must be worn at all times. Guardian Angel must be clean and neat. Clothes must be clean and pressed. Patrol Group should adopt wearing of similar color and type of footwear and pants. Studs (flat or sharpened) are prohibited as are TO toots, handkerchiefs, bandanas and patches. Decorative medals and ornaments can only be worn on the beret and must reflect good taste.

8. INTOXICATION

Anyone showing up for patrol with alcohol on their breath or in a stoned or intoxicated condition is to be reported immediately.

9. NO SMOKING

No smoking while on patrol. (Periot.1

10. LINEUP

All patrols must walk in an orderly line all the time unless purposely dispersed.

11. PEN AND PAD:

Each member on patrol must carry pen and pad. Patrol information is to be logged on every patrol by each member.

12. PERSONAL ID.

members must always carry some form of personal identification other than their SA-ID card while on duty.

13. CODE OF CONDUCT

Always be serious while on patrol. There is to be no clownin^g, jokin^g or sparrin^g. Always respect your patrol leader and fellow Angels. Disagreements with leadership and members must be immediately dealt with after patrol! Never in public and never during patrol.

PERSONAL CONDUCT

Personal conduct of a member away from patrol, if determined to be in contrast with what the group exemplifies, will result in that person's immediate expulsion.

14. DEFINITION OF A PATROL

A patrol is always 8 or more persons with a leader and a secondary leader.

15. LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY WITHIN A PATROL

On a patrol, decision-making is left totally to the Group Leader. A Group Leader is responsible for:

- 1 Patrol Log Sheet -- for each patrol.
- 2 weapons check
- 3 handing out and collection of colors
- 4 dealing with police and public.

The Secondary Leader is responsible for:

- 1) Patrol attendance
- 2) discipline and lining up of patrols.

The Individual Patroller is the eyes and ears of the patrol. Leaders are always to be informed before action is taken.

16. POLICE

NEVER! NEVER! NEVER! Argue with POLICE.

17. PATROL LOG

Group Leaders are required to fill out a patrol log sheet after each patrol. Log Sheets are to be turned in to Chapter Leaders and filed by date.

(cant'c.

i. LEADERSHIP

Any Leader who enters that of their patrol area and without first consulting with the National Leadership the CC AHEAD in any way shape or form violates the inset Rules and Regulations will be:

- a) removed from their command
 - b) stripped of their colors. (Out the Door.)
- NO SECOND HANDED

19. SEEKING PATROL LEADERSHIP

Anyone seeking to become a leader or a patrol member must have the consent of their Patrol Leader and Executive Leader.

20. INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Full member; members are responsible and act on separate shifts (minimum of 4 hours per week). These shifts are also to contain a mandatory:

- a) 1 hour devoted to advanced physical training
- b) 1 hour class or rap session on patrol related training and techniques.

21. VERBAL ABUSE

Members must be able to withstand all types of verbal abuse.

22. PHYSICAL FORCE

Physical force is always the very last resort. It will only be used when necessary; a citizen or a member of our community from a harmful physical act, such as pushing or fencerpointing. For example, are not physical attacks. In these cases the group separates between the parties and separates the components by wedging in between. Be calm, aim any influence that we must always be the calming influence curing each and all sides.

23. CHAPTER LEADERS MONTHLY REPORT

Chapter Leaders must submit a monthly report (minimum 5 pages) to National Headquarters in New York. The report must deal with the following areas in detail:

- 1 Projected Operating Cost (Budget Outline)
- 2 Training Programs (Physical and Mental)
- 3 Fundraising Efforts
- 4 Patrols (Leaders, Areas, Patrol Times)--monthly Report Card
- 5) Speaking Engagements and Media Attention
- 6) meetings with political officials, police and existing community groups.
- 7) Commentary:
 - a. goals set for upcoming month
 - b. projected new patrols or volunteer functions
 - c. ideas or comments (positive and critical)
 - d. how we in the National Headquarters help you and your people.

TABLE 59

FREQUENCY OF TRANSIT RIDERSHIP
EASTERN CITIZENS, 1984

Question: How often do you ride the train or bus?

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Number and Percent of Respondents</u>	
Every day	222	(82%)
2-3 times per week	27	(10%)
1-4 times a month or less	22	(8%)
Total	271	

TABLE 60

KNOWLEDGE OF GUARDIAN ANGELS
TRANSIT RIDERS' **SURVEY** RESPONSES, 1984

	Yes		No		<u>Total</u>
I have heard of the Guardian Angels	274	(97%)	9	(3%)	283
I have seen the Guardian Angels	236	(83%)	49	(17%)	285
I have talked to the Guardian Angels	68	(26%)	209	(75%)	277
The Guardian Angels have helped me	30	(11%)	244	(89%)	274
I have seen the Guardian Angels help someone else	101	(37%)	174	(63%)	275

TABLE 61

OPINIONS OF GUARDIAN ANGELS
EASTERN TRANSIT RIDER RESPONSES, 1984

<u>Survey Statement</u>	<u>Response Categories</u>					<u>Total</u>
	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	
I wish there were more Guardian Angels	109 (39%)	101 (36%)	49 (18%)	15 (5%)	5 (2%)	279
Crime fighting should be done only by professional police	26 (9%)	42 (15%)	36 (13%)	132 (48%)	41 (15%)	277
The mayor and city officials should support the Guardian Angels	100 (36%)	125 (45%)	35 (13%)	11 (4%)	8 (3%)	279
I would like to see the Guardian Angels expand to other cities with a crime problem	89 (33%)	124 (46%)	42 (15%)	13 (5%)	4 (2%)	272
I oppose the actions of the Guardian Angels	12 (5%)	19 (7%)	33 (12%)	132 (50%)	69 (26%)	265

TABLE 62

**GUARDIAN ANGELS' EFFECTIVENESS
IN REDUCING CRIME IN AREAS PATROLLED,
BY SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS,
EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS' SURVEY, 1984**

Scale	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Age</u>		<u>Ethnicity</u>	
	Male	Female	Under 29	Over 30	White	Other
1 - Not at all effective	6 (5%)	7 (6%)	10 (6%)	3 (4%)	8 (8%)	4 (3%)
2	21 (19%)	11 (9%)	22 (14%)	11 (13%)	13 (13%)	18 (14%)
3	46 (41%)	41 (35%)	69 (44%)	23 (28%)	37 (38%)	50 (40%)
4	28 (25%)	29 (25%)	36 (23%)	24 (29%)	26 (27%)	30 (24%)
5 -Very effective	12 (11%)	28 (24%)	19 (12%)	22 (27%)	14 (14%)	24 (19%)
Total	113	116	156	83	98	126

Note: Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

TABLE 63

**GUARDIAN ANGELS' EFFECTIVENESS IN INCREASING
CITIZENS' FEELINGS OF SAFETY, BY RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS
EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS' SURVEY, 1984**

Scale	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Age</u>		<u>Ethnicity</u>	
	Male	Female	Under 29	Over 30	White	Non-White
1 - Not at all effective	4 (4%)	5 (4%)	8 (5%)	1 (1%)	6 (6%)	3 (3%)
2	16 (15%)	11 (9%)	19 (13%)	8 (10%)	15 (15%)	10 (8%)
3	44 (40%)	36 (31%)	59 (39%)	25 (30%)	28 (29%)	48 (40%)
4	31 (28%)	34 (29%)	42 (28%)	24 (29%)	34 (35%)	27 (23%)
5 -Very effective	14 (13%)	31 (26%)	23 (15%)	26 (31%)	15 (15%)	31 (26%)
Total	109	117	151	84	98	119

Note: Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

TABLE 64

EFFECTIVENESS OF GUARDIAN ANGELS
AND FEELING SAFE ON TRAIN/BUS
BY SEX AND AGE OF RESPONDENT,
MEAN SCORES AND PROBABILITY
EASTERN TRANSIT RIDERS SURVEY, 1984

Effectiveness of Guardian Angels in increasing citizen feelings of safety*

	SEX			
	Feel Safe		Feel Unsafe	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
N	78	52	31	60
Mean Score	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.7
Probability Level	0.194 4-test)		0.291 4-test)	

	AGE			
	Feel Safe		Feel Unsafe	
	29 & Under	30 & Over	29 & Under	30 & Over
N	80	55	68	26
Mean Score	3.3	3.6	3.4	4.3
Probability Level	0.091 (t-test)		0.001 ** 4-test)	

*Least effective - 1 5 - Most effective

**Significant at .05 level.

TABLE 65
 SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
 SAN DIEGO CITIZENS, 1984

Victim in the Last Year	Merchant		Resident	
Yes	29	(26%)	20	(15%)
No	81	(74%)	110	(85%)
Total	110		130	
<hr/> <u>Ethnicity</u> <hr/>				
Black	6	(5%)	12	(9%)
Hispanic	11	(10%)	8	(6%)
White	81	(74%)	106	(82%)
Other	12	(11%)	4	(3%)
Total	110		130	
<hr/> <u>Age</u> <hr/>				
20-29	28	(26%)	13	(10%)
30-39	32	(30%)	9	(7%)
40-49	19	(18%)	10	(8%)
50-59	17	(16%)	14	(11%)
60+	12	(11%)	81	(64%)
Total	108		127	
<hr/> <u>Sex</u> <hr/>				
Male	84	(76%)	80	(62%)
Female	26	(24%)	50	(38%)
Total	110		130	
<hr/> <u>Income</u> <hr/>				
Under \$5,000	4	(4%)	41	(34%)
\$5,000-9,999	16	(18%)	56	(46%)
\$10,000-19,999	24	(27%)	15	(12%)
\$20,000+	46	(51%)	9	(7%)
Total	90		121	

TABLE 66
 PROBLEMS IN NEIGHBORHOOD
 SAN DIEGO CITIZENS
 1984

Problems	Merchants	Residents	Total
Bad or Undesirable Element	66%	55%	61%
Crime or Fear of Crime	11%	21%	16%
Environmental Problems (noise, trash, overcrowding)	4%	12%	8%
Traffic, Parking	7%	1%	4%
Other	11%	10%	11%
Total Respondents	89	89	178 *

*The total reflects response of persons who did not like something about their **neighborhood** and indicated the most serious problem.

Note: Due to rounding, all totals do not add to 100%.

TABLE 67
 OPINIONS ABOUT CRIME
 SAN DIEGO CITIZENS
 1984

Question: Within the past year or two, do you think crime in your neighborhood has increased, decreased or remained about the same?

	Merchants		Residents		Total	
Increased	26	28%	29	29%	55	29%
Decreased	31	34%	17	17%	48	25%
Stayed the Same	35	38%	54	54%	89	46%
Total Respondents	92		100		192	

TABLE 68

**OPINIONS ABOUT LIMITING
ACTIVITIES DUE TO CRIME
SAN DIEGO CITIZENS
1984**

Question: Do you think most people in this neighborhood have limited or changed their activities in the past few years because they are afraid of crime?

	Merchants	Residents	Total
Yes	47 52%	70 73%	117 63%
No	44 48%	26 27%	70 37%
Total Respondents	91	96	187

Question: In general, have you limited or changed your activities in the past few years because of crime?

	Merchants	Residents	Total
Yes	23%	31%	27%
No	77%	69%	73%
Total Respondents	109	130	239

TABLE 69
 RESPONSES TO FEELINGS OF SAFETY QUESTIONS
 SAN DIEGO CITIZENS, 1984

<u>Question</u>	Very Safe	Safe	Unsafe	Very Unsafe	Total
How safe do you feel being out alone in your neighborhood* at night?					
Merchants	15 (14%)	47 (44%)	23 (22%)	21 (20%)	106
Residents	5 (5%)	41 (44%)	30 (32%)	18 (19%)	94
					200
How safe do you feel being out alone in your neighborhood* during the day?					
Merchants	50 (45%)	49 (45%)	8 (7%)	3 (3%)	110
Residents	38 (29%)	76 (59%)	12 (9%)	3 (2%)	129
					239
How safe do you feel at home/work at night?					
Merchants	15 (15%)	64 (62%)	19 (18%)	5 (5%)	103
Residents	50 (38%)	71 (55%)	6 (5%)	3 (2%)	130
					233

*Read: "How safe ... in this neighborhood or area ..." on merchant questionnaire.

TABLE 70

CITIZEN CRIME PREVENTION BEHAVIOR
 SAN DIEGO CITIZENS, 1984
 MERCHANTS AND RESIDENTS
 N = 238

<u>Prevention Behavior</u>	<u>Number of Responses</u>	
	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Residents</u>
Carry whistle	4	6
Keep lights on at night	50	23
Have trained watchdog	4	2
Carry mace, other repellant	5	7
Installed burglar alarm	19	2
Lock doors at night	86	102
Installed burglar proof locks	17	9
Let neighbors know when away	19	39
Not walk alone at night	28	58
Carry weapon	7	5
Belong to local crime watch group (neighborhood watch, community alert)	11	2
Have a gun for protection	12	4
Stay at home at night	N/A *	69
Lock car doors when leave car	74	32
Dress plainly to avoid attention	26	43
Have neighbors watch house when away	16	12
Put identifying marks on property	22	10
Have radio or stereo on when not home	10	17
Installed timers on lights	13	
Other measures	13	3
Neer.		

444 110 cases

cases:

TABLE 71

FREQUENCY OF LOCKING DOORS
SAN DIEGO CITIZENS, 1984

Question	Merchant	<u>Resident</u>
When you leave your house/apartment/ room,* even if only for a short time, do you lock the doors?		
All of the time	40 (37%)	114 (88%)
Most of the time	3 (3%)	9 (7%)
Sometimes	3 (3%)	5 (4%)
Hardly ever	1 (1%)	0
Never	1 (1%)	2 (2%)
Never leaves business	61 (56%)	N/A
Total	109	130
When you (or other family members) are at home,** do you keep the doors locked?		
All of the time	63 (58%)	84 (65%)
Most of the time	5 (5%)	18 (14%)
Sometimes	11 (10%)	17 (13%)
Hardly ever	0	6 (5%)
Never	9 (8%)	5 (4%)
Not at business after hours	21 (19%)	N/A
Total	109	130

Read for merchants: When you leave your business unattended ...

** Read for merchants: When you are at your business alone, after normal business hours ...

TABLE 72

FREQUENCY OF WORRYING ABOUT SPECIFIC CRIMES
SAN DIEGO RESIDENTS, 1984

<u>Question</u>	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Rarely</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Total</u>
When in this neighborhood how often do you worry about the following things:					
a. Having your house broken into	15 (11%)	30 (23%)	24 (19%)	60 (47%)	129
b. Having something stolen	18 (14%)	23 (18%)	18 (14%)	70 (54%)	129
c. Getting attacked or assaulted	12 (9%)	32 (25%)	32 (25%)	53 (41%)	129
d. Getting robbed	15 (12%)	37 (29%)	25 (19%)	52 (40%)	129
e. Getting raped (if female)	5 (10%)	15 (30%)	7 (14%)	23 (46%)	50
t. Getting murdered	7 (5%)	15 (12%)	22 (17%)	85 (66%)	129

TABLE 73

FREQUENCY OF WORRYING ABOUT SPECIFIC CRIMES
SAN DIEGO MERCHANTS, 1984

<u>Question</u>	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Rarely</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Total</u>
When in this neighborhood how often do you worry about the following things:					
a. Having your business broken into	27 (25%)	25 (23%)	23 (21%)	33 (31%)	108
b. Having something stolen	42 (39%)	31 (29%)	14 (13%)	21 (19%)	108
c. Getting attacked or assaulted	17 (16%)	23 (21%)	23 (21%)	45 (42%)	108
d. Getting robbed	27 (25%)	25 (23%)	21 (19%)	35 (32%)	108
e. Getting raped (if female)	1 (4%)	6 (24%)	6 (24%)	12 (48%)	25
f. Getting murdered	7 (6%)	11 (10%)	13 (12%)	77 (71%)	108

TABLE 74
 NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH GROUP RESPONSES
 SAN DIEGO CITIZENS, 1984

Question	Merchant	Resident
Is there a crime watch or community* alert group in this neighborhood (or building)?		
Yes	13 (11%)	14 (11%)
No	62 (57%)	63 (49%)
Don't know	34 (31%)	51 (40%)
Total	109	128
Have you attended any neighborhood watch** meetings?		
Yes	6 (50%)	3 (23%)
No	6 (50%)	10 (77%)
Total	12	13

* Read: Business alert group on merchant questionnaire.

** Read: Business alert meetings on merchant questionnaire.

TABLE 75
 CITIZEN AWARENESS OF GUARDIAN ANGELS
 SAN DIEGO CITIZENS
 1984

<u>Questions</u>	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Residents</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Have you heard of the Guardian Angels?				
Yes	95%	87%	90%	240
Do Guardian Angels patrol in your neighborhood?				
Yes	48%	36%	42%	210
No	26%	25%	26%	
Don't know	26%	39%	32%	
How often do you see the Guardian Angels?				
Never		8%	3%	88
Once every 2 weeks or less	63%	54%	59%	
Once a week or more	37%	38%	38%	
Have you seen the Guardian Angels in other areas of San Diego, outside your neighborhood?				
Yes	35%	28%	31%	85
No	65%	72%	69%	

TABLE 76

PERCEPTION OF SAFETY
DUE TO GUARDIAN ANGELS
SAN DIEGO CITIZENS
1984

<u>Question</u>	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Residents</u>	<u>Total</u>
Do you feel more safe when you know the Guardian Angels are patrolling in your neighborhood?			
Yes	59%	61%	60%
No	39%	31%	35%
Don't know		8%	5%
Total Respondents	49	36	85

TABLE 77

PERCEPTION OF GUARDIAN ANGELS'
EFFECTIVENESS IN INCREASING CITIZENS'
FEELINGS OF SAFETY, MEAN SCORES
SAN DIEGO CITIZENS
1984
N = 175

Question: Using a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being very effective and 1 being not at all effective, what number best describes how effective you feel the Guardian Angels are in increasing citizens' feelings of safety?

	<u>Mean Score</u>		
	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Residents</u>	<u>Total</u>
	3.3	3.6	3.5

Scale: Not at all effective - 1

5 - Very effective

TABLE 78

GUARDIAN ANGELS' EFFECTIVENESS
IN PREVENTING OR REDUCING CRIME
SAN DIEGO CITIZENS

Question: Using a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being *very* effective and 1 being not at all effective, what number best describes how effective you feel the Guardian Angels are in preventing or reducing crime in the areas patrolled?

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Resident</u>
1	9 (11%)	9 (9%)
2	14 (17%)	7 (7%)
3	23 (27%)	25 (26%)
4	23 (27%)	23 (24%)
5	15 (18%)	31 (33%)
Total	84	95

TABLE 79

GUARDIAN ANGELS' EFFECTIVENESS
IN INCREASING CITIZENS' FEELINGS OF SAFETY
SAN DIEGO CITIZENS, 1984

Question: Using a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being very effective and 1 being not at all effective, what number best describes how effective you feel the Guardian Angels are in increasing citizens' feelings of safety?

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Resident</u>
1	8 (10%)	10 (11%)
2	13 (16%)	4 (4%)
3	24 (29%)	28 (30%)
4	20 (24%)	21 (23%)
5	17 (21%)	30 (32%)
Total	82	93

TABLE 80

MERCHANT OPINIONS REGARDING GUARDIAN ANGELS
SAN DIEGO, 1984

<u>Question</u>	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
a. I wish there were more Guardian Angels patrolling our streets	11 (11%)	53 (54%)	23 (23%)	12 (12%)	1 (1%)	101
b. Crime-fighting should be done only by professional police	4 (4%)	28 (28%)	12 (12%)	51 (51%)	5 (5%)	100
c. The mayor and city officials should support the Guardian Angels	7 (7%)	50 (50%)	32 (32%)	10 (10%)	1 (1%)	100
d. I would like to see the Guardian Angels expand to other American cities with a crime problem	11 (11%)	55 (55%)	23 (23%)	10 (10%)	1 (1%)	100
e. In general, I oppose the actions of the Guardian Angels	1 (1%)	5 (5%)	13 (13%)	67 (67%)	14 (14%)	100

TABLE 81

**RESIDENT OPINIONS REGARDING GUARDIAN ANGELS
SAN DIEGO, 1984**

<u>Question</u>	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
a. I wish there were more Guardian Angels patrolling our streets	22 (20%)	61 (55%)	19 (17%)	4 (4%)	4 (4%)	110
b. Crime-fighting should be done only by professional police	6 (5%)	28 (25%)	16 (15%)	58 (53%)	2 (2%)	110
c. The mayor and city officials should support the Guardian Angels	14 (13%)	59 (54%)	25 (23%)	10 (9%)	2 (2%)	110
d. I would like to see the Guardian Angels expand to other American cities with a crime problem	16 (15%)	69 (63%)	15 (14%)	8 (7%)	2 (2%)	110
e. In general, I oppose the actions of the Guardian Angels	2 (2%)	11 (10%)	8 (7%)	70 (64%)	19 (17%)	110

TABLE 82

PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND SAFETY BY SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
SAN DIEGO CITIZENS, 1984

	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Age</u>		<u>Income</u>		<u>Crime Victim</u>	
	Male	Female	49 & Under	50 & Over	\$9,999 & Under	\$10,000 & Over	Yes	No
<i>How safe at night alone in neighborhood</i>								
Very Safe/Safe	89 (62%)	19 (33%)	66 (61%)	41 (47%)	43 (51%)	50 (56%)	19 (45%)	89 (56%)
Unsafe/Very Unsafe	54 (38%)	38 (67%)	42 (39%)	47 (53%)	41 (49%)	40 (44%)	23 (55%)	69 (44%)
Total	143	57	108	88	84	90	42	158
	Probability level - 0.0004*		Probability level - 0.0592		Probability level 0.6710		Probability level - 0.2680	
<i>Crime in past year</i>								
Increased	37 (28%)	18 (31%)	29 (31%)	24 (26%)	26 (27%)	24 (32%)	15 (36%)	40 (27%)
Decreased	37 (28%)	11 (19%)	28 (29%)	20 (22%)	21 (22%)	23 (31%)	15 (36%)	33 (22%)
Stayed same	59 (44%)	30 (51%)	38 (40%)	49 (53%)	49 (51%)	27 (36%)	12 (29%)	77 (51%)
Total	133	59	95	93	96	74	42	150
	Probability level - 0.3964		Probability level - 0.2044		Probability level - 0.1530		Probability level - 0.0291*	
<i>Indicated undesirable element in neighborhood</i>								
Yes	98 (60%)	47 (62%)	75 (68%)	68 (55%)	59 (50%)	66 (70%)	34 (69%)	111 (58%)
No	66 (40%)	29 (38%)	36 (32%)	56 (45%)	58 (50%)	28 (30%)	15 (31%)	80 (42%)
Total	164	76	111	124	117	94	49	191
	Probability level - 0.8685		Probability level - 0.0626		Probability level - 0.0057*		Probability level - 0.2021	
<i>People limit activities due to crime</i>								
Yes	76 (61%)	41 (66%)	51 (57%)	64 (69%)	57 (68%)	49 (60%)	27 (69%)	90 (61%)
No	49 (39%)	21 (34%)	39 (43%)	29 (31%)	27 (32%)	33 (40%)	12 (31%)	58 (39%)
Total	125	62	90	93	84	82	39	148
	Probability level - 0.5834		Probability level - 0.1217		Probability level - 0.3552		Probability level - 0.4350	
<i>Go out after 7:00 p.m. in neighborhood</i>								
Yes	86 (52%)	25 (33%)	63 (57%)	48 (39%)	49 (42%)	48 (51%)	19 (39%)	92 (48%)
No	78 (48%)	51 (67%)	48 (43%)	76 (61%)	68 (58%)	46 (49%)	30 (61%)	99 (52%)
Total	164	76	111	124	117	94	49	191
	Probability level - 0.0072*		Probability level - 0.0084*		Probability level - 0.2335		Probability level - 0.3098	

*Significant at .05 level.

TABLE 83

FEEL MORE SAFE WHEN KNOWING GUARDIAN ANGELS ARE PATROLLING
 BY PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND SAFETY
 SAN DIEGO CITIZENS, 1984

D~endexst Variable	How safe do you feel out alone in <i>your</i> neighborhood at night?		Undesirable element as problem in neighborhood		Go out in neighborhood after 7:00 p.m.	
	Very Safe/Safe	Unsafe/ Very Unsafe	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	30 (61%)	13 (62%)	31 (58%)	20 (71%)	22 (56%)	29 (69%)
No	19 (39%)	8 (38%)	22 (42%)	8 (29%)	17 (44%)	13 (31%)
Total	49	21	53	28	39	42
	Probability level - 1.0000		Probability level - 0.3655			

Do you feel more safe
 knowing Guardian Angels
 are patrolling?*

	Crime Victim		Change in Crime			People limit activities due to crime	
	<u>Yes</u>	No	Increased	Decreased	Same	Yes	No
Yes	12 (57% ⁱ)	39 (65%)	8 (50%)	19 (73%)	16 (59%)	24 (67%)	17 (65%)
No	9 (43% ⁱ)	21 (35%)	8 (50%)	7 (27%)	11 (41%)	12 (33%)	9 (35%)
Total	21	60	16	26	27	36	26
	Probability level - 9.7045		Probability level - 0.2977			Probability level - .900	

thc,sⁱ respondents who indicated that the Guardian Angels patrolled in their neighborhood.

TABLE 84
 SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES BY
 MEAN SCORES ON FEAR INDEX,
 t-VALUES AND PROBABILITY LEVELS
 SAN DIEGO CITIZENS
 1984

N	Mean Scores	t-Value	Probability
Sex			
Male (161)	2.6	-1.52	0.130
Female (75)	2.8		
Age			
49 & Under (109)	2.4	4.70	0.000*
50 & Over (123)	1.8		
Income			
\$9,999 & Under (116)	3.6	-2.18	0.030*
\$10,000 & Over (92)	3.3		
Victim of Crime			
Yes (48)	2.7	-5.61	0.000*
No (189)	1.9		

*Significant at .05 level.

TABLE 85

FEEL MORE SAFE KNOWING ANGELS ARE PATROLLING
 BY SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
 SAN DIEGO CITIZENS, 1984

	<u>SEX</u>		<u>AGE</u>		<u>INCOME</u>		<u>CRIME VICTIM</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>49 & Under</u>	<u>50 & Over</u>	<u>\$9,999 & Under</u>	<u>\$10,000 & Over</u>	Yes	No
Feel more safe knowing Angels are patrolling.								
Yes	38 (59%)	13 (77%)	28 (54%)	21 (78%)	25 (68%)	20 (65%)	12 (57%)	39 (65%)
No	26 (41%)	4 (24%)	24 (46%)	6 (22%)	12 (32%)	11 (36%)	9 (43%)	21 (35%)
Total	64	17	52	27	37	31	21	60
	Chi-square - 1.03013		Chi-square - 3.36505		Chi-square - 0.0006		Chi-square - 0.14379	
	Probability level - 0.3101		Probability level - 0.0666		Probability level - 0.9940		Probability level - 0.7045	

TABLE 86

PERCEPTIONS OF GUARDIAN ANGELS' EFFECTIVENESS
 BY CRIME AND SAFETY QUESTIONS,
 MEAN SCORES, t -VALUES AND PROBABILITY
 SAN DIEGO CITIZENS, 1984

Dependent Variable: Guardian Angels' effectiveness in increasing citizens' feelings of safety

Independent Variables - N	Mean Scores	t-Value	Probability
How safe in neighborhood at night?			
Very Safe/Safe (78)	3.5	0.38	0.703
Unsafe/Very Unsafe (68)	3.4		
Crime in past year			
Increased (46)	3.1		0.1333
Decreased (40)	3.5		
Undesirable element in neighborhood			
Yes (116)	3.3	-2.19	0.030*
No (59)	3.7		
People limit activities due to crime			
Yes (86)	3.5	0.13	0.899
No (53)	3.5		
Go out in neighborhood after 7:00 p.m.			
Yes (86)	3.4	-0.99	0.323
No (89)	3.6		

*Significant at .05 level.

TABLE 87

**MEAN SCORES ON EFFECTIVENESS OF GUARDIAN ANGELS
IN INCREASING CITIZENS' FEELINGS OF SAFETY
BY SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES,
t-VALUE AND PROBABILITY VALUES
SAN DIEGO CITIZENS, 1984**

Dependent Variables: Guardian Angels' effectiveness in increasing citizens' feelings of safety

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Mean Scores</u>	<u>t-Value</u>	<u>Probability</u>
<u>Sex</u>			
Male (121)	3.3	-1.91	0.059
Female (54)	3.7		
<u>Age</u>			
49 & Under (92)	3.2	-2.77	0.006*
50 & Over (79)	3.7		
<u>Income</u>			
\$9,999 & Under (83)	3.6	1.72	0.088
\$10,000 & Over (73)	3.3		
<u>Crime Victim</u>			
Yes (34)	3.3	0.94	0.350 (t)
No (141)	3.5		

***Significant at .05 level.**