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Stop Snitching: Hip Hop's Influence on Crime Reporting in the Inner City

Ladel Lewis
Western Michigan University, ladel_lewis@yahoo.com

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STOP SNITCHING: HIP HOP'S INFLUENCE ON
CRIME REPORTING IN THE INNER CITY

by

Ladel Lewis

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
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Adviser: Zoann Snyder, Ph.D.

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WE HEREBY APPROVE THE DISSERTATION SUBMITTED BY

Ladel Lewis
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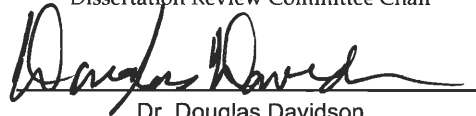
Dr. Zoann Snyder
Dissertation Review Committee Chair

Sociology
_____
(Program)

Dr. Douglas Davidson
Dissertation Review Committee Member

Dr. Charles Crawford
Dissertation Review Committee Member

Dr. Lonnie Duncan
Dissertation Review Committee Member

APPROVED

_____
Dean of The Graduate College

Date _____ April 2012 _____

STOP SNITCHING: HIP HOP'S INFLUENCE ON
CRIME REPORTING IN THE INNER CITY

Ladel Lewis, Ph.D.

Western Michigan University, 2012

The "stop snitching" phenomenon is a social epidemic that is affecting inner

cities from coast to coast. These street politics have an adverse effect on the way

individuals in the inner city view cooperation with police. With hip hop culture

claiming a larger stake on the global stage, and mainstream artists sparking attention

by denouncing cooperation with authorities while reproving others that choose to do

so, this research examines if a relationship exists between individuals that adhere to

the "code of silence" and self-professed hip hoppers. While much has been written

about the significance of hip hop culture on the lives of inner city residents,

quantitative research has not been employed to measure how crime reporting is

viewed among its followers.

Using the culture of terror theory developed by anthropologist Michael

Taussig (1987) and Shaw and McKay's (1942) social disorganization theory, this

mixed methods-based research examines how the "code of silence" affects crime

reporting in the inner city. Employing an online survey administered through the

social networking website, Facebook, this research departs from traditional sampling

frames and purely theoretical claims by scrutinizing current hip hop lyrics and

revealing if following hip hop culture serves as a predictor of behavior compared to others that prefer other genres as their primary music choice. The results signify a correlation between musical preference and attitudes towards crime reporting, with an overwhelming majority of hip hop fans consenting to collaborate with law enforcement. The specifics of these results are discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"You cannot pay me to stay in school" were the words I ate when I enrolled in the sociology's department's PhD program. Although I had a plan, God had a totally different purpose for my life—one that I would not have even dreamed of pursuing. Being the first to graduate in my family with a bachelor's degree, masters degree, and a doctor of philosophy degree not only speaks to His plan for my life, but also to the fact you can do anything you set your mind to. I thank God for allowing me to complete this PhD and for the blessings and opportunities that are forthcoming.

I would like to thank Della Mae Thomas and Otis Jerry Lewis for all their support in helping me become Dr. Ladel Lewis. You guys are great! Look at your baby! My husband Shalom Williams has been there since day one encouraging me to "study" and "stay focused." They don't come any better than you! And a special thank you to Quan Bates, my free dissertation coach!

I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Zoann Snyder (chairperson), Dr. Douglas Davison, Dr. Charles Crawford, and Dr. Lonnie Duncan. You all believed in me so much that you agreed to be on my committee. Also, I would like to thank the King/Chavez/Parks and Thurgood Marshall Fellowship search committees. I appreciate you all!

And last but not least, this is dedicated to the loving memory of Mr. Roger Lewis. You always said, "Stay positive." I hope you are proud.

And to the survey participant that said, "Thank you for asking these questions, Ladel. It puts into perspective that although there are safe havens—i.e., places without crime—there is no reason not to feel safe from reporting it. It is possible to occur at any place and people must at least know where they stand so they may respond at any given moment." You are truly welcome.

Ladel Lewis

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents—Continued

Table of Contents—Continued

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

    "Well, today's topic, self destruction
    It really ain't the rap audience that's buggin
    It's one or two suckas, ignorant brothers
    Trying to rob and steal from one another
    You get caught in the mid
    So to crush the stereotype here's what we did
    We got ourselves together
    so that you could unite and fight for what's right
    Not negative 'cause the way we live is positive
    We don't kill our relatives"

        —Stop the Violence Movement (1989), *Self Destruction*

Hearing that a close friend was shot in the head at point-blank range and her only brother was savagely gunned down as they left a local hip hop club inspired this study on crime reporting in the inner city. Often, academics only read about incidents such as this one. On occasion, they may come in as an unattached third person interviewing community members or sifting through secondary resources to find out "why these people are living like this." This is not the case for me. I have been good friends with the family for years. Their personal tragedy of losing their only son and having their only daughter being severely handicapped sent this family into a whirlwind of financial and emotional distress. Having one of my best friends—once vibrant and totally self sufficient—become completely blinded by a single, execution-style bullet from a .45 caliber hand gun affected my life as well. Seeing a once-

1

vibrant family suffering from bouts of depression and poverty is difficult when you cannot do anything about it besides offer a smile and your condolences.

It took over four years for the alleged gunman and his accomplices to receive a sentence. During that time, they were walking the street as free men. As the trial went forth, co-defendants "snitched" on one another in order to plea bargain for lesser charges, witnesses were murdered, and the judicial system struggled to deliver justice to the family. The trial probably would have been expedited if one of the key witnesses for the prosecution was not gunned down in 2005 in cold blood. The case remains unsolved. The motive behind the slaying is not known. It is possible that the witness was killed because he came forward with potentially valuable information about the case. Although he gave a statement before his death, the judge decided not to use it for the final verdict. Having guilty assailants convicted of murder is only the first step to healing the wounds of families similar to the one described here, and relieving urban cities of this infestation of violence predominantly located in impoverished communities that abide by the "code of silence."

While sharing my dissertation topic with others interested in my PhD journey, I began to receive a lot of feedback from individuals that had their own unique story to share. Although I was not conducting key personal interviews, their voices are important and relevant to this research. Ensuring the safety of those willing to come forward and providing everyone equal and adequate protection under the law is the next step to reducing crime, prosecuting violent criminals and promoting safe neighborhoods.

The purpose of the present study is to examine the relationship of musical preference and attitudes towards crime reporting. This study examines if there is a

relationship between individuals that adapt non-cooperative attitudes towards police and self-professed music fans. Moreover, neighborhood characteristics and victim status are taken into consideration as well. While much has been written about the portrayal of females in hip hop, African Americans in popular media and police relations in the black community, a detailed analysis has not been employed to determine a correlation between the two variables of an emphasis on cooperating with authorities and musical preference. This research is guided by the Chicago School's social disorganization theory by Shaw and McKay (1942) and culture of terror theory developed by Taussig (1987). Both are relevant to this research, examining the "code of silence" and how it affects crime reporting in the inner city.

Past Research

Research examining eyewitnesses is plentiful. Kebbell and Milne (1998) studied the reliability of eyewitnesses in the United Kingdom. Surveying almost 200 police officers, they concluded that the majority of witnesses could identify the details of the crime more thoroughly than the characteristics of the criminal (1998). Since many eye-witness accounts are flawed because of human error, many criminals go free and innocent citizens face incarceration.

Lindholm and Christianson's (1998) study examined how the in-group/out-group status of a perpetrator in a simulated violent crime is directly linked to a real world witness situation; and may influence witnesses' evaluations of the perpetrators behavior (p. 711). In-group referred to the race of the perpetrator being the same as the witness and out-group refers to the perpetrators race being different. "It was concluded that an eyewitness evaluation of distinctly violent in-group behavior may

be biased and expectations about criminal behavior among persons from a certain social group may affect a witness memory of the appearance of the perpetrator" (Lindholm & Christianson, 1998, p. 722).

Studies are also conducted that look at the psychological effect of crime reporting. Shakoor and Chalmers's study on the co-victimization of African American children focuses on witnessing violent crime and dealing with its traumatic aftermath in inner city communities. They found that African American adolescents were more likely to experience depression, anxiety and personality changes and identified with co-victimization (of friends and family members). This includes domestic violence issues in the home and various types of inter-personal violence in the street. As a result of direct exposure, they are prone to desensitization and may look at this dysfunctional behavior as a tolerable way of life (Garret, 1997, p. 636). Researchers agreed that society needs to become more cognizant of the amount of violence to which adolescents are exposed (Garret, 1997, p. 638).

There are numerous studies focusing on different aspects of hip hop culture. Hip hop and sexuality (Wilson, 2007; Miller-Young, 2008), hip hop and sexism (Emerson, 2002; Hurley, 1994), hip hop and globalization (Gauch, 2010; Zebrowski, Awad, & Alim, 2010), hip hop and literature (Suggs, 2010) and hip hop and youth (Taylor & Taylor, 2007; Clay, 2006) are just a few of the themes being discussed globally about this influential culture. In terms of hip hop's relationship on crime reporting, very few empirical studies have been initiated. Whitman and Davis' (2007) study focusing on youth attitudes towards snitching in Massachusetts is quite similar to the current study. Both use qualitative and quantitative surveys and focus on urban residents. With a target sample group ranging from 12-21 years old, this

study revealed a lot of key findings. Gangs were highly visible in all the

neighborhoods that were sampled. Although youth had a high rate of gangs in their

area, they were still willing to report violent crimes under certain circumstances (e.g.,

crime directed against them or a family member or low likelihood of experiencing

retaliation) (Whitman & Davis, 2007). The current study is improved by opening the

sampling frame to older participants, and expanding the scope of study from local to

nationwide.

The current study departs from the Whitman and Davis 2007 study in several

ways. First, my study focuses on a wider age range. Since potential crime reporters

are older than 21 years of age, it only makes since to survey older adults because they

represent the true dynamics of a neighborhood. Next, the current study targeted

neighborhoods that possessed gangs and non-gangs alike. Although it is assumed that

neighborhoods infiltrated by gangs are more likely to have an issue with crime

reporting, this study reaches out to all neighborhoods to get a more holistic

perspective. Last, this study obtains information from respondents from all over the

United States.

Another study conducted by the United States Department of Justice Office of

Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) addresses the stop snitching

phenomenon. According to the study, leading city officials posit that the stop

snitching movement is predominantly in low income communities where there is a

strong distrust towards police by residents. The sluggish movement of the criminal

justice system in prosecuting assailants makes witnesses reluctant to come forward

with information (COPS, 2009). Even though their findings speak to the over arching

issues associated with crime reporting, my research determines if hip hop could be

associated with the problem. This study was improved by including citizens who could be potential crime reporters instead of exclusively using city officials. Without disregarding the valuable insight of the city officials, it is important to note that the localized citizen's point of view is critical in terms of getting crimes solved.

Some studies posit that exposure to rap videos influence the actions of its viewers (Kitwana, 2002; Powell, 2003). However, that is not the case for many African American youths who are turning to hip hop music and tuning in to hip hop music videos. An examination of rap's impact on perceptions and attitudes toward young women among African American males found that an overwhelming majority of the sample rejected rap music's negative messages although they listened to it on a consistent basis (Bryant, 2008, p. 359). "Significant numbers of white youth channel this intensifying sense of alienation into a fascination with hip hop. Some are drawn to hip hop's escapist message. Some are caught up in the contemporary climate of pop culture that makes hip hop the flavor of the month" (Kitwana, 2005, p. 36).

Kitwana's 2005 study confirms that rap can simply be listened to as mere entertainment and escapism. However, this is not the case for a substantial amount of inner city youth. Unlike their white counterparts, who claim to listen to hip hop music because it has a "good beat," African Americans were more likely to say that they listened to hip hop music because it was truthful and teaches them about life (Sullivan, 2003). It can be argued that they learn more from videos and rap songs than they are learning from schools (Chuck D & Jah, 1997). According to Emerson (2002), recent ethnographic studies of African American youth have demonstrated the importance and impact that hip hop culture has on the ways in which African Americans make sense of their lives and social surroundings.

6

Studies examining witness intimidation are centered on the proximity of the witness to the offender. British and Scottish crime surveys found that the likelihood of intimidation is greater in instances where the victim and offender know each other or live in the same vicinity (Fyfe & McKay, 2000). This finding speaks to why crimes that are proximal to witnesses are less likely to be reported in many instances. Moreover, police receive minimum cooperation from residents when they canvas the area (Monheim, 2007). In turn, witness protection programs are enacted to protect witnesses and their families in exchange for testimonies against the accused. Many defendants that are accused of intimidating potential witnesses have been prosecuted for the act of witness intimidation; thus, deterring many from doing so (U.S. Federal News Service, 2009). Fyfe and McKay (2000) illuminate the difficulties of fulfilling internalized norms of how people "ought" to behave. They achieve this while maintaining a sense of normalcy within their lives, and the lives of friends and loved ones (McGee, 1962, p. 36). Meaning, one's life can change by deciding to "do what is right" and cooperate with police.

There have been several studies conducted on hip hop, general violence, and youth. However, no comprehensive studies have been prepared to evaluate crime reporting and hip hop. Many claims and ideologies have come forth in popular discourse, but none using sound methodology. This research makes a departure from that by systematically looking for a correlation between the variables while being supported by the social disorganization s and the culture of terror theories.

Utilizing Shaw and McKay's (1942) social disorganization theory, one of the most fundamental sociological approaches to the study of crime and delinquency, in conjunction with Michael Taussig's (1987) culture of terror theory, I not only discuss

how disorganized neighborhoods may influence the conduct of inner city citizens in their neighborhood, but how their fear of crime reporting and distrust of the criminal justice system may reinforce the code of silence.

The goal of this study is to fill current research gaps, by examining the correlation between hip hop music and crime reporting. With that goal in mind, the following research questions have been developed and data is gathered to provide answers:

1) Is there a relationship between music preference and crime reporting?

2) Does the likelihood of reporting a crime in the future depend on the relationship/status of the victim?

3) Are African American hip hop fans less likely to report crime than their non-African American counterparts?

4) Did neighborhood characteristics play a role in future crime reporting?

Crime reporting has affected people's lives in several ways. Some examples are:

A young man voluntarily cooperated with authorities and reported that vandals destroyed a string of neighborhood property. Police officers leaked the young man's information to the criminals. In turn, he received threats on his life and his family and was forced to flee their neighborhood home. After seeking shelter at a local hotel, the news reported "on–air" where the family was hiding and showed a picture of the hotel (News Channel 3, 2007).

A local drug dealer was robbed and assaulted. Reluctantly, he cooperated with the police. Mysteriously, his mother was gunned down through a window as she walked throughout her home (Foren, 2007).

A fifteen-year-old witnessed a homicide near her home. She agreed to testify on the victims behalf. She informed the lead detective that she was receiving death threats. Several days before the trial was to begin, she was shot dead in front of her house (Anonymous, 2005).

A group of men were arguing in the middle of the street in a quiet residential area. A resident called the authorities and reported the incident. Within minutes, the group dispersed and the police arrived and surrounded the crime reporter's home with their guns drawn (Smith, 2008).

A woman was being violently beaten by her boyfriend. While yelling and screaming, she managed to break free and ran to the nearest house, which belonged to my sibling. Jeopardizing our safety, we took her in and called the police. They never arrived (Simmons, 2010).

The brief narratives above describe ordinary citizens' accounts of their direct experience with law enforcement. Some of them are hip hop fans, and some of them are not. However, they do have one commonality: their respective encounters changed their view of cooperating with authorities or what many coin, "snitching."

Unlike the old definition of snitching, the term "snitch" has evolved from being a "tattle tale" (what youth are called when reporting incidents of wrong doing on friends and family members to adults or to get attention) (COPS, 2009), to a confidential informant (CI), a criminal that informs on their law-breaking counterpart for judicial leniency. According to street politics, it's what happens when "people can't handle their weight" (Wesley, 2005). Veteran gangster rapper and actor Ice T asserts,

A snitch is someone who commits a crime with a partner and gets caught. Instead of keeping his mouth shut and taking responsibility for his criminal activity, he cuts a deal with the police for lighter sentencing in exchange for ratting out his partner. The "Stop Snitching" code is one shared among those in the underworld and has nothing to do with someone who is uninvolved in being a witness to a crime. (Natapoff, 2009, p. 125)

However, this act of informing is mistakenly interchanged with the act of crime reporting which consists of witnesses telling what they saw to assist in the apprehension and prosecution of a perpetrator (McGee, 1962). Critics argue that popular culture has blurred the line between the two, making solving crimes in inner

9

cities difficult and giving birth to the "stop snitching" mentality. Amber (2007) asserts, "These days, the distinction between snitches and crime reporters has become so blurred that the term snitch is being applied to anyone ranging from someone who's talking to police to save his own skin to the little old lady who wants to get the drug dealers off her corner" (p. 107). The term "snitch" doesn't apply to common neighborhood residents, only to informants who often lie on the witness stand and accomplices who testify to keep themselves out of prison (Brown, 2007). Using hip hop as a vehicle to tell his story, recording artist Project Pat (2006) succinctly says in his song *Tell Tell Tell (Stop Snitchin,),* from his album *Crooked By Da Book: The Fed Story*:

> Police say they'll let me go, if I gave up on my dawg, don't try to observe the truth I don't brake no ghetto laws, I don't put pressure mane, on others to ease pain, or brothers put in chains, help mothers to go insane, Project Pat'll never rat, even though I'm lovin cheese, ??? gat, some broke down to their knees…..Hold the hell on, what the fuck is goin on, these niggas tattle tattlin like the shit ain't wrong, god damn who ever started singing like a song, nigga you's a bitch might as well wear a thong, got caught with some yams and a scale, scale, scale, now this snitchin ass nigga wanna tell, tell, tell. (2006)

Snitches are despised because they are known criminals that accept bribes from police, prosecutors, or correctional officers in exchange for a sworn testimony against the defendant-whether it is true or false (Brown, 2007; George, 2010).   The street code doesn't apply to the majority of the community. "They aren't being snitches. They're being good citizens. They are bamboozled into believing they are snitching and are betraying their community" (Smith, 2008, p. 21). Residents are being held hostage with this bogus credo that is indirectly granting law breakers a form of criminal amnesty (In the Margins, 2010).

The grassroots "stop snitching" movement deals with the citizen's reluctance to speak with law enforcement officials when they have important information that could lead to the solving of a crime and putting an assailant behind bars (Malone, 2008). Many blame the rap music industry for a marketing world that glorifies crime, violence, and anti-police sentiment for profit (Natapoff, 2009, p. 124). A survey created by the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) found that 47% of respondents attributed the increase of the stop snitching movement to the recent sales of stop snitching T-Shirts, DVDs, and Compact Discs (COPS, 2009). It may appear that rap music is one of the culprits on the surface, but the majority of the rap songs in question are taken out of context by its followers and antagonists. For those that are totally foreign to some of the topical themes of rap music, the lyrical content comes across as reprehensible. To a portion of these listeners, urban violence is seen as normal, because it happens so often that impoverished residents, especially youth, are immune to it (Harris, 2010a) and neighborhood conditions parallel the music. Since hip hop was birthed out of inner city poverty and despair, people adapt to the culture of poverty around them and react to it accordingly (McGee, 1962). "The families in poverty stricken areas are affected by the conflicting systems of values and the problems of survival and conformity with which it is confronted" (Shaw & McKay, 1942, p. 177).

Since hip hop music is perceived to be a catalyst for what many coin as the stop snitching movement, it is essential to examine its relationship to the reporting of violent crime (Bryant, 2008). Although it has gained attention all the way up to the national level, landing on the agenda of nationally syndicated networks and politicians (Williams, 2006), empirical research on this topic is scant. Law

enforcement agencies and judicial systems are stagnant due to the lack of witness participation (COPS, 2009; Brown, 2007). In the inner city, many cases turn cold and a lot of criminals walk away free (Natapoff, 2009). Hip hop culture is claiming a bigger stake on the global stage both musically and commercially. Mainstream artists like Cam'ron, Rick Ross, Clipse, and Busta Rhymes have sparked attention to hip hop's association with crime reporting by denouncing cooperation with the authorities and reproving others that chose to do so. That is why this topic proves to be even more relevant in the 21st century.

Is hip hop the catalyst behind non-compliance with police? History has established that community-police tension existed in African American communities well before hip hop's inception (Blauner, 2001). Officers are believed to be disrespectful toward citizens and their communities, and should do more to build relations with the people who might eventually serve as eye witnesses (Whitman & Davis, 2007, p. 46). Today, this mentality has taken on a life of its own and continues to have an adverse effect on the way inner city residents view cooperation with police. Some citizens would rather have criminals roam free instead of having them face a racially unbalanced criminal justice system. The issue of inner city violence evokes a series of negative reactions, with a major one being the lack of citizens cooperating with police. This has received a great deal of attention from law enforcement agencies, media, and local residents because a significant number of violent crimes go unreported (Fyfe & McKay, 2000).

Every generation is influenced by its music. Instead of being quick to judge based on whimsical assumptions, grounded inquiry was employed to gain substantive knowledge. While examining pertinent demographic variables, this research departs

from purely conjectural claims that fuel public discourse asserting that hip hop contributes to the lack of crime reporting by testing to see if self proclaimed hip hop followers are less likely to report crime compared to others who prefer another form(s) of primary music choice. Building from popular discourse, which asserts that the stop snitching movement is a nationwide epidemic in inner cities contributing to a spiral of decay (In the Margins, 2010), the need for research regarding these issues is apparent. In particular, there's a need to replace speculation with research-based evidence and disseminate this information to relevant stakeholders, ranging from policy makers to the everyday citizen to expose this culture of ignorance and create a dialogue to gain an understanding and remedy the lack of cooperation with justice workers.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social variables such as inner city living, police, the influence of hip hop, and differentiating snitches from witnesses are key topics when discussing music's influence on attitudes towards crime reporting. Examining inner city lives through this urban lens allows one to get a glimpse of how many inner city residents view their situation. From there, this lens gives further insight into how police officers and cooperation with the police are viewed within these communities. With music preference believed to be a significant factor in shaping attitudes towards crime reporting, it only makes sense to explore the history and presence of the controversial topic of hip hop and how it relates to this issue. At this chapter's conclusion, it is imperative to make a distinction between crime reporting and snitching and how they both affect inner city residents.

Inner City Living

"It's the hard knock life (uh-huh) for us
 It's the hard knock life, for us!
 Steada treated, we get tricked
 Steada kisses, we get kicked
 It's the hard knock life!"

—Jay Z (1998), *Hard Knock Life Ghetto Anthem*

Good job, beautiful/handsome spouse, nice house with a white picket fence, two point five kids and a dog is the typical definition of the American middle class

dream. To many living in impoverished inner cities, it will continue to be just that—a dream. The low income communities have the highest rates of delinquency (Shaw &McKay, 1942). Those who can afford to move away—frequently the ones with the strongest commitment to the conventional order—may do so and those who cannot afford to do so may withdraw from neighborly life. The reality is as jobs and real estate values begin to decrease, homeowners move out, and violence moves in, causing many inner city neighborhoods to become undesirable places in which people are forced to live (Forman, 1971). Unlike the past, a lot of "hard-living/hood-living" families reside in the racially homogenous ghettos of inner cities across America. Non-exhaustive characteristics of hard living are physical and mental toughness, political alienation, rootlessness, present-time orientation (concerned with the here and now with little regard for the future), and a strong sense of individualism (Howell, 1990, p. 263).

Physical and mental toughness is demonstrated by the excessive use of profanity, talk of violence and actual acts of violence. For most people this mean talking about how they could defend themselves if necessary, how strong they were, and how they don't take no shit". Actual acts of street fighting and homicides take place to reinforce this toughness. "There is an unsalvageable criminal element that lurks in the streets and homes of our misguided youth that makes them feel that 'doing what you gotta do' is okay, that not just defending yourself but killing another person is okay" (Canada, 2009). For example, a young man was shot in his head by his close friend in front of their cohort because he was jealous that his friend was making more money than him (Wesley, 2005). However, verbal confrontations are more prevalent that physical confrontations. Many of the assaults and arguments that

take place between hard-living inner city folks would make someone living outside this kind of environment call the authorities without reservation. Feeling that the government and law enforcement officials are corrupt at all levels and irrelevant to their needs, many inner city residents are reluctant to deal with them (Howell, 1990, p. 264).

Many hard-living families live in rental units and tend to move frequently. Unlike the typical homeowner, transient neighbors consistently relocate due to financial reasons. Many residents are underemployed, unemployed, or not in the labor force because they are discouraged workers, people who are not currently looking for work because they believe no jobs are available for them (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). In this climate, it is not surprising that there is a lack of neighborhood camaraderie and trust among residents, leading to social disorganization. It is easier to achieve rapport among residents within an immediate personal neighborhood where residents have similarities, like home ownership (Hallman, 1984, p. 257). Many desperate, criminal-minded transient neighbors in hard-living neighborhoods identify the homes of working homeowners and break into them upon their departure. This is a common occurrence in the inner city.

Present-time orientation affects hard-living residents because they live in survival mode. They are preoccupied with surviving from one day to the next without giving much thought to the future (Howell, 1990, Anderson, 1999). It is as if the individual concludes consciously or unconsciously that there was little to be gained from "fitting in" or saving for the future (Howell, 1990, p. 355). For example, taking pride in their residence by cutting grass and planting flowers is totally irrelevant to them. Moreover, these families are not active in community life. Due to

limited resources, many have taken on a common poverty attitude that is coined a

"gotta get mine" (MC Breed, 1993) mentality, meaning they look out for "self"

instead of for others. Henson Ridge Luxury Town Homes in Washington DC serves

is an excellent example of both instances. Upon erection, the builders did not

disclose to potential homebuyers that the community would be a mixed-income

community, with a significant amount of residents being hard-living renters, with a

considerable amount of them receiving Section Eight assistance (meaning tenants

receive assistance and pay minimum to no rent) ("Henson Ridge Remixed", 2009;

Labbe-DeBose & Williams, 2009, Steinburg, 1976, ApartmentRatings.com, 2010).

As a result, the values of these $300,000 plus townhomes have decreased by more

than 50%, and homeowners are scurrying out of that neighborhood because of

frequent shootings, home invasions, carjacking, murders, assaults, and rapes. The

lack of concern for this problem is revealed in the lack of collaboration and support

from the renting tenants at the home owners' association meetings (Labbe-DeBose &

Williams, 2009).

Just like suburbanites, inner city dwellers are concerned about their personal

safety and the security of their homes and possessions (Hallman, 1984, p. 158).

Although many may try to glorify it, everyone would get out if they could. Calling

the authorities is a natural reaction when citizens have a concern regarding the

breaking of the law and personal safety. In communities where conventional controls

are weakened by divergent traditions and social change, rates of delinquency are high

(Shaw & McKay, 1942, p. XV).

According to Forman (1971), just being African American is the sole

characteristic that places them in the cultural "ghetto" category, without regard to the

fact that such a very high proportion of blacks are economically heterogeneous, yet

live in cities that possess black ghettos. The black ghetto includes stable, successful

families at both the working class and the middle class levels. But the native white's

preoccupation with both color and social status may encourage him not to make

distinctions within the ghetto population and thus ascribe to all members of the ghetto

the characteristics of those in the slum (Forman, 1971). When authorities are called

to financially heterogeneous areas as the one mentioned above, the hard-livers blend

in with the hard workers, thus, making it difficult to differentiate between the two. It

is argued that the highly overlapping nature of networks allows for criminals and

gang members to exist within larger, normative (law-abiding) networks (Markowitz,

Bellair, Liska, & Liu, 2001). Consequently, everyone is treated as guilty and

negative stereotypes about the police are formed among all residents.

<div align="center">Police</div>

"…Feds-Fuck em
D.As -Fuck em
We don't need you bitches on our street
Say wit me
Fuck the police, fuck the police
Without that badge you a Bitch and a half
Fuck the police, fuck the police"

—Lil Boosie (2006), *Fuck the Police*

The lyrics of Lil Boosie's song mirror the anti-police sentiment found in

earlier rap music such as Ice T's (1991) *Cop Killer* and Niggas with Attitudes'

(NWA, 1990) *Fuck the Police*. These artist's platinum albums serve as a barometer

for many in the inner city and demonstrates how many minority residents in these

areas have internalized distrust for police (Natapoff, 2009, p. 8). This hypothesis has

been proven true in the African American community. The lack of crime reporting within the inner city is not a self-fulfilling prophecy, but a resignation born out of bitter personal experience (Steinberg, 1976, p. 125).

According to Dunn (2010), "The historically contentious relationship between the black community and the police is one of the most enduring and seemingly intractable challenges facing law enforcement and public officials in the United States" (p. 558). With police being charged with exerting social control and promoting and maintaining white superiority and ideologies for centuries, this toxic racial sentiment is passed down from generation to generation. Even more recently the "driving while black" reality reaffirms that blacks have an allocated space, and when they venture outside of it, they are subject to police harassment for having the temerity to circulate out of their place" (2010). Although the actors have changed, the overall concept that police do not protect but literally "patrol to control," the black community has remained the same.

Current research shows black and white citizens experience separate and unequal treatment from law enforcement officials wherein blacks are considerably more likely than whites and Latinos to be shot by them (MacDonald et. al, 2009; Fishman, Mann, & Zatz, 1998; Baker, 1985). African Americans are assumed to be more violent. In turn, white police officers have a tendency to overreact to black males who question their authority or speak to them in loud or angry tones (Oliver, Mann, & Zatz, 1998, p. 82). In turn, poor relationships are fostered and African Americans of all ages and socio-economic backgrounds perceive law enforcement officials as unjust (Fishman, Mann, & Zatz, 1998). When citizens think of the police as gatekeepers to the criminal justice system, many view them as "neighborhood

harassers" instead of "neighborhood helpers" (Dunn, 2010). At the same time, the majority of African Americans are demanding more police protection (not harassment), just as whites do, especially since they have the highest homicide rates (Walker et. al., 1996, p. 91, Neilson, Lee, & Martinez, 2005). Does this reflect respect for the legal system or a high level of moral cynicism (Cohen, 2010)? Furthermore, witnessing unjust treatment under the same law that is supposed to protect them (i.e., the Troy Davis Execution) makes community members even more distrustful of the systems and processes that are in place to supposedly serve them (Knight & Goodman, 2005; Brown, 2007). This reality serves as a substitute for legal rules in the regulation of interpersonal disputes among criminal offenders and many inner city residents and breathes life into what Elijah Anderson coins as the code of the street (Anderson, 1999; Rosenfeld Jacobs, & Wright, 2003, p. 291).

The code of the street consists of letting community residents handle their own justice while not involving the police (Anderson, 1999). This informal command agreement contributes to the majority of unsolved crimes in urban areas. Thus, the "code of the street" includes a code of silence. The code of silence reflects the community's disrespect and distrust of police. It is reinforced when ordinary citizens have negative encounters with law enforcement officials (e.g. witnessing police brutality against themselves, someone else, or getting wrongly arrested); a delayed or no encounter with law enforcement (e.g., police arrive hours after they have been called or do not arrive at all); or police reveal the witnesses' names to the assailant, or not protecting the witness (Monahan, 2010; Wrightsman & Kassin, 1993; Worsnop, 1995; Walker & Katz, 2008). Major cities such as Detroit and New Orleans have historically low prosecution rates for violent crime because of the way

they mishandle potential witnesses (Brown, 2007). They have extraordinary powers to take away citizens liberty (Baker, 1985). A primary example is when Sophie Torres witnessed a fatal stabbing at a train station in New York. She was detained by the cops without food for over twenty hours just because she volunteered to give a witness statement (Houppert, 1999). She vowed never to cooperate with the cops again.

The profile of the American police officer has changed significantly between the 1960s and today. Minority officers have a strong presence in many major cities, with Detroit, Washington D.C., and Atlanta having predominantly black police departments (Walker & Katz, 2008, p. 47). Contrary to popular belief, skin color does grant African American police officers a welcome pass into the African American community. Citizens can appear to relate to the officer because they resemble friends and loved ones—a familiar face. It is believed that assigning African American police exclusively to African American communities is a bad idea because there is no evidence that suggests a significant difference in behavior and it would ghettoize them (Walker, Spohn, & DeLone, 1996, p. 109). This would segregate African American officers from patrolling the general population, thus, driving a deeper wedge between police and the non-minority community. Many also believe minority officers are more connected with the community, making them vested in the well-being of the neighborhood. Many African American officers are proponents of working with area citizens to solve crime and keep neighborhoods safe (also known as community policing), in lieu of the traditional street cop culture where the cops view themselves as superior to citizens (Walker & Katz, 2008). However, in many inner city communities, black officers are not viewed as pillars of their community, but as ones

who gleefully brutalize their black brothers for profit (Stallworth, 1993, p. 11). It was found that African American officers are more likely to use physical force against members of their own race (Walker & Katz, 2008, p. 367).

Although studies show that over three-fourths of African Americans are satisfied with the police, local incidents affect local attitudes (Walker & Katz, 2008, p. 392). Callus relationships are developed between police and African American citizens because they are dissatisfied with law enforcement services. Williams et al. came up with four key questions that many inner city residents ask about police: 1) Protect and serve whom? 2) Protection by whom? 3) Protection from what? And, 4) Protect and serve how? (Bluestone, Williams, & Stevenson, 2008, p. 383). Facts show that African Americans are arrested more than whites and when evidence is held constant, law abiding African Americans are more likely to be harassed by cops than their white counterparts (Tucker, 1995, p. 72). Moreover, minority group members are judged as guilty more often and given harsher punishments than Caucasian members upon encounters with the justice system (Lindholm & Christianson, 1998, p. 710-711; Walker & Katz, 2008, Bass, 2001; Hubbard, 2010). Examples of these occurrences are noted in the introduction of this paper. Furthermore, many young black men don't talk to police because of what's in fashion; they just don't trust police (Wing, 2009). Although the infamous Stop Fucking Snitching DVD was said to create such downbeat within many communities, a side effect was that it exposed two crooked Baltimore cops that granted known violent criminals temporary asylum in exchange for information. Many have experienced unwarranted brutality from officers. National statistics show that the usual victims of brutality are people of color, the poor, and young people perceived

22

by the police to be powerless (Powers, 1995, p. 58). Known petty drug dealers have

gotten beat up and sent on their way without confiscating the drugs. In turn, a code of

silence is reinforced not only by the victim, but onlookers, family members, and

friends. Natapoff (2009) asserts that the poor and minority community's distrust of

the police lies at the heart of the stop snitching movement (p. 126). The goal of the

hard-working citizen is not to purposely undermine the mission of police agencies,

but to protect one's well being and the safety of their community—one of the initial

goals of hip hop.

The Influence of Hip Hop

"…Everybody I'd like to announce
 throw your hands up when we in the house
 yeah this is hip hop baby
 I'm gonna take you to the tip top baby…"

—Common (2008), *Universal Mind Control*

The origination of hip hop has been identified a social street movement

associated with gang culture and ghetto communities in New York City (Dates &

Barlow, 1990). Born out of the emotional pain and autobiographical in nature, hip

hop provides a narrative of the minority experience in America's inner city ghettos

(Stallworth, 1993) and a way out of low income inner city drug-infested

neighborhoods for those fortunate enough to become popular (Brown, 2005). Popular

culture has been heavily influenced by hip hop culture. Using the four elements of

hip hop for self expression (MCing, DJing, break dancing and graffiti art), hip hop

continues to occupy a central place in a lot of poor minority neighborhoods in the

inner city while simultaneously influencing major corporations and reaping massive

financial rewards (Brown, 2005; Charnas, 2010). For example, the rhythmic moves of break boys (b-boys) and break girls (b-girls) have recently taken front stage on major television networks in the form of commercialized reality shows like "So You Think You Can Dance" (2010) and "Americas Next Dance Crew" (2010). "Unlike rock and roll and other music genres, part of the reason hip hop culture is so influential is that most young people can identify with more than just rap music" (Kitwana, 2002, p. XII). "Hip hop is not only mainstream—with its own magazines, television programs, films, videos in regular rotation on MTV and BET, artists also have prominent appearances on major programming such as the Grammy Awards to the Super Bowl half-time shows." Clothing labels by hip hop icons, such as Phat Farm's Russell Simmons and Sean Comb's Sean John, with energy drinks inspired by Little Jon, and alcoholic beverages endorsed by Jay-Z are must haves in the hip hop community. Films like Brown Sugar (2002) debuted in major theaters across the nation also portrayed and heavily inspired hip hop culture. Several documentaries were made exploring different aspects of the culture. For example, the documentary, *Gotta Dance* (2009), shows how hip hop crosses the age line by following a group of senior citizens as they try out for a hip hop dance troupe organized by the National Basketball Association's (NBA) New Jersey Nets (Berinstein, 2009). These examples support my claims that hip hop has become woven into the fabric of American popular culture (Dyson, 2004; Charnas, 2010).

Hip hop culture not only crosses the age line, but also the color line. B-boys and b-girls of different ethnicities indicate that this culture is not exclusively for minorities, but for anyone. When one talks about the hip hop underground, referring to the music that has not made it to the mainstream, one is talking about a significant

number of white hip hop kids (Kitwana, 2005). This is demonstrated further when hip hop music sales are examined. During the inception of hip hop on MTV, white patronage was believed to be the driving force behind the sales success of many hip hop artists (Lewis, 2010). Current statistics show that black men, black women, and white women don't even buy even half of the rap music purchased by white men—mostly high school and college-age boys (Williams, 2006, p. 135). In terms of performers, Eminem, Paul Wall, and Bubba Sparxxx are white artists that have sold millions of units and have made their mark in the hip hop community. Right now, some of the hottest producers in the game such as Alchemist and Scott Storch are white (Kitwana, 2005).

Hip hop has also made a tremendous impact on the global scale. Its emergence in a global information age is a major variable that sets it apart vastly increasing its capacity to reach beyond anything the world has ever seen (Kitwana, 2005). In Toronto and beyond, graffiti artists are everywhere and the culture is very much alive (Taylor & Taylor, 2007). Expressive murals represent neighborhood pride and display the artistic creativity of local hip hoppers. Rap has served as their anthem and catalysts for affecting social change (Stallworth, 1993, p. 1). On the political front, hip hop is a language that travels across local boarders internationally and finds resonant rhetorical uses in unusual places. In 1989 Polish protesters blared NWA's "Fuck the Police" to express their outrage at oppressive social and political forces (Dyson, 2007, p. 49). With the rising popularity of foreign hip hop artists, such as Estelle and Drake, it is more than obvious that hip hop is here to stay—even if the messages are not always so positive. Stallworth states in Fishman, Mann, & Zatz (1998):

Gangster rapper's lyrics are accurate in their portrayal of the police and the scourge of drugs that plagues inner-city black communities as being the root causes of violence in these communities. Their lyrics offer a stark portrayal of ghetto life, as experienced by its residents, as one of intense terror, brutality, repression, and oppression of black people at the hands of the police. (p. 117)

The criminal depictions provided by the mass media and sustained by the general public's belief is that most African American males are criminals (Oliver, Mann, & Zatz, 1998, p. 86). Mainstream hip hop music is accused of being dominated by black males and often refers to violent themes. It has been criticized for negative images and lyrics (Bryant, 2008). The image of the "baaad nigger" or "thug" has been employed more recently by "gangsta" rappers to romanticize criminal behavior, especially drug dealing in black communities (Fishman, Mann, & Zatz, 1998, p. 112). Young Jeezy (2005) talks with pride about selling drugs in his song titled "And Then What" from his *Let's Get It: Thug Motivation* album. Jeezy articulates, "…First I'm going stack my flow—Then I'm going to stack some more—Close shop then I do my count—Hide the rest of the yams at my auntie house". In summary, he's going to sell drugs and hide his unsold drugs at his aunt's home. Ironically these lyrics for some artist are not just for entertainment purposes, but a continued way of life.

It is a ritual that seems to play out at least once a year in the rap community: A top star is involved in some shape, form, or fashion with the criminal justice system, facing a criminal charge, and more often than not, is locked up at the height of their wealth and fame (Landrum, 2010). Although this causes them to lose major endorsements and income from tours, this does not deter them from breaking the law (Richards, 2010). Artists like Jay-Z (worth over $400 million) stayed out of trouble after having a run in with the law. However, rappers like Lil "Weezie" Wayne

26

(earning $20 million in 2010), Gucci Mane (earning $5 million in 2010) and T.I. (earning $9 million in 2010) are admired for their criminal records (Richards, 2010). Hip hop fans proudly wear "Free Weezie" tee shirts with his prison photo prominently displayed on the front. For the first time since Tupac, Lil Wayne received the honor of having the top selling album in America while he sat in a prison cell (Richards, 2010).

"Many believe that the stop snitching movement gained additional traction when several rap artists such as Busta Rhymes, Lil Kim, and Cam'ron publicly refused to talk about crimes they have witnessed" (Natapoff, 2009, p. 123). When asked would he inform authorities if a serial killer lived next door, Cam'ron said, "No." He blames his mentality on the rap music industry and how he was raised. After a near death experience at the hands of an "unknown" attacker, Cam'ron repeatedly refused to cooperate with police saying "I'm conducting my own investigation." Although he could have used this platform to inform the masses of police misconduct in inner city neighborhoods, he continued to make hip hop appear to be barbaric and misguided (Natapoff, 2009 p. 136). If Cam'ron reacted in a less hard manner, or what many coin as playing the thug role, he could jeopardize being known as a tough no nonsense rapper and selling the hard-street image, causing career suicide in this hyper masculine culture (Brown, 2007).

Many consider themselves as members of the "hip hop nation" and tend to view rap music as a means of entertainment and escapism (Bryant, 2008, p. 359; Stallworth, 1993). With various artists specializing in different types of rap music, there is always some type of rap music to satisfy all hip hop appetites. If you were into the street thing you could choose from artists such as Plies and Young Jeezy. If

you preferred the political/conscious thing, Dead Pres and Common would satisfy those taste buds. For those who enjoy the party scene, Soldier Boy will suffice their musical needs. For those who relate to the middle class prankster, Ludacris caters to those needs (Powell, 2003). Unlike the lyricists of yesterday, no one artist is exclusive to a specific category. The versatility of their styles crosses into different forms of hip hop. Since a lot of hip hop followers can relate in some way to rap songs, many believe rap music, videos, and the actions or artists may affect African American adolescents' attitudes towards violence in general. (Bryant, 2008, p. 258). Arguing that television causes violence among men, Hattemer states, "Social science, clinical concepts, and common sense all agree that what children watch affects who they become, what they believe, what they value and how they behave" (1996, p. 63-64). Children as well as adults are typically socialized by their family, schools, peers, and churches (Arnett, 2001; Kunjufu, 1984). In the end, it is not possible to know with precision whether witnesses would cooperate with authorities in the absence of hip hop culture (Gitlin, 1996).

Violence is difficult to avoid. According to social psychologist Leonard Eron, "By the time the average American child finishes elementary school, he or she would have seen 8,000 murders and more than 100,000 other acts of violence" via the media (Aronson et. al, 2010, p. 366). However, this figure is significantly higher for children located in violence prone areas because they not only witness this on television, but also in their neighborhoods. National statistics show that the usual victims of brutality are people of color, the poor, the young people perceived by the police to be powerless (Powers, 1995, p. 58). "Black on black crime seems to be tolerated and even accepted as inevitable" (Shusta et al, 2008; Anderson 1999).

Johnson and associates found that exposure to violent rap videos and lyrics has been related to higher acceptance of violence (Bryant, 2008, p. 357). The hip hop nation spends a significant amount of leisure time listening to music that tends to possess large amounts of negative content that glorifies the thug image. This is described as a bigger than life, no nonsense image where individuals are not afraid to die or take a life (Stallworth, 1993; Gest, 1996). This persona makes citizens fearful to cross their paths while making them prisoners in their own neighborhood. The thug mentality is the main reason why homicide remains a leading cause of death for African American youth (MacDonald et. al. 2009, p. 2, Hall et. al, 2008, p. 382). Kids that lack strong moral values are drawn to gangster rap because it reflects their inner turmoil (Hettemer, 1996, p. 69). Staples further asserts in Williams (2006), "Inner city listeners who are already at risk of dying prematurely are being fed a toxic diet of rap cuts that glorify murder and make it seem perfectly normal to spend your life in prison" (Williams, 2006, p. 139).

Critics, law enforcement officials, and politicians have claimed that violent images and anti-police attitudes in hip hop culture have deleterious effects on inner city attitudes towards crime reporting. Similar to Ronald Reagan's usage of the "welfare queen" and George Bush's handling of the Willie Horton "crime spree," a major contention is that these stereotypes were not just campaign strategies to demonize minorities, hip hop culture, or poor people, but also an attempt to curtail public discourse on contested issues such as justice and fairness (Culverson, Mann, & Zatz, 1998, p. 97). After Reagan was elected, welfare stories began to be a vehicle for establishing his political agenda. The same holds true for the stop snitching movement. After the stop snitching DVD gained nationwide attention, emphasis

began to shift to hip hop (COPS, 2009). And just like Reagan and Bush's claims, no effort was initiated by pundits or politicians to explore and examine the complex tangle of legal and cultural issues that helped create the phenomenon (Brown, 2007, p. 11). Furthermore, few empirical studies have been published to substantiate these claims message.

<p style="text-align:center">Snitches vs. Witnesses</p>

> "You can have whatever you want
> In the hood, it's do's and don'ts
> So when it get hot in this kitchen
> Stop snitchin, nigga stop snitchin"
>
> —Ice Cube (2006), *Stop Snitchin*

Whether it is termed "tattletaling," "ratting," "whistleblowing," or "snitching," the code of silence to conceal criminal activity goes back several generations (Zingher, 2001). Whether it's a subtle reprimand admonishing a child not to tell on a sibling or when a gang threatens one's life in exchange for testimony, individuals have been getting in trouble for snitching for a long time. With its roots in the old Mafia code of Omertà, the best way to protect their turf and assets was through fear (Malone, 2008, p. 1). Coincidentally, a lot of rap artists obtain their stage names from mobsters like Beanie Siegel, Noriega, Capone, and Erv Gotti. This unspoken code of silence has existed for centuries in many African American communities. With the roots of not telling on "one's own" and dealing with the situation in-house going back as far as slavery, the black community has a history of not having outsiders (such as police) deal with their community issues (Cox, 2000). Blatant racism, brutality, and unequal protection kept many minorities from talking to

the police, let alone calling them for assistance (Kelly, 2000). This code is not a new order of business to police departments, because they also endorse this behavior amongst themselves (Walker, Spohn, &DeLone, 1996), meaning, an officer cannot report another officer. If officers can live by what they coin as the "blue wall of silence," why are they surprised when neighborhood citizens choose to do the same? The police and the criminal hierarchy share common values regarding protecting their own.

That mentality has transferred to inner city neighborhoods. However, turf and assets are not at stake because the majority of the residents are at or below the poverty line and do not own their home or local property. Criminals run the risk of going to prison for violent crimes, especially the ones committed in broad day light. According to Ron Nelson (Gang Unit, Seattle Police Department), "The real 'no snitch' movement came around 2004 with the advent of some hip-hop type of music and DVD's that were put out that really asserted that snitching was bad and one should not cooperate with police for any reason at all on any level" (Wing, 2009). The influence of this media especially gained recognition after basketball superstar Carmello Anthony was shown endorsing the stop snitching message. Since the stop snitching movement began to take over inner cities nationwide, law enforcement officials have a difficult time solving violent crimes. Although reporting violent crimes appear to be the logical thing to do, the line separating crime reporting and the act of snitching has been blurred. Since the mid-1990s there has been a growing concern from critics, law enforcement officials, and concerned citizens across the globe about the effect of imagery and lyrics in rap videos on citizens (Bryant, 2008, p. 359; Fyfe & McKay, 2000). When hip hop music began to make mention of

31

snitching it thrust itself in the spotlight for scrutiny. Since hip hop culture is

intermingled with street and prison culture, it's hard to distinguish where hip hop

ends and prison culture begins and vice versa (Kitwana, 2002). Hip hop fans accept

the conduct they see and the words they hear as the social norm and integrate it into

their own behavior patterns (Hettemer, 1996, p. 63). Just like former National Public

Radio analyst and Fox News correspondent Juan Williams derived at a

misinterpretation of Nelly's controversial song "Tip Drill" (explaining the theme of

the video as the tip of a man's penis drilling into a woman), it should not be a

revelation that inner city youth and residents may do the same. Many youth

misinterpret hip hop's true definition of snitching and take the rap themes beyond

entertainment. They view it as "pursuant to a way of life," that gives them a reason to

forever uphold the code of silence or as Clipse succinctly put it as their debut title

stating, "Til the Casket Drops" (Clipse, 2009).

The streets frown heavily on cooperating (snitching) with law enforcement.

However, when faced with lifelong prison sentences many hustlers simply rolled over

(Brown, 2005, p. 86). Snitching takes on what game theorists constitute as the

"prisoner's dilemma." Axelrod (1980) quotes,

> The distinguishing feature of the Prisoner's Dilemma is that in the short run,
> neither side can benefit itself with a selfish choice enough to make up for the
> harm done to it from a selfish choice by the other. Thus, if both cooperate,
> both do fairly well. But if one defects while the other cooperates, the
> defecting side is the sucker and gets the lowest pay off. (p. 8)

The idea behind snitching is simple—"a suspect provides incriminating information

about someone else in exchange for a deal, maybe the chance to walk away, or a

lesser charge or sentence" (Natapoff, 2009, p. 3). Meaning, whoever tells first,

regardless of their role in the crime, will receive a deal with the judicial system. Even

if the witness is not promised a reduced sentence, another motive excluding "pure good will" is believed to be the incentive. This is heavily frowned upon in the criminal community as well as the hip hop community.

Wesley discusses snitching from hip hop's point of view with guest appearances from T.I., Freeway, David Banner, Young Jeezy and Cash Money Millionaires' Slim and Baby. Throughout the video, artists were asked their opinion regarding criminals snitching on each other for judicial leniency (snitching). Young Jeezy quoted, "Any nigga that can go out and commit a crime cuz, and get caught for that shit and put another man in the line of fire and fuck his family—fuck his kids, and what he got going on in his life—I think snitch niggas should just die cuz" (Wesley, 2005). This sentiment serves as a consensus among the street hustlers that were interviewed from coast to coast. David Banner made a plea to youth admonishing them to do the right thing and stay out of trouble. But if they do get in trouble, don't snitch on your fellow man because "snitches should die" (Wesley, 2005). Brown asserts, "The stop snitch movement is not propelled by the fact that the federal system is out of whack and that people are being put away for the rest of their lives based on [testimony from] informants" (Brown, 2007, p. 11). Police must retain professionalism with informants. Not verifying their information causes innocent citizens to face incarceration and violent offenders to walk free (Hight, 2000). Donald Gates was wrongly imprisoned for 27 years for murder and rape based on the testimony of a paid police informant that swore he heard Gates admit to the crime (Hsu, 2011). Just like Gates, many have been sentenced to extensive prison time from the testimony of informants. Some arrests are politically motivated (Curriden, 1993) and fall outside of the FBI's operational recommendations (Hight, 2000; Baker,

1985).   The fact that the use of informants is an area that is open to abuse is one of the fallacies that serve as fuel behind the stop snitching movement (Curriden, 1993). Informants have been known to receive little or no punishment or some type of judicial favor for presenting verbal evidence (George, 2010). For example, a fellow prisoner disclosed in exchange for judicial leniency that the producer of the controversial stop snitching DVD confided in him about being a high-ranking gang member of the Bloods and was a major drug distributor (Federal Bureau of Investigations, 2010).   Brown articulates the strong overtones of rap artists by stating, "In every case what's abundantly clear is that justice is poorly served by the culture of snitching, cooperator testimony is notoriously unreliable yet can often result in undeserved guilty verdicts for defendants" (Brown, 2007, p. 18). "The idea behind snitching is simple—a suspect provides incriminating information about someone else in exchange for a deal, maybe the chance to walk away, or a lesser charge or sentence" (Natapoff, 2009. P. 3).

In 2004, the stop snitching DVD was produced as a wake-up call about just how violent and corrupt Baltimore had become in recent years and how important it was to take it back to old-school street values, old-school street rules of taking responsibility for your actions (Brown, 2007, p. 177). The homemade stop snitching DVD that mirrored the same messages as hip hop lyrists garnered national attention and allegedly reinforced the stop snitching rhetoric that is heavy in inner cities throughout America (Natapoff, 2009, p. 7). Apparel reinforcing this sentiment became popular among inner city residents, especially among urban youth and hip hop fans after Cam'Ron and the Diplomats wore it during a video shoot (Brown, 2007, p. 7). While t-shirts, mottos, and popular music may fade away, the underlying

problems of violence, fear, and non-cooperation will remain as long as this particular social reality exist (Natapoff, 2009, p. 138).

Just saying the word "snitch" makes people uneasy. "Even more often than fear of retaliation, the idea of being viewed as a snitch is a huge deterrent to reporting crime for youth" (Whitman & Davis, 2007, p. 37). According to crime reporting literature, snitching is defined as violating the code of the street by submitting information when one has something to gain in return (Trevino, 2000; George, 2010). Snitching is described by Anderson (1999) as criminals crime reporting on one another in exchange for judicial leniency. This definition is supported by individuals that conform to this interpretation, including hip hop artists. Richardson, a teacher for Project Interruptions in Seattle, Washington, educates young men and women about the difference between being a snitch and doing the right thing by crime reporting. He posits, "If me and my friend jump this old lady and we both get caught and I say "I didn't do anything' and he says 'no, it was him, it was him. He did everything. He shoved her, took her money and took her purse'—that's snitching" (Wing, 2009). The way criminal informants are used by police spilled over into the inner city's overall culture, impacting their understanding of talking to law enforcement officials as a crime reporter or as a snitch (Natapoff, 2009). In turn, many decide not to do either.

According to Genesee County Michigan Sherriff Robert Pickell, the lack of crime reporting poses a level of difficulty because a crime reporter or witness is often the difference between solved and unsolved crimes and getting violent offenders off the street (Angus, 2009, p. A3). According to the United Nations International Drug Control Program (UNDCP), a witness is defined as someone that has made a

35

statement, or who has given or agreed to give evidence in relation to the commission

or possible commission of a serious offence (UNDCP, 2000, p. 2). Eyewitnesses

usually provide the major leads to an investigation (Kebbell & Milne, 1998). When

crimes are conducted in broad daylight, many inner city residents turn a blind eye and

deaf ear. Could it be a historical culture of non-cooperation with the police

(Crawford, 2010)? Could it be a part of antagonist culture emphasized by hip hop

music (Kitwana, 2002)? Could it be that witnesses fear for their safety, as well as that

of the loved ones (Fyfe & McKay, 2000; Fishman, Mann, & Zatz, 1998)? KCTV

Kansas City anchor/reporter Craig Nigrelli noted at various times while he's

interviewing witnesses, someone will walk by, repeatedly muttering "click-clock,

click-clock"—simulating the sound of a gun cocking and firing (Malone, 2008, p. 1).

Whatever the rationale could be, it is proven that even if the crime took place in the

midst of a group of people, cooperation is still minimal. Is it that people do not care

about one another anymore? According to some, the issue isn't immorality or the

lack of concern for others. In states such as Florida, it is not a crime to witness a

crime and not report it (Danielson, 2010). However, many citizens feel it's their

moral obligation to be the eyes and ears of the community. A witness of a recent hit

and run in Genesee County said, "I wouldn't want to live in a place where someone

committed a crime like this could get away.….We have to protect each other. If not,

that would be pretty sickening" (The Flint Journal, 2009). District Attorney Lynne

Abraham seconds that by asserting that crime reporting is the right thing to do, so

witnesses should come forward, step up, and speak up for the sake of their

community (Weyrich, 2006, p. 2). Underneath the tough and uncooperative exterior

of many urban residents lies a layer of vulnerability that reflects resilience and

strength, not weakness (Hall et al, 2008, p. 395). However, that is difficult when young people are in a constant struggle to do the right thing or do the right thing according to their peers and the code of silence.

Many believe that a better job must be done to get citizens to trust the criminal justice system and to come forward when they have information (Wing, 2009). However, stop snitchin is a rational response by terrorized citizens to a justice system that they feel betrays them every day. Numerous murders, rapes, armed robberies, assaults, and the like have gone unsolved because of the victims' and witnesses' reluctance to come forward and disclose what happened (Malone, 2008). "As one observer noted, "Without witnesses, the rudiments of prosecution, such as identifying the accused and establishing the requisite nexus between accused and the crime, would be insurmountable obstacles to conviction, and the criminal justice system would cease to function" (Fyfe & McKay, 2000, p. 675). It is important for law enforcement officials to be mindful that being an eyewitness to a violent crime is an extremely unpleasant experience by anyone's criteria, (Lindholm & Christianson, 1998; Houppert, 1999). Observing this may cause the potential witness to experience mental health issues. Or, when socialized into a local culture of no snitching, many witnesses are well aware that breaking this code may lead to witness intimidation by jeopardizing their safety as well as their family (Fyfe & McKay, 2000, p. 680; COPS, 2009).

Witness Protection Programs and Initiatives

The anti-snitching sentiment has been rippling across inner cities nationwide for decades. Since mid-1990s, there has been a growing concern across the globe

about the intimidation of witnesses (Fyfe & McKay, 2000). Witness intimidation refers to threats made to dissuade or prevent victims or eyewitnesses of crimes from reporting those crimes or assisting in the investigation or giving testimony at a hearing or trial (Graham, 1985, p. 2). Although many witnesses and snitches believe their personal testimony is anonymous, a lot of written depositions contain blatant indentifying evidence that is eventually accessible to anyone that wants it (Brown, 2007). Protecting witnesses is such a priority that Mary Waterstone, a retired Detroit judge, jeopardized her career and her freedom by agreeing with prosecutors to conceal the identity of a police informant (Ex Judge Faces Perjury Trial, Flint Journal, 2010). The lack of crime reporting fundamentally undermines our criminal justice system, forcing prosecutors to drop cases, demoralizing law enforcement and communities, and allowing perpetrators to remain free (Whitman & Davis, 2007, p, 10). Many argue that witness protection programs like the Federal Government's Witness Security Program will curb the fear that paralyzes potential witnesses with fear. Witness protection programs are created to protect crime reporters. "Groups such as WITSEC and the Victims and Witnesses Action Group (VWAG) were formed to recognize and resolve the personal safety issues of the witnesses and the victim" (Knight & Goodman, 2005, p. 20).

According to Michigan area prosecutors, a state witness protection program will be money well spent to keep witnesses safe and has been identified to entice reluctant witnesses to come forward (Misjak, 2010). The First Circuit Court of Appeals held that police failure to protect a prosecution witness from violence falls short of a violation of due process rights (1st Circuit, 2005). The Victim Witness Assistance Unit in Washington has helped 400-500 witnesses a year with security

concerns, including funding for new door locks, home alarm systems, moving

expenses, and deposits at new apartments (Smith, 2008). Some cities are considering

placing video cameras in high crime areas to record 24 hours a day (Czekalinski,

2010).   These programs are guarded by gate-keepers, known as those individuals that

determine who gain entry into the witness protection program (Fyfe & McKay, 2000,

p. 681). Some witness protection programs require potential participants to sign a

"memorandum of understanding" that stresses in return for their cooperation with the

case the police will help them adjust to their new legend. However, they must stay

away from their old area, and not give anyone clues to their new whereabouts

including family and friends (Fyfe & McKay, 2000, p 682). Cities throughout the

nation are setting up telephone lines to curb crime, encourage community

involvement and get information that otherwise remain secret (Anonymous, 2002, p.

5). Genesee County (Michigan) established a similar initiative called Crime

Stoppers. This initiative offers crime reporters up to $1,000 to report criminals and

crimes that are profiled consistently via television and newspaper. These tips may

resort to witnesses being subpoenaed to testify in court.

A more contemporary approach to protecting witnesses was spearheaded by

the House Judiciary Committee. Former Annapolis, Maryland Mayor Ellen Moyer

drafted a bill for the legislature to shield the identity of witnesses prior to a trial

involving a violent crime (Anonymous, 2004, p. 6). However, after the trial begins,

the alleged offender and individuals inside of the courtroom (which could be the

family and friends of the accused) will now know the identity of the witness.

If witness protection is only available for a limited time due to local, state,

and federal budgetary restraints, instead of jeopardizing their family's lives, a lot of

witnesses may choose the better safe than sorry approach and say nothing (The Flint Journal, 2010; Gest, 1996, Brown, 2007). Individuals that are close to the witnesses are often threatened or even fatally injured because of the witness' decision. Death threats are made and carried out because the witness is not adequately protected by authorities (1st Circuit, 2005). Witnesses who refuse or are reluctant to cooperate with authorities may have ample reason for their trepidation (Monheim, 2007, p. 51). The witness may be secured in an undisclosed location; however, family and friends will be vulnerable to retaliation violence. This was demonstrated when an alleged drug dealer's mother was murdered based on his anticipated testimony (Foren, 2007).

Many believe that violent crimes against witnesses are not common. Genesee County (Michigan) Sherriff Robert Pickell asserts that "while there are threats against witnesses, he has never seen violence perpetrated against witnesses-except in gang related violence" (Angus, 2009, p. A11). In contrast, the police chief of the city of Flint, Michigan, said an ongoing investigation revealed that the majority of local homicides are drug and/or gang related (In the Margins, Flint Journal, 2010). According to Whitman and Davis, gangs continue to be highly visible in urban areas. Their study found that 75% of survey respondents reported gang members being present in their neighborhood (Whitman &Davis, 2007, p. 4). As a result, respondents diligently turn a blind eye out of fear of retaliation from the gang's loyal members. It may be argued that a potential witness may not be able to differentiate between a gang or non-gang related murder, making them just as reluctant to come forward. Furthermore, fatal punishments are being delivered to potential witnesses who may deliver testimonies on non-violent cases. In Washington D.C., a key witness in an identity theft case was killed after he decided to cooperate and testify

against the criminals (McCabe, 2010). This begs the question of whether it is safe to report crime on non-violent crimes or violent crimes alike.

In most cases, anxiety is decreased when potential witnesses know that the assailant was a loner that was already behind bars. The code of silence pact was broken when it came to Elias Abuelazam. In the case of the Flint Stabber, Abuelazam, he went around the city at night searching for his victims posing as a stranded motorist. He mortally injured several people in the area and critically maimed others. After police released his identity and confirmed he was a foreigner, individuals were relieved. Knowing the Flint Stabber was not a local resident, worked alone in his attacks, and was behind bars made more witnesses and victims of all ages at ease about coming forward to testify against him for the brutal and fatal stabbings in the Flint area (Harris, 2010b).

Children as well as adults are typically socialized by their family, schools, peers, and churches, as well as media (Arnett, 2001; Kunjufu, 1984). In the end, it is not possible to know with precision whether witnesses would cooperate with authorities in the absence of hip hop culture (Gitlin, 1996). This study examines if there is a relationship between individuals that adapt non-cooperative attitudes towards police and self-professed hip hop fans. While much has been written about the portrayal of females in hip hop, African Americans in popular media, and police relations in the black community, a detailed analysis has not been employed to determine a correlation between the two, emphasizing cooperation with authorities and musical preference. This research focuses on the Chicago School's social disorganization theory by Shaw and McKay (1942) and culture of terror theory

41

developed by Taussig (1987).   They are relevant for this research examining the

"code of silence" and how it affects crime reporting in the inner city.

CHAPTER III

THEORY

In this chapter, I identify my theoretical perspective. The social

disorganization theory constructed by Shaw and McKay inform this analysis and

interpretation of data. This model is combined with Taussig's theory on the culture

of terror as it extends and expands this ideology.

> "Every day I wonder just how I'll die
> Only thing I know is how to survive
> There's only one rule in the real world
> And that's to take care of you, only you and yours"
>
> —Too Short (1990), *The Ghetto*

Direct theories have not been proposed to discuss crime reporting. However,

the social disorganization theory and the culture of terror are two frameworks through

which the development of negative attitudes towards crime reporting can be

understood. Although several residents thrive in poverty stricken areas and several

citizens are homeowners and gainfully employed (Taussig, 1987, p. 6), many are not

so fortunate and live at or below the poverty line. As a result, they give life to and

substantiate Too Short's lyrics of a less than ideal community composed of a

significant amount of hard-living residents. Hallman (1984) defines an ideal

community as people within a limited territory possessing shared values, common

interests, norms of conduct, engaging in social interaction and mutual aid, having

their own groups/associations and institutions to help meet their basic needs (p. 34).

That definition is similar to what Akers and Sellers (2009) define as a social system. Many inner city neighborhoods lack this social structure and are prone to neighborhood violence, illegal activity, and abandoned or dilapidated buildings. This ideal community/social system is broken down when there is a "disruption in its social cohesion" (p. 177). Social disorganization is a result of this collapse. That is why areas with large concentrations of recent immigrants might be less likely to report violent crimes since these groups tend to settle in disorganized communities due to their accessibility (Neilson, Lee, & Martinez, 2005).

Social disorganization theories were developed in the 1920s and 1930s by sociologists at the University of Chicago and the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago (Shaw & McKay, 1942). Social disorganization examines how the lack of organized community effort deals with social conditions. In general terms, it refers to the inability of a community structure to realize the common values of its residents and maintain effective social controls (Sampson & Groves, 1989). It hypothesizes that it is due to variation in the capacity of neighborhoods to constrain its residents from violating norms (Markowitz et al., 2001, p. 293). This theory attempts to explain high rates of crime and delinquency among disadvantaged lower class and ethnic groups while proposing that "the less there exists solidarity, cohesion, or integration within a community, the higher will the rate of crime and deviance" (Akers & Sellers, 2009, p. 177). The absence of informal local friendship networks is hypothesized to reduce predatory victimization rates and local crime and delinquency offender rates (Sampson & Groves, 1989).

"Recent studies support predications derived from social disorganization theory, specifically dealing with residential instability" (Neilson et. al., 2005).

44

According to Shaw and McKay (1942), social disorganization emerges when residents are unable to form common values and maintain effective social controls that many non-minority and more well to do minority neighborhoods experience. For example, older/more stable neighbors take pride in the home they live in by cutting the lawn, planting flowers and picking up litter. However, unstable neighbors are more than likely to be renters and not as vested in the neighborhood, thus, disrupting the network of social relations (Sampson & Groves, 1989). This causes property values to deteriorate and confirms the statement—same neighborhood, but different values. This form of neighborhood blight is also a subcomponent of residential instability. Abandoned and dilapidated buildings are indications of how social disorganization impacts urban areas.

Like the folkways and mores of any culture, those of the criminal subculture are taught by members, especially in childhood (McGee, 1962, p. 78). Neighborhood, environment, or structural factors related to poverty lead to residential instability and difficulty for residents to form common bonds and solve common problems (MacDonald et al., 2009, p. 3; Sampson & Groves, 1989). This theory hypothesizes that local cohesive bonds are difficult to establish and maintain in these kinds of inner city neighborhoods. This results in the breakdown of community social order, collective efficacy and the ability to resolve neighborhood issues. In turn, organized individuals begin to participate in unorganized situations (McGee, 1962, p. 101). Shaw and McKay (1942) applied the theory to the explanation of specific patterns of delinquency documented for Chicago and its suburbs. In support of social disorganization theory, Rose states in McGee (1962):

…People are able to act together in an organized manner over an indefinitely long period of time because they have internalized a large number of meanings and values, commonly understood and adhered to, which permit them to make thoroughly accurate predictions about one another's behavior. Social disorganization-in the form of one or more of the familiar social problems-occurs when a significant proportion of meanings and values are no longer sufficiently internalized to guide the behavior of a significant proportion of the individuals…in contact. (McGee, 1962, p. 21)

Although citizens may reside in the same neighborhood, they may not be of the same social group and may possess different ideologies. All forms of deviance and lawlessness such as youth and adult crime, drug abuse, and mental illness are interpreted as the outcome of urban social disorganization or the community decline theory (crime and disorder increases fear of crime and the extent to which fear negatively influences neighborhood cohesion) (Akers & Sellers, 2009, p. 178; Markowitz et. al. , 2001, p. 297), in addition to the intimidation experienced by neighbors that would be willing to cooperate with authorities. In this manner, social disorganization seeps into the fabric of the inner city, imposing terror upon its law abiding and working class residents (Bourgois, 2002, p. 180; Hakim, 2003). It is here where the social imagination has populated its metamorphosing images of evil and the underworld and:

…Cultures of Terror are nourished by the intermingling of silence and myth in which the fanatical stress on the mysterious side of the mysterious flourishes by means of rumor woven finely into the web of magical realism. (Taussig, 1987, p. 8)

Taussig's culture of terror was originally used to study political repression. It examines the issue from a social psychological perspective by examining how victims and victimizers' thinking differs from those who do not fall in either of the two categories (Bourgois, 2002). This theory does not look at whether facts are real, but examines the politics of their interpretation and representation (Taussig, 1987). An

individual who personally experiences violence or witness proximal violence lives in a different reality than those that do not. This theory indicates "all individuals exposed to crime in their neighborhoods who want to maintain a sense of autonomy are affected by the culture of terror and decline to get involved because cooperating with authorities could be a potentially life threatening situation" (Bourgois, 2002, p. 175). They begin to experience the loss of self to a perverted authority (Taussig, 1987, p. 7). It's not because it's not cool to snitch, but people are afraid they might get killed (Natapoff, 2009). The culture of terror states that the majority of the population who work from nine-to-five in mainstream jobs that pay just above poverty level wages ranging to middle class people are intimidated in certain situations (Bourgois, 2002, p. 180; Hakim, 2003; Fishman, Mann, & Zatz, 1998). Not suggesting anything indigenous about these communities, but just like in any potential life-threatening situation, instead of jeopardizing their safety, many chose to mind their own business.

The no-snitching code of silence culture confirms how intimidation begins to socialize citizens into a local culture of not cooperating with any part of the justice system. Pantazis (in Knight and Goodman, 2005) states "fear of crime is said to be more common than fears around unemployment and health; affecting the way citizens live their life" (Knight and Goodman, 2005, p. 21). Social disorganization theory and the culture of terror suggests that localized citizens that have the power to assist in serving justice physically and/or psychologically remove of themselves from the stressful situation (Nicolas et. al, 2008), causing an assimilation by fear (McGee, 1962). In essence, instead of doing what they interpret as jeopardizing their safety

and their way of life, they will rather turn a blind eye to violent crime or simply relocate to another neighborhood with collective efficacy.

Just like there are benefits to using the above theories, there are also liabilities. A flaw of using the social disorganization theory is that it was originally created to explain high rates of crime among juveniles. If juvenile delinquency is a manifestation of neighborhood disorganization, then using young people as a resource will explain quite a bit about local neighborhoods. Since this study is not directly examining the high rates of crime, but attitudes towards crime reporting, the usage of it may be problematic. However, a connection is made by exposing high rates of crime in disorganized areas and showing how potential crime reporters may be affected by the violence in their neighborhood.

Social disorganization and culture of terror theories help frame this research because they propose that exposure to proximal violence in the inner city in conjunction with residing in the same neighborhood with criminals and their associates will help foster the development of fearful attitudes and behaviors (Whitman & Davis, 2007). In essence, a lot of violence takes place in poor minority neighborhoods that suffer from police mistreatment or police absence. Likewise, the more distant the relationship between law enforcement officials, the more citizens will be reluctant to cooperate with police and come forward with valuable information. By hip hop expressing its disagreement with snitches (not crime reporters), media outlets are loosely interpreting the true difference between fact and fiction and rap artists are becoming demonized. From this dominant ideology it is obvious that the line between snitching and crime reporting are blurred and the blame

is being unjustly diverted. Using original research, it is the goal of this study to empirically test that hypothesis.

The culture of terror and social disorganization theories offer better explanations of crime reporting because Gerbner and Gross' (1976) highly used cultivation theory is overly used in popular culture research. Social critic Bill Cosby believes young African American women and men receive their style of dress as a result of rap filling radio and television with distorted images of black people (Williams, 2006, p. 128). Although that aligns with the cultivation theory's premise that "heavy exposure to cultural imagery will shape a viewers concept of reality" (Gerbner & Gross, 1976, p. 176-184), it was relevant when I was examining the portrayal of African American women in hip hop videos and the sampling frame came exclusively from television. Based on the literature review, interacting with and observing real people including peers, family, and individuals from the community are more likely to influence and reinforce behavior (Bandura, 1977). This study includes ingesting rap music through visual media as well as acoustically. Moreover, it discusses the influence of one's social surroundings. That alone eliminates the cultivation theory from explaining hip hop's relationship to inner city crime reporting.

Just as there are strong points with using the above theories, there are short comings as well. The first issue is acknowledging the lens that is used when interpreting the disorganization. What appears to be in disorder to an outsider may be systematic to those involved, in turn, creating antagonism between the researcher and the researched. However, given this theory's focus on the links among demographic structure, social cohesion, and crime, with continued development, it will remain an

important framework that helps explain issues surrounding crime at the neighborhood level (Markowitz et. al, 2001, p. 314).

The social disorganization theory may lead one to assume that failure to report reflects a shortcoming in citizens who do not report. This is not the case for this study. Its goal is to examine if a relation exists between negative neighborhood characteristic and crime reporting as assumed by society. It must be noted that other theories also apply when observing crime reporting in the inner city and beyond because different standards are used to measure snitching and crime reporting. People outside of street criminals, such as white-collar criminals, use different standards to label and measure crime. Members of the society believe that their society is not only in conflict with another group, or surrounded by hostile neighbors, but they believe that the rest of the world, as a whole, is hostile toward them. The Siege mentality is an ideology that that not only explains crime reporting in certain communities, but also in policing organizations and corporations. Its premise is the rest of the world, as a whole, is hostile toward them (Bar-Tal, 2004). This us-versus-them mentality ushers in the "we don't involve outsiders in our affairs" mentality.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of the present study is to examine the relationship of musical preference and attitudes towards crime reporting. To guide this study based on culture of terror and social disorganization theories, a series of research questions were created: 1) Is there a relationship between music preference and crime reporting? 2) Does the likelihood of crime reporting in the future depend on the relationship/status of the victim? 3) Are African American hip hop fans less likely to report crime than their non-African American counterparts? 4) Does neighborhood characteristics play a role in future crime reporting? The primary focus of this research deals with violent crime reporting and hip hop music. It is the goal to determine if a significant relationship exists between hip hop and a lack of crime reporting. "Although one of the major criticisms of rap music is that it may affect attitudes and behavior regarding the use of violence" (Parrillo, 2005, p. 90), this study does not focus on hip hop's impact on violent crime and criminals. Not detracting from the importance of the issue, but that topic in and of itself is another dissertation, and I do not have the time to explore that area.

Ethical Considerations

Attention was given to the following guidelines put forth by the Human Subjects Internal Review Board (HSIRB) at Western Michigan University (WMU).

This study's goals are aligned with the mission of the HSIRB; which is maximizing benefits for science while minimizing harm, having respect for subjects by protecting the identities and integrity of the people, and providing justice by ensuring non-exploitive and careful procedures and fair administration. With that in mind, there were several steps taken to make certain that the privacy of study participants was protected. A protocol of informed consent was followed to make sure that participants were protected. This includes getting permission from the HSIRB prior to beginning any process of collecting data. Participants who were invited to take part were notified about the goals of the study as well as the data collection, analysis, and storage methods used in the study. Prior to conducting the survey, the participant request statements were made available and they had the option to be omitted from this study. In this statement, each participant was informed of his or her right to withdraw from the study at any time. There were no risk for those who chose not to participate in the study.

I acknowledged and responded to ethical considerations in the research process, as prescribed by the HSIRB, as well as followed appropriate methods of data collection and analysis to gain a deeper understanding of the reluctance to report violent crime to authorities. The respondents had total control over their survey responses and chose to answer whatever questions they felt comfortable answering (if any). Moreover, they had the option to choose not to participate at anytime.

Social Network Sites

"Social network websites (SNS) have become some of the most popular online destinations in recent years" (Hargittai, 2008, p. 276). The social networking

website, Facebook, based out of Palo Alto, California, was chosen for this research because of its ability to reach individuals throughout the world. Facebook was initially geared towards college students until 2006 (Hargittai, 2008; Rosenbloom, 2007). As non-college students and corporate sponsors began to take an interest, Facebook began to open up its exclusive membership. Currently, it is one of the top ten social networking sites across the globe with over 80 million active users that give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected (Hart, Ridley, Taher, Sas, & Dix, 2008; Lewis, Kaufman, Gonzales, Wimmer, Christakis, 2008). Being a rich and attractive source of network data, it is also used by corporations and social scientists alike to reach different target audiences (Lewis et. al., 2008). For example, hip hop artists like Jay-Z use it to create a new buzz surrounding their new projects. According to the American Sociological Review, Facebook's uses are helping scholars explore fundamental social science questions (Rosenbloom, 2007). It serves as a cultural hotbed that includes a representative amount of individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds because of its rich diversity. Individuals from all walks of life access Facebook. Studies from various universities dealing with social capital, temporal patterns and information disclosure have been done using Facebook (Lewis et. al., 2008; Rosenbloom, 2007). However, not too many studies have used Facebook purely for a data source. Facebook is ideal for examining studies about hip hop, because its market is saturated with young people ages 18-40, which are the primary consumers of hip hop.

Due to the lack of time and resources, conducting a census of inner cities throughout the nation was not feasible for this dissertation project. However, it was ideal to choose a diverse environment for extracting the most information from

respondents all over the United States during a one month period. Utilizing Facebook as a data source was the most efficient sampling frame for that reason alone, and because many "interest groups" are formed on this site with continuous followings. Moreover, several stop snitching community interest groups have been formed on this site, with thousands of active followers.

This study provides a representative cross-section of the population I am interested in studying and is more likely to reflect some of the most prominent attitudes of the American inner city population. Purchasing an advertised ad from Facebook to recruit respondents was not desirable because potential respondents might view the survey as "spam," which is often ignored and purposely avoided (Andrews, Nonnecke, & Preece, 2003). The "invitation for participation" was achieved through chain referral sampling or snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981).

"Snowball sampling is an ascending methodology that has been used in the social sciences to study sensitive topics, rare traits, personal networks, and social relationships" (Kaplan, Korf, & Sterk, 1987; Lambert, 1990; Goodman, 1961; Frank & Snijders, 1994). It can be employed in the study of large populations, such as the one I aimed to study. Snowball sampling is relevant to this study because of the sensitivity of the research. Many potential respondents may be reluctant to give truthful answers if any other method is employed. Although a set number of respondents couldn't be assumed by this method, other concurrent mixed method studies examining crime reporting use approximately 150-400 participants (Kebbell & Milne, 1998; COPS, 2009; Chettleburgh, 2003). The snowball process was initiated by submitting an invitation for participation on the stop snitching fan/special

interest page on Facebook. The survey link was attached to the bottom of the invitation to participate because that is the ideal method for gaining access to hard-to-reach-populations (Wright, 2005).

Survey design provides a quantitative description of attitudes of a population by studying a sample of that population (Creswell, 2003). Survey methods were chosen above all methods because they give highly accurate information on the extent and distribution of a problem (Rossi, 1982). Methodologically speaking, self reporting internet-based surveys reach larger, and more geographically diverse populations than other methods (Wright, 2005). This saves time and resources for researchers. These types of surveys tend to be national in scope, and are used by numerous studies (Sampson & Groves, 1989).

There are several perks to using online surveys. First, the survey is administered at the liberty of the respondent. Next, data is obtained at low costs because additional research staff is not necessary to collect and interpret data (Bickman et al, 1993). Online surveys also allow the researcher to reach a broader audience in a shorter period of time. Mail surveys experience a lag in responses and in-person surveys require extensive resources in order to cover a vast area. Last, online surveys also provide a confidential and/or anonymous platform where the respondent can openly answer questions.

However, there are flaws when using online questionnaires. Since individuals are self reporting, there isn't a guarantee that respondents provide accurate demographic information—including age (wherein they may not actually be at least 18 years of age), and other characteristic information, (Wright, 2005). Moreover, since the initial invitation to participate isn't through a personal email, there wasn't a

way to monitor if a respondent had taken the survey more than once. Steps were taken to eliminate participants under eighteen years old. If they admitted they were under eighteen at the beginning of the survey, their survey was terminated by a "thanks for your participation" prompt (see Appendix A). That same message appeared at the end of completed surveys as well. Self-selection bias was also an issue. "In an internet community, there are undoubtedly some individuals who are more likely than others to complete an online survey (Stanton, 1998; Thompson, 2003; Wittimer, Colman, & Katzman, 1999). That is why it was imperative that the introductory statement be as user-friendly and clear as possible. A link was provided where the respondent was directed to the Survey Monkey website where the potential respondent could go over the participation request letter and promptly begin to complete the questionnaire.

Survey Monkey is a for-profit private American company that allows users to create and publish online surveys and view results graphically. This company is one of the world's leaders in helping researchers gather the data they need. There are numerous advantages to using Survey Monkey. First, it provides an avenue to access hard to reach groups. Second, it can reach larger numbers than asking respondents face to face. Two disadvantages of using Survey Monkey are that the survey is housed on the company server for a limited time and it only holds a limited amount of responses (Wright, 2005).

Those interested and willing to give their consent were administered a survey through this website. The collection of data was started by establishing an account on Survey Monkey and posting the survey link on the stop snitching homepages and to my list of contacts. I also sent the personal invitation to the members of the stop

snitching interest groups. The total number of respondents varies per question, because the decision was made not to make every question mandatory due to the sensitivity of the topic. However, after it was observed that multiple questions were being skipped out of convenience, the Survey Monkey survey was arranged to make all questions mandatory.

Anonymous qualitative and quantitative data (including non-identifiable demographic data) was collected for this study. Since this is a "one shot" study, the identity of the respondent doesn't need to be known. Social desirability responses were not a problem because the researcher was not there to influence their answer. . Upon completion of the survey, participants can click the cancel button on their internet browser to remove it from their screen. Due to the salience of dissemination, and since the respondents are not receiving a tangible incentive to participate in the study, respondents will receive reciprocity by having the report and results made available to them upon the completion of this study. Upon completion of this dissertation, the data will be stored in the library in the Kercher Center for Social Research for at least three years after the study closes.

The variables used in the study are derived from the literature. The questionnaire was also piloted and amended in a graduate level sample survey methods course. After piloting the instrument, it was found that the research questions provided suitability to this concurrent mixed methods approach. The term snitch was not used on the instrument because I didn't want to plant any assumptions, terminology or trigger emotions from known phrases and the media. Respondents may be prone to respond to learned attitudes about snitching instead of personal attitudes towards crime reporting. The questions were ordered starting with

demographic variables, musical preference items, attitudes towards crime reporting, and their neighborhood characteristics so order effects would have a minimum effect on the respondent's answers (Sudman, Bradburn, & Schwarz, 1996). Please note that only the variables related to the research questions are heavily mentioned in this paper. Other significant variables are printed as tables in the appendices section.

Musical preference is chosen as an independent variable because current popular culture discourse links hip hop as the catalyst for negative behavior, including the stop snitching movement (Natapoff, 2009). Since watching music videos and listening to rap music are both influential and popular (Bryant, 2008), differentiating between musical preferences exposes any correlation. Asking their primary choice of music, the name of their favorite artist and how they personally relate to the lyrics allowed for the ability to gauge their connection to hip hop and the type of rap they listen to. Moreover, it tells how involved they are with that genre of music. Those answers are being deciphered by "Yes" or "No" questions. For example, "Do you watch music videos of this specific genre?" Musical preference is differentiated by putting a check in the box of their respective choice.

In terms of fear of personal safety, Knight and Goodman (2005) posit that this can be complexly derived from individuals' social identities, such as gender, age, and ethnicity (2005). Gender is of equal importance because the literature says that women are more afraid of dying young, so their fear can be interpreted as a road block or incentive to crime reporting (Hall et al, 2008). Age is also relevant to this study because older individuals may have a different perspective regarding crime reporting. Brimacombe and associates (2003) describe mature citizens as honest because older citizens have internalized the norms of being a good citizen. As a

result, crime reporting may be coined as the appropriate thing to do (p. 507); that honesty may lead them to report crime if they witness a violent crime. Last, African American youth and young adults are more likely than white teens and young adults to report watching music videos for the sole purpose of emulating the actors in the videos (Bryant, 2008). From there, it can be assumed that African Americans are more likely to acknowledge that hip hop music influenced their thinking. This research seeks to examine those hypotheses.

Urban is defined by the U.S. Census Bureau as all people living in official urbanized areas who live in urban clusters consisting of towns with more than 2,500 inhabitants (Bluestone, Stevenson & Williams, 2008). These areas are more likely to be concentrated with ethnic minorities; and many of them are prone to higher crime rates that do not strongly affect middle- to upper-income families with children (Neilson et. al., 2005; Markowitz, et. al, 2001). Ethnic minority crime rates are higher because they live in socioeconomically depressed areas with high crime and immigration rates (Knight & Goodman, 2005, p. 24, Nielson, et. al, 2005). Consequently, those residents live in fear because these areas are poverty stricken and suffer from high crime rates (Fishman, Mann, & Zatz, 1998; Knight & Goodman, 2005; Baker, 1985) and may be less likely to become involved with cohesive neighborhood activities. ATF Special Agent in Charge Joseph Riehl states, "Violent criminals are not only infiltrating our metropolitan cities, but they are spreading duress to smaller communities, thus, being exposed to more citizens" (Federal Bureau of Investigations, 2010). High crime/poor areas may be distinguished by zip code. Literature states the rates of delinquency are the highest near the inner city (Akers & Sellers, 2009; Shaw & McKay, 1942). It was important to collect this five digit

number because it documents the validity of that statement and reveals if people that live in inner cities across the nation view crime reporting the same. Furthermore, it may be that people in the sample who admit fear of retaliation are those most at risk to experience life-threatening harm (Hall, Cassidy, & Stevenson, 2008, p. 393). "The prevalence and incidence of both perceptions of victimization and from serious forms of youth violence is highly concentrated in disadvantaged urban communities" (MacDonald et. al. 2009, p. 2). Since the breakdown of location (including neighborhoods) has been the central point since its inception and throughout multiple revisions, controlling for zip code only makes sense. Neighborhoods are a significant component that need to be further explored if we are to fully understand hip hop's relationship to police cooperation in our society (Crawford, 2010). This study seeks to determine if there is any validity to those above assumptions.

Most social disorganization research examine serious types of crime (Markowitz et. al., 2001, p. 296). Violent crimes were chosen for this study because individuals may decide not to report crime based on the severity of the crime (Walker, Spohn, &DeLone, 1996). Petty theft or low-level drug dealing may not be a priority to disclose to authorities like violent offenses. Asking if the "respondent witnessed a violent crime again would they contact authorities" and requesting their rationale and "if they had a negative experience with the police" is important because it reflects how opinions may shift after a specific incident and illuminates the reason for their action. For example, after a witness had a bad experience cooperating with police, she vowed never to cooperate with them again and unfortunately witnessed another violent crime. Staying true to her oath of noncooperation, she reluctantly

60

called medical personnel and departed before the authorities arrived (Houppert, 1999).

Wing's question, "So, even if it was your little sister, you wouldn't tell the police if you knew who killed her," inspired the research question probing the relationship of the victim to the crime reporter (Wing, 2009). After Bible, the interviewee, initially said he would not "snitch" if his sister was murdered and he witnessed the murder, then later changed his mind by quoting, "I can't really tell you [if I will tell]" (Wing, 2009). It is of vital importance to obtain this information because the more proximal the victim is to the witness, the more likely they may be to cooperate with law enforcement officials.

Lastly, it is important to obtain variables regarding neighborhoods. According to social disorganization theory the strength of neighborhood cohesion and collective efficacy in turn is thought to reflect a broad range of macroconditions, including poverty, urbanization, industrialization, de-industrialization, population turnover, and ethnic/racial heterogeneity (Markowitz et al., 2001, p. 294). Asking about community attributes that highlight community efficacy, crime, safety, and abandoned buildings is important to residential stability (Neilson et al., 2005). Since neighborhood blight is a subcomponent of residential instability, abandoned and dilapidated buildings are indications of how social disorganization impacts urban areas.

Several researchers examining crime have a target population that is exclusively youth from impoverished communities (Whitman & Davis, 2007). Ironically, these children from low-income families are reported to be the heaviest viewers of television (Gitlin, 1996, p. 78). This study departs from controlling for

income and television viewership. Since this research looks at the holistic community and not the incomes of individual families, controlling for income would not add anything to this research. Although frequently used in urban studies, income levels was not included because it does not necessarily explain behavior in terms of community cultural norms. Unlike most studies dealing with social disorganization theory, socio-economic status (SES) was not requested because of self reporting issues. In the future, a general overview of the respondents economic makeup can be gauged using zip codes and the U.S. Census demographic information.

This research used an original survey instrument that includes addendums inspired from Whitman and Davis' (2007) study. The instrument was administered to the target population by way of Facebook. While no serious issues occurred during the administration of the instrument, the only administrative flaw experienced was not making all questions mandatory. It was observed and resolved immediately when respondents skipped the "consent to research" question and important demographic questions.

Limitations

It is critical to document the problems the researcher encountered while conducting research. Findings from this study should be interpreted with some caution due to certain methodological limitations. The findings of this study can be used only to better understand and explain the experience of the individuals involved in the research and not generalized to all populations. Nevertheless, these findings may not be generalizable to the population at large, but are representative of many communities. Furthermore, this study examined the relationship between crime

reporters and hip hop, not criminals and hip hop. The two topics have different relationships and should not be merged.

Initially, all of the questions were not mandatory. It was observed that respondents were randomly skipping questions because they were able to. In turn, I programmed the survey not to allow respondents to advance without answering the previous question. This encouraged the respondent to generate a response. However, it appears that the SurveyMonkey tool sporadically malfunctioned throughout the data collection process. After the survey was programmed not to advance without the previous questions being answered, it was observed that individuals were still allowed to do so, causing item non-response. The questionnaires that had omitted items were retained because their refusal to answer certain questions does not detract from the overall richness of the data they contributed.

A significant amount of respondents access the internet by alternative means such as cellular phone, iPods, and iPads. A significant amount of potential respondents that attempted to take the survey via cellular phone reported that the system would not let them advance to the next question. Although these respondents agreed to participate in this survey when they got access to a computer, the likelihood of them doing so was slim, thus, extending the time frame for data collection and omitting important voices.

Internet surveys experience unique challenges such as non coverage difficulties (Bickman et al., 1993). All households and individuals are not connected to the World Wide Web. Therefore, they are instantly omitted from the sampling pool. Moreover, some people are not acquainted with the chosen networking site. Another barrier deals with individuals that have Facebook accounts but do not log

into them on a regular basis. Since some do not log onto Facebook for weeks at a time they may have missed the opportunity to participate in this study. Another way this study may not be representative of the population in general is when race and ethnicity is held constant. It was found that Latino students are less likely to use Facebook (Rosenbloom, 2007).

Another barrier to research is that respondents could have been untruthful with their responses. Since crime reporting is a sensitive topic, and the survey is being administered on the World Wide Web, they may be more reluctant to disclose truthful responses and give socially desirable responses or unthoughtfully select frivolous answers. Although anonymity was assured in the beginning of the study, the probability of tracking of Internet Protocol address (also known as the IP address) causes respondents to be distrustful. The IP address option was used so one respondent could not take the survey multiple times. This appeared to be a good idea at first, but it eliminated the option for other eligible respondents in the same household to take the survey using the same computer.

Another barrier deals with the question regarding witnessing violent crime. A time frame should be included (e.g., 10 years) when asking about violent crime because the respondent may set their own mental parameters and answer the question based on their own best judgment. This attempts to mentally sync all responses within the same time frame.

Lastly, inquiring if a reward would entice respondents to report crime is also a major consideration. A respondent stated, "A bounty may be out for info about the crime or criminal," so in that instance they will be willing to tell. Although others

didn't express that in their responses, that variable may change the tone of their response and disclose if money motivates people to report violent crimes.

Benefits of the Research

There are several expected benefits for conducting this study. Results of this study may serve to further the understanding of inner city and suburban citizens across the country pertaining to violent crime reporting. Instead of collecting information exclusively from city leaders throughout the country, this research goes directly to the residents via survey, thus, allowing their voices to be heard. Unlike past researchers, this study collected data ranging from young adults ages eighteen to senior citizens. Since information from that populace has not been a focus of previous research, it is important to add to the body of literature and get the point of view from another demographic.

This research may help initiate dialogue between city administrators and concerned citizens of all ages. It may also provide scholars with empirical research scrutinizing the causal relationship between music preference and attitudes towards crime reporting. It also challenges hip hop artists to use rap as a powerful communication vehicle and overturn the misinterpretation of lyrics and negative messages like they did during the late 1980s when the stop the violence movement produced *Self Destruction* (1989). The West Coast Rap AllStars followed in 1990s with their unique style of rap titled *We're All in the Same Gang* (1990) urging inner city residents to stop the violence. This research is relevant to inner cities nationwide, scholars, community leaders, citizens and the justice system. All institutions can gain insight into potential practices they may wish to consider while promoting the

reporting of violent crimes and improving the safety of our neighborhoods and positive police relationships. Most importantly, this research could influence policies in the areas of witness intimidation, criminal informants, and police/community relations. Being that this situation is as important as childhood bullying, incorporating a school curriculum examining the importance of crime reporting should be used to educate at-risk youth.

Since the problem of crime reporters coming forward occurs in communities nationwide, this study must be representative of that (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2010). "The code of silence culture that hampers police and prosecutors in urban cities is more of a product of self-preservation and culture in an environment where people don't see much hope for sweeping crime off their streets" (Calling them Out, 2010). Police departments across the nation are having issues with crime reporters coming forward; therefore it only makes sense to initiate research in urban areas (Malone, 2008). This analysis of this data is a step towards initiating this kind of research.

<div align="center">Typology Used for Study</div>

Information was gathered by conducting a survey using a snowball sampling technique. My unit of analysis is the seventeen-item survey, which consists of 492 questionnaires that feature several items based on Whitman and Davis (2007) and United States Department of Justice Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) (2009) mixed-method approaches to crime reporting. This study uses mixed methods because although this research gathers a plethora of quantitative information,

it includes qualitative data in raw form and in empirically derived thematic categories.

Quantitative/Qualitative

Using a chi-square distribution as the test statistic, a bi-variate analysis was run to determine if a relationship exists among the variables. This analysis is appropriate when dealing with nominal and ordinal scale data that involves non-parametric or distribution-free tests (Mason, Lind, & Marchal, 1983). Moreover, frequency distributions were run to put all variables in perspective and to identify patterns of item non-response. Using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), a cross tab and Chi square test were run to discern differences in attitudes towards crime reporting and a number of demographic, musical, relationship, and neighborhood variables. These demographic variables include: gender, age, zip code, and race/ethnicity. Musical variables examined: favorite artist, relate to favorite artist lyrics, and descriptions of musical preference. Items involving attitudes towards crime reporting looked at witnessing violent crime, reporting violent crime, and relationship of victim to crime reporter. Lastly, neighborhoods were examined including: gangs, negative experience with police, neighborhood descriptives, and neighbor relations. Qualitative narratives were transferred and thematically coded from Survey Monkey, and themes logically categorized based on similar responses.

Participants

Analyzing the demographics of this population shows that out of 500 participants that initiated the survey, 494 actually gave their consent to participate. All of the respondents reported to be eighteen years of age or older, however when

each age was analyzed, two respondents reported they were under eighteen years old. Those cases were removed, leaving 492 valid cases to for this study. The analysis of the data show how those categorizations relate to the sample. Next, I discuss general characteristics of the data (see Table 1).

Table 1

Demographic Data: Overall N=492

		N	%
Gender			
	Male	168	35.8%
	Female	301	64.2%
Total		**469**	
Race	Black	399	82.8%
	White	49	10.2%
	Latino/a	18	3.7%
	Asian	6	1.2%
	Other	10	2.1%
Total		**482**	
Age	18-25 years old	92	19.1%
	26-35 years old	258	53.5
	36-45 years old	73	15.1
	Over 45 years old	59	12.2
Total		**482**	
Region			
	Midwest	358	75.7
	West	14	3.0
	South	94	19.9
	Northeast	7	1.5
Total		**473**	

Survey Instrument/Questionnaire

The crime reporting questionnaire contained seventeen items. This instrument was constructed by referring to a questionnaire constructed by Whitman and Davis

68

(2007) combined with items initiated in a sample survey methods course. The majority of the items on this instrument use nominal level data, using "yes" or "no" questions. For example, one item read, "I purchase this type of music" (see Appendix B).

Procedure

Respondents had unlimited time to complete the questionnaire. The data was collected by computerized software to answer the following research questions:

1) Is there a relationship between musical preference and crime reporting?
2) Does the likelihood of reporting a crime in the future depend on the relationship/status of the victim?
3) Are African American hip hop fans less likely to report crime than their non-African American counterparts?
4) Did neighborhood characteristics play a role in future crime reporting?

Age

The average age of the respondent is 33 years old. When age was broken down into four distinct categories, ages 26-35 represented the biggest percentage of respondents with 53.5% of the overall sample. Young adults ages 18-25 years of age constituted 19%, while 36-45 year olds and mature adults over 45 represent 15.3% and 12% respectively. Having such a strong representation of older respondents may indicate a level of maturity. In turn, they may be parents, potential homeowners, homeowners, or simply responsible adults that have a vested interest in their neighborhood.

69

Zip Code

Over half of the United States was represented in this study. Of 476 valid responses, the state of Michigan represents over half, with the Flint Metropolitan area making up over one third of the entire sample. The Detroit and Kalamazoo metropolitan areas make up 12.4% and 10.9% respectively.

When geographical location is taken into account, the Midwest region represents 75.8% of the sample. The South represented the second leading region with 19.8%, followed by the West and the East with 2.9% and 1.5% respectively. It is important to note that the Northeast region and the West had the fewest number of respondents, so their percentages may appear to be slightly over inflated.

Race

According to information on race (n=482), African Americans made up the majority of this study with 399 respondents (82.8%). Whites were next with 10%, followed by Latinos, Others, and Asians. When race and sex was considered (n=469), the largest response group was Black females that made up 52.9% of all respondents, followed by black males.

Musical Preference

The artist Kid Rock dominated the Rock/Heavy Metal category. Of the 92 respondents of the Other category, 71% of them preferred gospel artists as their favorite artists. Former Commissioned gospel group members Fred Hammond and Marvin Sapp were selected as favorite primary artists that lead this diverse category that is also represented by jazz, reggae, dancehall, country, electronic, NPR, Opera, and Ranchera (traditional Mexican music originally sung by a performer with a

guitar). It should be noted that some musical preferences do not align with their

favorite artist. With genres being represented by a wide spectrum of artists, it gives a

more accurate depiction of where the respondents' musical tastes lie. For example, a

participant chose hip hop as their primary music preference, but the R & B artist

Usher as their favorite artist. Two point five percent (2.5%) of the sample replied

they did not have a favorite artist or several favorite artists Three point one percent

(3.1%) of the sample said they were unsure or left the space blank. Eighty-one

percent (81%) reported to personally relate to the lyrics of their favorite artist. The

top reasons for doing so were because they could relate by way of personal

experience, the songs were inspirational or talked about worshiping God, or the artist

sang about love and relationships.

When broken down by genre, Jay-Z led all rap artists, followed closely by hip

hop legend Tupac Shakur. Mary J Blidge and Beyonce hold the top two spots for the

Rhythm and Blues (R&B) category, with Jill Scott and Alicia Keys trailing in third

and fourth place respectively. With minimal selection in this category, Kid Rock

leads all rock artists. The Other category was heavily represented by

Gospel/Christian artists. Christian songwriter Fred Hammond led all artists in this

group followed by Minister Marvin Sapp. The country group named the Zack Brown

Band led the Other section when Gospel is not included. When the data is broken

down quantitatively, the majority of the artists remain in the R&B/Pop Category

(48.6%). However, several respondents chose hip hop artists causing them to go

slightly from second to third place with 21.5%. The Other category represents 21.1%

while the Rock/Heavy Metal category and the No Favorite Artist category represents

3.8% and 5.0% respectively. An explanation for the slight inconsistency between

favorite genre and favorite musical preference can be attributed to the respondents' miscatorgorization. Some respondents are unaware of specific genre types. For examples, some participants said their primary music preference was Other, but their favorite artist was Aretha Franklin. They may not have known that Aretha Franklin was classified as R&B/Pop. On the other hand, they may prefer another genre, but Aretha Franklin is their favorite overall artist. When asked if the respondent related to the lyrics of their specific artist of choice, 80.9% of the respondents responded that they did. Qualitatively, 33.2% believed their artist of choice speaks to their personal experiences and current emotions Nineteen point two percent (19.2%) enjoy the artist's melodious renditions dealing with love and relationships. Another 19.2% enjoy their particular artist because of their positive/encouraging music. Fourteen point two percent (14.2%) are moved by the social issues their artists advocate while 5.5% of the results were not interpretable because the respondent either left it blank or wrote in a response like "Because."

The favorite artist category represented diverse musical interests, with R&B/Pop representing 44.5%. The Other category came in second place with 28.2% and hip hop/rap followed closely with 24.6%. Observing qualitatively data regarding one's favorite artist, R&B artist Mary J. Blige lead all artists, followed closely by Beyonce and hip hop mogul Jay-Z.

The qualitative question regarding how the respondent related to their favorite artist is important because it gives a snapshot of the type of music that may serve as the theme to one's life. According to the statements about personal music preference, over 95% asserted that they listen to their preferred type of music at least once a week, while 87.3% and 83.8% respectively purchase this type of music and listen to

this type of music at least once a day. Over 60% of those surveyed attend concerts of their selected music type or watch music videos of this music type.

Violent Crime

Of 471 respondents, when asked if they ever witnessed a violent crime (e.g. murder, someone getting severely beaten, or someone getting robbed), 49% reported they had. Of that total (n=229), only 43% admitted to reporting the incident to the police. Overall, out of 469 respondents, 78.3% admitted they would report a violent crime to police if they witnessed one in the future.

Some respondents reported that, "It depends on the situation," "it depends on who and where it was," and "the level of severity would need to warrant police intervention. Calling in for a fight which ends abruptly and with no spillover effect would be unnecessary." Having a prior bad experience with the criminal justice system may serve as a deterrent to crime reporting. One respondent stated "If it is a situation that could result in my safety being compromised I would not report it. I also distrust the police overall." And furthermore, because "it's sad to say that things are not confidential these days." Of the respondents that are fearful to cooperate, they rationalized their actions by saying "Do not want to be put in the middle of a crime and put my family life in danger too" and "it seems that people in this sample who admitted fear of harmful events may be those who have experienced ongoing exposure to those risks" (Hall et al, 2008, p. 392). Others also feel if the situation does not involve them, then they should not get involved. One respondent stated, "The way I grew up, it's not okay to snitch. Even though it's worse to be killed or beat up. I learned to handle business without the police." For those that believed it

73

was the right thing to do, they stated "..all this violence has to stop" and "I would report it because if I was in need of help for my safety, I would want someone to do the same."

Probing deeper into how the relationship the potential crime reporter has with the victim exposed a more positive trend than just asking if they would report crime or not. It was found that 98.7% of respondents agreed they would report a crime against a child, 95.4% if it was perceived as an innocent victim (a victim that is being attacked without obvious provocation), 96.7%, if it was violence against a friend, 98.2% it was violence against an immediate family member, 98% for an extended family member (aunt, uncle cousin or friend that is considered a family member), and 95.6% if a crime was committed against themselves.

Neighborhood

Outside of receiving a traffic citation, 40% of the respondents reported having a negative experience with police. Of 466 respondents, 34.8% of respondents believe drug selling and crime is a part of their neighborhood. Twenty three point nine percent (23.9%) and 18% respectively believe that fighting and abandoned buildings are a part of their community. Almost a quarter of all respondents described fights as being an integral part of their neighborhood and 17% of all respondents said gangs are a problem in their neighborhood. On a positive note, 70.3% say neighbors help each other out in their community. In terms of solving problems, 54.7% say people work together to solve problems. Overall, 85.2% of participants feel safe in their neighborhoods.

Of the remaining 179 respondents that gave concluding statements, 42% of them believe that crime reporting is important and should be done without reservation, with 26.3% believing the criminal justice system needs improving in order to combat the non-crime reporting culture. Thirteen point four percent (13.4%) of them suggest individuals are scared to come forth with information regarding violent crimes, while 6% do not have an issue with crime or crime reporting because they live in non-violent neighborhoods where neighbors look after one another. Some assert that the location dictates if the media will place emphasis on crime, assuming more affluent neighborhoods are more likely to conceal their actual crime numbers. Stop snitching attitudes resonate within the minds of many, including the more well off.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

In this chapter, I utilize the results from the statistical analysis. Chi square was the primary statistical tool used for testing the significance of relationships between independent and dependent variables. The findings are substantiated by direct opinions of respondents to shed light on various issues that are absent in the academic literature.

Research Question 1: Is there a relationship between musical preference and crime reporting? (see Table 2).

Almost three quarters of hip hop fans have witnessed a violent crime ($X^2 =$ 32.854, d.f. = 3, p =.000). Many would assume this to be a natural correlation due to the violent themes of some hip hop songs, but several other variables dealing with residential location and relationship of victim to crime reporter must also be considered. Since hip hop emerged out of poverty and hopelessness and gave a voice to those in that situation, issues related to poverty such as violent crime will not be foreign to this type of environment (Dyson, 2007). The Other category possess the next highest total of witnessing violent crime with 42.7%, with R&B/Pop fans closely behind with 40.6%. Rock/Heavy Metal fans have witnessed the least amount of crime. Only one third of them have ever witnessed a violent crime.

Table 2

Musical Preference

		Hip Hop/Rap	Rock & Heavy Metal	R&B/Pop	Other	Total
Witnessed Violent Crime						
	Yes	17.6% (83)	1% (4)	18.3% (86)	11.9% (56)	48.6% (229)
	No	7% (33)	2% (8)	26.8% (126)	15.9%(75)	51.4% (242)
Reported To Police						
	Yes	11%(25)	1%(2)	21.9%(50)	9.6%(22)	43.4%(99)
	No	25.4%(58)	1%(2)	15.4%(35)	14.9%(34)	56.6%(129)
Will Report In Future						
	Yes	16.0%(75)	2.3 %(11)	37.5 %(176)	22.4%(105)	78.3%(367)
	No	2.5%(12)	0.2%(1)	1.5%(7)	0%(0)	4.3%(20)
	Unsure	6.0%(28)	0%(0)	6.0%(28)	5.5%(26)	17.5%(82)

Genre of favorite artist also correlates with witnessing a violent crime in the

past ($X^2 = 26.580$, d.f. = 4, p =.000). Only 23.5% of Rock/Heavy Metal fans have

witnessed a violent crime compared to 70% of hip hop fans. Since hip hop was

birthed out of poverty and despair, a lot of hip hop themes are encompassed around

those ideas. Fans that reside in the inner city with large populations of lower

socioeconomic status residents that experience higher crime rates and are more likely

to witness violent crimes (Kitwana, 2002). Less than 50% of R&B/Pop and Other

genre fans have witnessed violent crimes in their neighborhood. According to a

respondent, "Not that much going on out here, glad I made the move outside of the

city," signifying violence is minimal to non-existent in their current presumably suburban or rural area.

A relationship exists between musical preference and informing the authorities regarding a violent crime witnessed in the past (X^2 = 14.654, d.f. = 3, p =.002). Sixty point seven percent (60.7%) of the Other genre did not report crime while 50% of Rock/Heavy Metal fans did not report crimes. Forty one point two percent (41.2%) of R&B/Pop fans reported they did not tell authorities about the violent incidents they witnessed, while 70% of rap fans disclosed they didn't report crime. Some crimes such as "fist fights" are not viewed as violent as other crimes. When a respondent was asked if they would report a violent crime they quoted, "It would depend on the crime and if there was serious danger involved to innocent people." Since rap music appears to come across as anti-police and anti-cooperation with police, it can be assumed that rap fans would practice the same sentiment. However, when the rationale behind why they didn't disclose the incriminating information, it was observed that several things could have led to the non-reporting of violent crimes. Many respondents attributed it to being immature and scared by saying, "I was very young when I witnessed violent abuse in my home (my father against my mother). I'm now older, more mature, more educated, and now with more technological accessibility (i.e. cell phones), I would not hesitate to report a crime." A respondent also expressed fear by saying, "…Sometimes it isn't as simple as yes or no. What if the hoodlum sees you and you know he'll send someone to your house once he gets your name?" Some even admitted that it wasn't their business to get involved because they were not familiar with the situation's contextual background. For example, a citizen asserted, "Depends on the circumstances the crime was

committed under." In other words, if the victim provoked the attack, will witnesses be less likely to act and attribute the incidence to "karma" or "getting what one had coming" or "reaping what you sow"? In any event, whether one chose to help or not, one respondent asserted in defense of the fate, "Take care of others, plus karma is powerful."

Musical genre of the respondent's favorite artist demonstrates a correlation as well ($X^2 = 20.730$, d.f. = 4, p =.000). Overall, less than half of the respondents reported a violent crime to police when they witnessed it. Out of the respondents that reported the violent crime to police, 75% of those that favor Rock/Heavy Metal artists reported what they reported to authorities while only 56.9% of R&B/Pop fans did the same. In contrast, only 24.3% of hip hop fans reported a violent crime to police. That begs the questions, Is it best to inform the police or attempt take matters into one's own hands? One respondent believes the latter by stating, "…Yes because I am not violent and I would try to stop it myself." However, according to several others, "With police being known to give out witness information and knowing witnesses that have been hurt/killed, survey respondents are reluctant to use the criminal justice system."

Musical preference cross-tabulated with Will Report Future Crime also has a significant relationship ($X^2 = 28.073$, d.f. = 6, p =.000). When hip hop fans were asked if they would report violent crime in the future, 65.2% reported they would, while 24.3% were not sure. This finding is extremely relevant because only 10.4% of rap fans stood firm on not reporting a violent crime. That is a big shift from the percentage of respondents that didn't report in the past. These respondents chose not to report crime for various logical reasons. One reason is "Where I am from, if you

see a violent crime you leave the area." Another resident quotes, "Where I live, that's considered 'snitching.' The hood WILL get you, never take that for granted! Everyone is watching everyone." Since the threat of violence is real to inner city residents, they would rather remove themselves from the situation instead of report crime. Another hip hop fan quoted, "Police don't have to live in that situation and get shot up because somebody in it was snitching to the police. They [police] will throw you to the wolves to get what they want." Quotes like that give outsiders and policy-makers insight as to why such vulnerable citizens are indecisive regarding crime reporting.

Next, the likelihood of crime reporting depends on the victim. A respondent wrote, "I would[tell], but it depends on the crime and if it directly affected me or someone close to me." That interpersonal relationship serves as the determining factor of whether they wanted to get involved. Other reasons dealt with the misconception of snitching and the lack of faith in the criminal justice system. Many residents attributed cooperating with police as snitching. One wrote, "The way I grew up, it's not okay to snitch. I learned to handle business without the police." Another respondent posited, "I don't feel police handle these situations in the best manner." Living by that ideology, it is quite evident that the criminal justice system may have failed to live up to expectations somewhere in the past; Thus perceived as unreliable in the future.

Rock/Heavy Metal fans are not as indecisive because 91.7% of them will report a violent crime. There is not a middle ground—either they will or they will not report crime. The lone "no" respondent replied, "For what?" when asked why they

would not report crime. That answer could also signify the belief in taking the law into your own hands or simply the lack of faith in the criminal justice system. Eighty three point four percent (83.4%) of R&B/Pop fans are willing to come forward and report a violent crime. A respondent quoted, "As I mature, I realize that, I would report it because if it was me I would want someone to help me." The 13.3% that were undecided if they would contact the authorities had a major concern regarding putting themselves or their family in jeopardy.

Fans of the Other genre unanimously decided that not reporting crime was not an option. Some now see the urgency of crime reporting after being a victim or having a loved one being a victim of a violent act. One reported, "I was a victim of a crime that could have been more violent than it was. It was broad daylight with people witnessing the crime. No one came forward and no one helped. Now that it's happened to me, I wouldn't want this to happen to others." Nineteen point eight percent (19.8%) of the Other genre were unsure if they would report a violent crime. The top two reasons for this uncertainty is being afraid and the lack of trust with the courts: "I would be scared of putting my life and loved one's life in danger," "they more often than not tell the assailant who told on them," "will they come," and "the level of severity may not warrant police intervention." Calling for a fight which ends abruptly and with no spillover effect would be unnecessary is a common consensus among inner city residents. None of the reasons appear to be due to a lack of morals or being unconcerned with the well being of their fellow man, but out of fear, uncertainty and reluctance to summon law enforcement personnel for isolated incidents

The numbers for the genre of the respondents favorite artist slightly mirror the cross-tabulation of Musical Preference and Will Report in the Future ($X^2 = 22.953$, d.f. = 8, p =.003). The percentage of respondents willing to report crime in the future is much larger than those that reported crime in the past. Ninety-four point one percent (94.1%) of Rock/Heavy Metal artist respondents declared they will most definitely report crime in the future. Eighty one point four percent (81.4%) of R&B/Pop fans and 83% of Others will report in the future as well. Sixty four point six percent (64.6%) of hip hop fans will tell in the future. In comparison, this much lower percentage is evoked because many hip hop fans live proximal or have loved ones that are near to individuals that are willing to hurt them and/or their family if they learn their criminal behavior was reported. In turn, some assert, "…Many don't report crimes because the po-po [police] comes to your house letting folks know who called" and "…What if the hoodlum sees you and you know he'll send someone to your house once he gets your name." As a result, many are not willing to take that chance.

The 13.3% who were undecided if they would contact the authorities had a major concern regarding putting themselves or their family in the line of fire. Naturally, a few respondents stated they would not report crime if they or a family member were the assailant. "One respondent stated, "If it [the criminal] were my family, no." With the likelihood of one being severely punished under the law for committing a violent act, very few are willing to place themselves or loved ones in the line of fire to face incarceration. In some cases, friends are willing to turn on friends, and family members are not hesitant to do the same if one is suspected of speaking with police. However, surrendering this information comes with a price. In

82

Flint, Michigan, an inner city male was witnessed getting brutally beaten on camera by someone who he referred to as "cuz," (slang for cousin) while onlookers laughed, mocked, and even joined in the beating. At the end of the recording, the victim gives an interview and was quoted saying, "This is how it goes down in the hood" (WorldStarHipHop, 2011). That is one of the reasons why the "I don't want to be a snitch, especially in Flint" belief is shared among many of its residents (see Table 3).

Table 3

Musical Preference by Relation of Victim

		Hip Hop/Rap	Rock & Heavy Metal	R&B/Pop	Other	Total
Innocent Victim						
	Yes	21.8**% (99)	2.4% (11)	43.4% (197)	27.8**% (126)	95.4% (433)
	No	2.9% (13)	0% (0)	1.1% (5)	.6% (3)	4.6% (21)
Friend						
	Yes	23.3% (102)	2.2% (10)	43.9% (199)	28% (127)	96.7% (438)
	No	2.2% (10)	.2% (1)	.6% (3)	.2% (1)	3.3% (15)
Immediate Family						
	Yes	23.2% (106)	2.4% (11)	45% (205)	27.6% (126)	98.2% (448)
	No	1.3% (6)	0% (0)	0% (0)	.4% (2)	1.8% (8)
Extended Family						
	Yes	22.9% (104)	2.4% (11)	44.7% (203)	28% (127)	98.0% (445)
	No	1.7% (8)	0% (0)	0% (0)	.2% (1)	2.0% (9)
Self						449
	Yes	21.4% (96)	2.2% (10)	43.9% (197)	28.1% (126)	95.5% (429)
	No	3.6% (16)	0% (0)	.6% (3)	.2% (1)	4.5% (20)

The willingness to tell expanded when descriptions of the victims were introduced and the Unsure option was eliminated. Although some people feel that "It isn't my place if I don't know them," when innocent victims are the recipient of a violent crime, 88.4% of hip hop fans would report a crime compared to 100% of Rock/Heavy Metal fans, 97.5% of R&B/Pop fans and 97.7% of Other fans ($X^2 =$ 16.572, d.f. = 3, p =.001). In defense of those that will not help an assumed innocent victim, respondents stated, "If you don't know what's going on, from afar it may look one way and be another" and "It depends on why the situation became violent." In essence, you may not know the context of the situation and your "assumed" innocent bystander may not be guiltless. A form of "street justice" may be in effect, and others do not want to get involved with that. That's why many people do not get involved with situations involving strangers. Furthermore, surveyors believe if "most people won't report the crime if they are the ones involved...So why should I put myself in the middle of it." All of the Rock/Heavy Metal fans, and the majority of R&B/Pop fans and Other fans agree that they would report crime if the crime was against an innocent victim ($X^2 =$ 19.857, d.f. = 4, p =.001). Eighty seven point six percent (87.6%) of hip hop fans agree to report crime. That could be explained by past crime reporting experiences or witnessing the social isolation and rejection from others for doing so. In some communities, law enforcement have earned the title for being a "no show" and being untrustworthy.

It appears that the closer the relationship, the more likely one would be to report a violent crime to authorities. When asked if one would report crime, a respondent stated, "If it involved a family member or a close friend, I would be more likely to report it...but I have a basic distrust of the police, so it is more likely I would

not unless I knew the victim would want me to." When violence against friends are analyzed, it is observed that respondents are more inclined to report as well (X^2 = 16.849, d.f. = 3, p =.001). Ninety one point one percent (91.1%) of hip hop fans will report, while 90.9% of Rock/Heavy Metal fans, 98.5% of R&B/Pop fans and 99.2% of Other fans would do the same.

Violence against immediate family members such as a mother, father, sister, brother, or child appears to motivate more respondents to come forward and report crime (X^2 = 12.319, d.f. = 3, p =.006). Ninety eight point two percent (98.2%) of all respondents would definitely come forward with overall information about a violent crime. All of Rock/Heavy Metal fans and R&B/Pop fans would cooperate with authorities while 98.4% of the Others would come forward. The percentage of hip hop fans willing to come forward is steadily increasing. Ninety four point six percent (94.6%) would report a violent crime against a loved one. On the other hand, not wanting to place your loved one in harm's way serves as a deterrent to report crime. Although the idea of reciprocity drives a lot of crime reporting, the thought of endangering family initiates a red flag. According to a respondent, they would report crime "unless I specifically feared for my safety or that of my son."

Music preference correlates with reporting crime against extended family members (X^2 = 20.628, d.f. = 3, p =.000). One hundred percent (100%) of Rock/Heavy Metal and R&B/Pop Fans would report a violent crime against extended family members. Ninety nine point two percent (99.2%) of Others declared they would report crime while 92.9% of rap fans would disclose information to help extended family members. Rap fans are slightly more prone to report a violent crime committed against immediate family members instead of extended family members.

85

Violence committed against oneself yielded slightly different results ($X^2 =$ 34.017, d.f. = 3, p =.000). Fans in the hip hop arena are less likely to cooperate with law enforcement officials when they are the victims. Although the percentages of cooperation are still high, 85.7% of hip hop fans, 98.5% of R&B/Pop fans and 99.2% of Other fans would come forward if they were victims of a violent crime. Some of the respondents believe in handling their own affairs and keeping police involvement to a minimum because of a common distrust they have towards law enforcement. A dominant response was, "it all depends on who is going to protect me."

Just as the variable musical preference for favorite artist genre, as the relationship with the victim gets more intimate, the likelihood of crime reporting increases ($X^2 = 14.869$, d.f. = 4, p =.005). Almost 100% of all genres will report a crime against a friend while 90.6% of hip hop fans would do the same. Reciprocity is a motivating factor in crime reporting. Many feel they would want someone to report a violent crime if they or their loved ones were victims of violence. In support of this finding, one respondent says, "I would want someone to report the crime if I were the victim or someone I cared about were the victim. If we as a civilized nation don't stand up then we will destroy ourselves from within."

Violence against immediate family members received a more favorable response among favorite artist genres ($X^2 = 18.447$, d.f. = 4, p =.001). Ninety four point eight percent (94.8%) of hip hop fans agreed they would report a crime against their children, parents, or siblings. In support of this finding, one respondent says, "If it was someone I loved being beat up I would hope that someone would elicit help for them as well." Violence against cousins, aunts, uncles, and so forth is unacceptable as well ($X^2 = 27.109$, d.f. = 4, p =.000). Rock/Heavy Metal, R&B/Pop, and Other genre

fans would report violence if it is against an immediate family member. Hip hop fans were slightly more reluctant to do so, however 92.8% of them would definitely report crime. Hip hop fans are less likely than other genres to report violent crimes where they are the victim ($X^2 = 33.201$, d.f. = 4, p =.000). Only 85.6% of them agreed to do so. What is the rationale? Since the majority of those that chose this response skipped the qualitative question describing their choice, it could be hypothesized that just like the musical preference question, maybe one possible reason could be that they feel more self empowered to handle the situation for themselves or they may simply chose to ignore it.

Research Question 2: Does the likelihood of reporting a crime in the future depend on the relationship/status of the victim (see Table 4)?

The likelihood of reporting a crime increases with the intimacy of the relationship between the reporter and the victim. Seventy eight point nine percent (78.9%) of non-future crime reporters (individuals that said they will not report crime in the future) decided they would tell authorities if they witnessed violence against a child, compared to 99.7% of citizens that would report a future crime. Ninety eight point nine percent (98.9%) of respondents that are unsure if they will report a future crime would definitely report if they witnessed violence against a child ($X^2 = 60.653$, d.f. = 2, p =.000). It was stated, "If it [crime] happens to an elderly person or a child I would definitely report it."

Of all the before and after mentioned relationships, the non-crime reporters are less likely to report crime if the victim was an unknown innocent bystander ($X^2 =$

Table 4

Report Future Crime by Relation of Victim

Report Future Crime		No	Yes	Total
Child				
	No	.8% (4)	3.3% (15)	4.1% (19)
	Yes	.2% (1)	78.1% (360)	% (361)
	Unsure	.2(1)	17.4% (80)	17.6%(81)
Innocent Victim				
	No	2.2% (10)	2.0% (9)	4.2% (19)
	Yes	.4% (2)	78.2% (355)	78.6% (357)
	Unsure	2.0% (9)	15.2% (69)	17.2% (78)
Friend				
	No	1.5% (7)	2.6% (12)	4.2% (19)
	Yes	.8% (4)	77.3% (350)	78.1% (354)
	Unsure	.8% (4)	16.8% (76)	17.7% (80)
Extended Family				
	No	1.3% (6)	2.9% (13)	4.2% (19)
	Yes	.4% (2)	78.0% (354)	78.4% (356)
	Unsure	.2% (1)	17.2% (78)	17.4% (79)
Immediate Family				
	No	.9% (4)	3.3% (15)	4.2% (19)
	Yes	.7% (3)	77.6% (354)	78.3% (357)
	Unsure	0% (0)	17.5% (80)	17.5% (80)
Self				
	No	1.8% (8)	2.4% (11)	4.2% (19)
	Yes	1.3% (6)	76.8% (345)	78.2% (351)
	Unsure	1.3% (6)	16.3% (73)	17.6% (79)

121.078, d.f. = 2, p =.000), where only 47.4% would consider cooperating with

police. Of the citizens that stated their willingness to report crime, 99.4% would

report if the victim was innocent. Of the unsure respondents, 88.5% made up their

mind to do so in this case. Overall, 95.4% of the respondents would report crime if

the victim was innocent. If a friend was witnessed getting attacked, 63.2% of the

non-crime reporters would inform authorities compared to 95% of undecided reporters $X^2 = 72.696$, d.f. $= 2$, p $= .000$. Ninety eight point nine percent (98.9%) of future crime reporters will report if they witnessed a violent attack of their comrade.

Non-crime reporters are more likely to share information with the police if the victim is a blood relative. Sixty eight point four percent (68.4%) of them are likely to report crime if a violent crime was witnessed. Ninety eight point seven percent (98.7%) of the unsure respondents would definitely tell authorities if they witnessed their cousin, aunt, or uncle getting victimized. Ninety nine point four percent (99.4%) of the definite crime reporters will definitely report a crime against their extended family member, or a very close friend that is looked upon as family.

In terms of non-crime reporters and uncertain crime reporters, immediate family member status takes precedence over all relationships ($X^2 = 69.659$, d.f. $= 2$, p $= .000$). Seventy three point seven percent (73.7%) of non-crime reporters and 100% of unsure respondents will report the violent crime if it was committed against their parents, siblings or children. Ninety nine point two percent (99.2%) of definite crime reporters admitted they would report a violent crime. That number is slightly fewer than extended family members. That could be explained by stating the relationship between family members is not always stronger than those of your extended or family. Ninety eight percent (98%) of respondents agreed they would report crime.

Fifty seven point nine percent (57.9%) of non-crime reporters and 92.4% of definite reporters would alert authorities if they are the victim of a violent crime ($X^2 = 71.331$, d.f. $= 2$, p $= .000$). This is the second lowest percentage next to the innocent victim category. Ninety eight point three percent (98.3%) of crime reporters agreed they would report crime if they were the victim of violent crime. Although this

percentage is high, it is the lowest of all relationships. With reluctance, a responded

stated, "I would call them but handle it until they arrive. If they ever cared to show

up." Overall, 95.5% of individuals from this category will report crime.

Research Question 3: Are African American hip hop fans less likely to report crime

than their non-African American counterparts? (see Table 5).

Table 5

Race/Hip Hoppers by Reported to Police

		Self		Total
		No	Yes	
Race/HipHoppers	Black	56	23	79
	White	1	0	1
	Other	1	2	3
Total		58	25	83

$X^2 =2.373$, d.f. = 2, p = .305

According to the data, when race and hip hop variables are combined into a

new variable titled Race/Hip hoppers" and cross-tabulated with past and future crime

reporting, the relationships are observed to be insignificant ($X^2 =2.373$, d.f. = 2, p =

.305). From the available data, it can be concluded there is not a correlation between

the two variables.

Research Question 4: Did neighborhood characteristics play a role in future crime

reporting (see Table 6)?

Table 6

Reported Crime to Police by Gang Activity

		Gang Activity		Total
		No	Yes	
Reported Crime	No	87	33	120
	Yes	81	12	93
Total		168	45	213

$X^2 = 6.699$, d.f. = 1, p= .000

In terms of violent crimes that were reported to police, there was a correlation between those that reported them and having gang activity in their neighborhood. Ironically, gang activity was the only variable that was significant at the .05 level. Forty point eight percent (40.8%) of areas that do not possess gang activity did not report past violent crimes, compared to the 38% of respondents that did report violent crimes. Only 5.6% of respondents that live in areas that possess gang activity actually crime reported. Seventy three percent (73%) of residents in gang areas that witnessed a violent crime declined to come forward with valuable information (see Table 7).

It is obvious that a relationship exists between neighborhood characteristics and likelihood to report crime in the future. In terms of areas with neighborhood gangs, 67.1% of residents will report a future crime while 22.8% of them are unsure ($X^2 = 11.607$, d.f. = 2, p =.003). Eighty one point one percent (81.1%) of respondents that live in gang-free areas will be willing to report crime in the future. However, 16.1% of similar located residents are undecided if they will do so.

Overall, 77.5% of future crime reporters will report a violent crime. Thirty five percent (35%) of the overall population lives in areas that have a presence of crime and drugs ($X^2 = 14.661$, d.f. = 2, p = .00). Sixty nine point five percent

Table 7

Report Future Crime by Negative Neighborhood Characteristics

Report Future Crime				
		No	Yes	Total
Neighborhood Gangs				
	No	2.4% (11)	1.7% (8)	4.1% (19)
	Yes	67.1%(308)	11.5% (53)	78.6% (361)
	Unsure	13.3% (61)	3.9% (18)	17.2% (79)
Crime & Drugs				
	No	1.1% (5)	3.0% (13)	4.1% (18)
	Yes	53.2% (234)	24.3% (107)	77.5% (341)
	Unsure	10.7% (47)	7.7% (34)	18.4% (81)
Neighborhood Fights				
	No	1.6% (7)	2.5% (11)	4.2% (18)
	Yes	61.6% (269)	15.8% (69)	77.3% (338)
	Unsure	13.0 % (57)	5.5% (24)	18.5% (81)
Abandoned Buildings				
	No	2.1% (9)	2.1% (9)	4.1% (18)
	Yes	66.6% (291)	11% (48)	77.6% (339)
	Unsure	13.7% (60)	4.6% (20)	18.3% (80)
Graffiti				
	No	2.5% (11)	1.4% (6)	3.9% (17)
	Yes	70.2% (304)	7.4% (32)	77.6% (336)
	Unsure	15.9% (69)	2.5% (11)	18.5% (80)
Gang Activity				
	No	2.3% (10)	1.8% (8)	4.1% (18)
	Yes	67.0% (293)	10.5% (46)	77.6% (339)
	Unsure	13.7% (60)	4.6% (20)	18.3% (80)

(69.5%) of the respondents that live in crime and drug areas are still willing to come forward with information about violent crimes.

Future crime reporters that do not live in areas where neighborhood fights are prevalent are very likely to report violent crimes ($X^2 = 17.472$, d.f. = 2, p =.000).

Eighty point eight percent (80.8%) of those residents are willing to come forward with information, and 17.1% are unsure. Sixty six point three percent (66.3%) of residents that live in fighting areas are willing to come forward while 23.1% are unsure. Overall, 77.3% of citizens would definitely come forward with information when available.

Overall, 77.5% of future crime reporters will come forward with information regarding blight and abandoned building. Although the majority of the respondents do not live in an area infiltrated with blight and abandoned buildings ($X^2 = 18.800$, d.f. = 2, p =.000), 80.1% of respondents will cooperate with authorities about future crimes and 16.7% of unsure crime reporters could go either way. Contrary to popular belief, fewer citizens are blatantly against not reporting crimes in their neighborhoods.

With 88.7% of residents who reported living in a "no" to "low" level graffiti area, graffiti does not appear to be a major issue in the majority of the communities ($X^2 = 11.287$, d.f. = 2, p= .004). Sixty five point three percent (65.3%) of those that live in areas plagued with graffiti would still report crime if they were a violent crime witness. In terms of gang activity, only 16.9% of the respondents live in areas with obvious gang activity ($X^2 = 16.114$, d.f. = 2, p =.000). However, 62.1% of respondents that live in this type of area would definitely be willing to come forward and report violent crime, while 27.0% may be reluctant to do so. Eighty point seven percent (80.7%) of respondents that do not live in gang activity prone areas will be willing to do the same.

Areas that possess helpful neighbors are more likely to report future crimes ($X^2 = 25.990$, d.f. = 2, p =.000), with 84% of helpful neighbors willing to report

future crimes (see Table 8). Of the areas that do not have helpful neighbors, 85.1%

(41.6% definitely would/44.1% are unsure) of them may be willing to report violent

crimes when they happen.

Table 8

Report Future Crime by Positive Neighborhood Characteristics

Will Report Future Crime				
		No	Yes	Total
Helpful Neighbors				
	No	2.7% (12)	1.3% (6)	4.0% (18)
	Yes	7.8% (35)	58.7% (262)	77.8% (347)
	Unsure	8.3% (37)	9.9% (44)	18.2% (81)
Solve Problems Together				
	No	3.0% (13)	1.4% (6)	4.4% (19)
	Yes	32.4% (141)	45.5% (198)	77.9% (339)
	Unsure	9.9% (43)	7.8% (34)	17.7% (77)
Safe Neighborhood				448
	No	1.1% (5)	2.9% (13)	4.0% (18)
	Yes	9.4% (42)	68.8% (308)	78.1% (350)
	Unsure	4.0% (18)	13.8% (62)	17.9% (80)

Whether neighbors solve problems together in their neighborhoods or not, it

appears that residents are willing to report future crimes in their community (X^2 =

9.434, d.f. = 2, p =.009). Forty four percent (44%) of neighbors in this category that

do not solve problems together. Of that percentage, 93.4% may be willing to report a

future crime (71.6% definitely/21.8% Unsure).   Of all neighborhood efficacy

variables, neighbors are least likely to help one another solve problems (45.3%).

The majority of the respondents feel safe in their respective neighborhoods (X^2 = 8.450, d.f. = 2, p =.015). Eighty five point five percent (85.5%) reported feeling safe while 80.4% of those solidify their position as a violent crime reporter. Of the people that described their neighborhoods as unsafe, 64.6% of them still choose to take a stand and report violent crimes while 27.7% of these residents are unsure if they will do the same. Ninety two point two percent (92.2%) say they might tell management about it.

Other Relevant Data

Gender

There is a statistically significant relationship between gender and music preference (X^2 = 53.185, d.f. = 3, p = .000). Men are more likely to prefer Rock & Roll/Heavy Metal and Hip Hip/Rap (62% and 61% respectively), while women prefer R&B/Pop and Other Genres (77.9 % and 66.1% respectively). There is also a relationship between Gender and Favorite Artist Genre (X^2 = 59.948, d.f. = 4, p =.000). Men prefer Hip Hop/Rap artists (i.e. Lil Wayne) and Rock & Roll/Heavy Metal artists (i.e. Lenny Kravitz) (66.0% and 56.6% respectively), while women primarily prefer R&B/Pop (i.e. Ledisi), other genres (i.e. Fred Hammond) and no preference (76.3%, 64.6%, and 81.8% respectively). Men chose Tupac, Jay-Z, Young Jeezy, Creed, David Matthews Band, and the Zack Brown band as their top artists while women chose Jill Scott, Beyonce, and Marvin Sapp.

Data shows there is a less than 1/1000 chance that the relationship observed between gender and Witnessed a Violent Crime is due to the influence of random chance. When a cross tabulation was conducted between gender and witnessed a

violent crime, data showed that there was a significant relationship existed ($X^2 =$ 19.950, d.f. = 1, p=.000).   Men are more likely to witness a violent crime than women (63% of men have witnessed a violent act compared to 41.3% of women). This may be because men/boys are less sheltered than their female counterparts. There is also a correlation between gender and if a respondent reported the crime to the police. Data shows that men were less likely to report crime than women. Fifty eight percent (58%) of men refused to cooperate with police while 63.3% of women agreed that they would do so. Sixty five point four percent (65.4%) of men did not report the violent crime they witnessed to the police while only 48.3% of women did the same. Women may have higher percentages of reporting for several reasons. As hypothesized by the literature, they may feel protected under the law and at liberty to do so. The next significant relationship examines Gender and Reporting Crime in the Future ($X^2 = 12.584$, d.f. = 2, p =.002). Sixty eight point nine percent (68.9%) of males will report a violent crime in the future, while 83.2% of females are willing to come forward with important information.

When the victim's relationship to the crime reporter is taken into account, significant relationships should be considered. With the exception of self and children, the closer the relationship the victim has with the crime reporter, the more likely one is to report the violent crime. The cross-tabulation of gender and violence against friends shows a significant relationship ($X^2 = 3.946$, d.f. = 1, p = .047). Ninety four point three percent (94.3%) of males and 97.9% of females will report the crime to authorities if they witness a crime being committed against a comrade. Ninety five percent (95%) of males would tell if the crime was against an extended family member such as a cousin or an uncle, while 99.6% of females will tell if they

witnessed the same crime. Violence against immediate family members warranted a larger response. Ninety five percent (95%) of males and 100% of females would tell if a crime is committed against an immediate family member such as a sister, brother or parent ($X^2 = 14.653$, d.f. = 1, p =.000). Oddly, respondents of both sexes as less likely to report crime if they are a victim of violent crime. Ninety point four percent (90.4%) of males and 98.2% of females will tell authorities if they are on the receiving end. Thinking that many would not place their safety below others (with the exception of their children), the respondents that would not report may be more prone to take the law into their own hands when they are the victim. Since males are looked upon to be "protectors" and "providers," they may take it upon themselves to deal with the situation (Glick et al., 2004). There is also a relationship between gender and negative experience with the police. When examining negative experiences with police, data shows that men (53%) are more likely to have them compared to their female (47%) counterparts ($X^2 = 38.153$, d.f. = 1, p = .000).

When significant neighborhood variables are considered, it was found that 65% of all respondents believe crime and drugs are not a problem in their neighborhoods, with a bigger percentage of women (69.5%) stating crime and drugs are not a problem in their neighborhood ($X^2 = 6.580$, d.f. = 1, p =.0101). When a cross tabulation was conducted between gender and neighborhood fights, data shows that there was a significant relationship. Sixty five percent (65%) of all respondents believe crime and drugs are not a problem in their neighborhoods, with a bigger percentage of women (69.5%) stating crime and drugs are not a problem in their neighborhood. Forty two point nine percent (42.9%) of males believe that crime and drugs are neighborhood problems. Overall, fights are not a big problem within the

respondent's neighborhood. Over three fourths of the sample reported they have not

witnessed any. This analysis could be accurate if the respondent is not associated

with the fight, or the altercation was not in plain sight.   If individuals are not fighting

out in the open, or if the respondent is not a part of the scuffle, they are very unlikely

to know about it because all fights do not have police intervention.

Graffiti is also not a major problem in many neighborhoods ($X^2 = 4.202$, d.f.

= 1, p =.040). With both genders combined, over 88% of men and women said it was

a non-issue. Since graffiti is expressed by tagging local businesses (both occupied

and abandoned), vacant houses, trains, expressway overpasses and so forth, the spray

painting of these surfaces serve as an outward sign of graffiti vandalism making it

easy to identify.

Zip Code

The cross-tabulation of zip code and age ($X^2 = 19.264$, d.f. = 9, p = .023) and

zip code and race ($X^2 = 39.907$, d.f. = 12, p = .000) yielded response rates of 96.1%,

making these variables the highest among respondents. The majority of male and

female respondents are 26-35 years old and from the Midwest. The second most

represented group is eighteen to twenty five from the Midwest as well. Lastly, the

third leading group is 26-35 years old from the South.   The majority of the survey

respondents are all black. In turn, blacks were the dominant race across all zip codes.

When broken down by zip code, most listeners from all regions listened to

their favorite genre at least once a day. With the exception of the Midwest,

listenership went up slightly when examined on a weekly basis. One hundred percent

(100%) of Southerners and Northeasterners will report a violent crime against an

immediate family member (X^2 = 8.205, d.f. = 3, p = .042). However, the majority of respondents from other areas would report the violent crime. It is important to note that the cross tabulation of zip code and the other Victim variables were not significant at the .05 level.

Zip Code has a significant relationship with having negative police experience (X^2 = 7.951, d.f. = 3, p = .047). Although 36.8% of Midwesterners report having a negative experience with police, 61.5% of Westerners, 45.5% of Southerners and 71.4% of Northeasterners disclosed they had less than favorable experiences with police. Depending on where they live, some respondents believe calling the police constitutes being looked upon as guilty dependent on their race. Although there is not a correlation in this specific study, respondents expressed they personally experienced being looked upon as a criminal first and a victim/witness second. For example, that was proven when the black lady helped the officer subdue a criminal, then his comrades second naturedly placed her in hand cuffs (Hubbard, 2010). The data may reveal a more in-depth meaning per municipality when zip codes are translated into precise neighborhoods.

Neighborhood gangs did not appear to be a major issue in the respondent's neighborhoods (X^2 = 9.856, d.f. = 3, p = .020). Overall, 16.9% of the combined regions believe gangs are a major issue in their neighborhood. The Midwest (19.3%) had the highest percentage of individuals that believed gangs were a problem in their neighborhood. One hundred percent (100%) of the Northeastern Region does not have an issue with gang activity in their neighborhoods. This statistic can be over-exaggerated since different areas of the country have different expressions of gang activity and cohesiveness because it may not be as obvious to spot a gang member in

all areas. Some prominent gangs like the Bloods (red) and Crips (Blue) are easily identified by wearing specific colors. Secondly, maybe the respondents do not live in areas that are known for gang activity.

Although the majority of the regions believe crime and drugs are not a major problem in their neighborhood, 17.9 % of Southerners and 71.4% of North-easterners believe it is. Neighborhood fights do not appear to be a major issue (X^2 = 12.457, d.f. = 3, p = .006). However, the Northeast had a significant representation. Either that region is slightly more confrontational than other regions, or the pool of participants live in unique neighborhoods. Either way, the sample is too small to accurately generalize to the entire area.

Eighty two point five percent (82.5%) of respondents agreed that abandoned buildings were not a major problem in their neighborhood (X^2 = 13.354, d.f. = 3, p = .004). However, the Midwest is shown to have the largest amount of abandoned buildings in their neighborhood with over 21%.   With the United States coming out of a recession, the Midwest is being hit hard by the evaporation of sustainable automation jobs. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2011), unemployment in Michigan, the most represented state in the survey is over 11% (www.bls.gov), thus, explaining both residential and commercial blight. The majority of the respondents from all regions feel safe in their respective neighborhoods (X^2 = 9.871, d.f. = 3, p = .020). However, over half of the Northeasterners do not. Neighbors primarily help one another out when possible, especially when asked (X^2 = 9.722, d.f. = 3, p = .021). Sixty nine percent (69%) of Midwesterners, 77.9% of Southerners, and 85.7 % Northeasterners assist their neighbors. Ninety two point three percent (92.3%) of Westerners do not believe that neighbors help one another.

Age

The sampling technique may have affected the outcome of blacks, ages 26-35 have the highest overall representation, followed by blacks 18-25 years old and blacks 36-45 years of age. It is quite likely that the age ranking will be different if another methodology was used. This could be explained because of my methodology. Since my age is within the 26-35 year old range, my peers that assisted in utilizing the snowball sampling technique were approximately the same age.

In terms of music preference and age, data shows the strongest representation coming from the 26-35 year old category for all musical preferences (X^2 = 35.894, d.f. = 9, p = .000). Over a quarter of the respondents were R&B fans ages 26-35 years old. Next, the Other category was represented the strongest by the 26-35 year olds (14.9%), followed by 26-35 year olds (12.8%) in the hip hop category. Most individuals ages 18-35 listen to rap music. However, R&B/Pop follows closely at second place. The 26-35 and 36-45 age groups primarily listen to R&B/Pop. Lastly, the Over 45 category chose the Other category. This category is primarily made up of jazz, gospel, and country music with artists such as Earl Klugh, Marvin Sapp, and the Zac Brown Band respectively. R&B was in second place with 43.9%. When the artists favorite genre is taken into account, it should be noted that the numbers differ quite a bit compared to the music preference chart (see Appendix D). Meaning, respondents either do not know the correct classification of their preferred musical choice, or their music preference transcends into other genres.

Seventy four point four percent (74.4%) of 18-25 year olds purchase their favorite music, 89% of 26-35 year olds purchase their favorite, and 92.5% of 36-45 year old purchase their favorite music, while 92.6% of respondents over 45 years of

age do the same (X^2 = 16.364, d.f. = 3, p = .001). Whether it is through the internet (e.g. Amazon.com), music download websites such as iTunes, or being purchased the old fashioned way by going to the store, the majority of music fans surveyed agreed that they typically purchase music from their preferred genre and listened to this genre at least once a day. The younger age group may not purchase their favorite music as often due to limited funds or because they are highly active in sharing music with their peers to cut cost. However, their infrequency to purchase does not translate into inconsistent listenership.

Ninety three point one percent (93.1%) of 18-25 year olds listen to their preferred music every day, followed by 26-35 year olds (88.6%), 36-45 year olds (83.3%), and Over 45 years olds with 72.5%. The older one gets, the less likely they are to listen to their favorite music every day. Older respondents may choose to listen less because unlike young people, older citizens are more likely to have a sense of who they are and they are not looking for their identity through music. Since music has been integrated into the fabric of everyday life, it is quite hard to avoid it. For example, people listen to music in cars, as they walk or catch public transportation, at work, and working out. Even movies and television shows have music played during the credits. Music is even played at department stores, elevators, restaurants, and bars that many frequent. In these cases, avoiding music is quite difficult even if one tried. That is why respondents in this category may have slightly under-reported how much they listen.

When the relationship of Age and Witnessing a Crime is examined, it is observed that all age groups were split evenly down the middle, with the exception of the Over 45 category. Sixty six point seven percent (66.7%) of those respondents

replied they never witnessed a violent crime. That fact leads to two major assumptions. The first assumption is that this study includes a sheltered group of 45 year olds. The second and most reasonable assumption is that the respondent can't recall the incident because the event happened in the far past and recollection is difficult. Since the researcher is not available to probe, and they may have witnessed a violent act a long time ago, the memory may not be proximal, thus, causing them to say they never witnessed it.

Younger respondents are much less likely to report a violent crime to the police (X^2 = 11.941, d.f. = 3, p = .008). Seventy six point nine percent (76.9%) agreed that they called the police when they witnessed a violent encounter. Data shows as one gets older, the likelihood of them reporting a violent crime to police increases. This could be because older citizens are not focused on the same social perceptions as younger citizens, and because speaking to the police is not cool and young adults are highly concerned with how they are viewed through the lens of peers.

Although more young respondents did not report a violent crime when they initially witnessed it, when asked if they would be willing to report a violent crime in the future, the vast majority of them answered yes (X^2 = 29.345, d.f. = 6, p = .000). Some respondents stated, "Because I was young I thought it [violence] was exciting. Now I think it's childish" and "now that I am much more mature, I understand why it would be important to tell." Seventy five percent (75%) of young adults ages 18-25 are willing to report crime while 14.3% of the same age group are unsure if they will. Many rationalized their change of heart due to maturity, being a victim themselves, or having a loved one be a victim of crime, and believing it's the right thing to do.

Maturity may also play a big role in crime reporting, because not one individual in the 45 and Over category expressed they would not tell if they witnessed a violent crime. Although many down play a fist fight being violent crime, a mature respondent states, "As a teen, I saw many fights take place, but it didn't seem to be a violent crime. As an adult, I realize the consequences of such action and would immediately report it." The majority of the second age group, 26-35 year olds believe in cooperating with law enforcement officials. However, almost a quarter of them remain unsure. Many acknowledge a lack of confidence in the police and criminal justice system as a whole and a fear for their personal safety and the safety of their family. One respondent said, "Crime should be reported as long as there are facts, discretion, and confidentiality (especially if the crime is serious) and there is protection by the law." As one ages, they begin to develop a sense of community. That means they begin to become more invested in their neighborhood. This may happen for as variety of reasons. One reason may be one is starting to raise children in this neighborhood and have an emphasis on safety. Next, one may become a property owners in their neighborhood and have a serious stake in retaining the value in their home, making them the eyes and ears of the community. In turn, they want their area to be safe and well kept, but most importantly, a great place to live.

A large percentage of young citizens believe gangs and gang activities are a major problem in their neighborhoods. That could be because they have more time to be active in their neighborhood and they know how to identify gangs. Since most visible gang members are younger (in the 18-25 age range) this age range may be more aware of their peers that are gang affiliated. Gang activity is characterized by several indicators. One of the most evident indicators is the gang member outwardly

displaying their gang affiliation by their style of dress, the flashing of gang signs with ones hands, the stroll or walk associated with their specific gang, or the verbal admission of being involved. Another prominent characterization is the "tagging" or graffiti of local buildings. That alone shows the presence of gangs in the area. If one does not witness any of the above, they may get the impression their area is gang free and a group of youth/young adults are not necessarily a gang, but a group of friends. According to the data, over 83% of adults 26 years of age and higher do not view gang activity as a neighborhood epidemic.

It appears that older respondents do not see as many neighborhood fights as younger respondents. That could simply be because of a maturity factor. Since older people are less likely to be involved or associated with others that participate in neighborhood fights, they are less likely to be proximal to witness them. Although blacks appear to witness the most neighborhood fights (24.7%), only 23.8% of all races combined witness fights in their neighborhoods.

Neighbors are more likely to witness and take part in neighborhood collective efficacy the older they are ($X^2 = 11.924$, d.f. = 3, p = .008). Eighty seven point three percent (87.3%) of adults 45 years and older believe neighbors help one another in their neighborhood and 82.4% believe neighborhood citizens help one another solve problems. Borrowing tools, household items such as sugar, shoveling each other's snow, cutting grass, and keeping a watchful eye on a neighbor's property are examples of how neighbors help each other out. Since older residents are more likely to be property owners, they are more likely to involve themselves in assisting other local residents. Furthermore, older citizens are more likely to form and head block clubs and neighborhood block watches. That is a way that neighborhood citizens

unify to solve problems. An involved resident quoted, "Citizens can make a huge

dent in crime. I understand fear of reprisal, but I am a block captain in my

neighborhood watch and that's the activity I, and my neighbors, agreed to. We report

suspicious activity and intend to stay involved to keep our area a safe and even scary

one for criminals to operate in."

When age is taken into consideration, the majority of the respondents are split

down the middle when asked if people in their neighborhoods solve problems

together (X^2 = 17.953, d.f. = 3, p = .000). However, 82.4% of respondents over the

age of 45 believe their neighbors do help solve problems together. This shift in

attitudes may be because the older population have more free time, are more visible

in the neighborhood (e.g. doing outdoor chores) and are more involved with localized

block clubs/watches.

Race

According to the data, 46.5% of blacks preferred R&B/Pop music, while

26.3% chose Hip Hop/Rap and 26.3% chose Other (X^2 = 93.366, d.f. = 12, p = .000).

Thirty eight point three percent (38.3%) of the white respondents chose the Other

category, with R&B/Pop in a close second at 34%. Latinos' primary category is the

Other category representing over 50% of their population, followed by R&B/Pop with

38.9%. Sixty six point seven percent (66.7%) of Asian respondents chose R&B/Pop

with Rock & Roll/Heavy Metal and Other tying for second place with 16.7% a piece.

The majority of blacks chose R&B/Pop artists to be their favorite 52.3%

agreed they enjoyed a R&B/Pop artist, while 22.5% preferred hip hop artists. Artists

from the Other category came in close third with 19.9% (X^2 = 156.234, d.f. = 16, p

=.000). Five point one percent (5.1%) of respondents did not have a favorite artist.

White respondents chose Rock & Roll/Heavy Metal artists as their overall favorite

artist with 34%. However, R&B/Pop and the Other category is in second and third

placed with 31.9% and 27.7% respectively. Thirty three percent (33%) of Latinos

prefer R&B artists, hip hop comes in third place with 22.2%, while the Other forms of

music is in second place at 27.8% (see Table 9).

Table 9

Race by Watch Music Videos

Watch Music Videos			
Race	No	Yes	Total
Black	117	246	363
White	20	22	42
Latino	1	16	17
Asian	2	3	5
Other	2	7	9
Total	142	294	436

X^2 = 10.428, d.f. = 4, p =.034

Overall, all races frequently listen to their perspective music of choice (X^2 =

156.234, d.f. = 16, p = .000) (see Table 9). Ninety four point one percent (94.1%) of

Latinos listen to music at least once a day and watch videos while three quarters of

whites, Asians, and other races listen to their favorite genre at least once a day.

Eighty eight point seven percent (88.7%) of African Americans listen daily and

67.8% watch their respective videos. Music has been a means of drawing boundaries

between generations (Wilson, 1992), especially within the African American

community. Music is not only used as a tool for entertainment, but also as a vehicle

to tell a story, whether fact or fiction. As a vehicle of culture, music can divide generations or usher in new sub-cultures (Wilson, 1992). When absorbed acoustically, music can change one's state of mind from happy to sad or reinforce an individual's current state of emotions. When in love, music can enhance the feeling of love with its enchanting hooks and melodies. Conversely, music can amplify feelings of anger or depression. African Americans spend the greatest amount of time listening to hip hop (Sullivan, 2003). Chuck D of the rap group Public Enemy, rationally defended that statement by describing rap music as the "black CNN" (Kitwana, 2002), because that is where a lot of adolescents and young adults turn for information.

There is a correlation between race and witnessing violent crime (X^2 = 11.949, d.f. = 4, p = .018). In terms of witnessing violent crime, over 50% of blacks and Others witnessed a violent crime. Only one fifth of Asians and under a third of whites have witnessed a violent crime. There is a significant difference between race and helpful neighbors (X^2 = 12.890, d.f. = 4, p =.012). Almost 90% of whites believe neighbors help one another in their neighborhood while 69.1% of blacks and 60% of Latinos feel the same way. Patillo (1998) and Warner and Rountree (1997) find that social ties reduce crime in predominantly white neighborhoods, but not in predominantly minority or mixed neighborhoods. This could be because the majority of whites in this study live in neighborhoods that are not as transient. Therefore, they are more likely to establish formal relationships with their neighbors.

Musical Preference

When music preference is cross-tabulated with favorite artist genre, one would expect a one to one ratio. For the most part, there is a link between Favorite Genre and Music preference (X^2 = 698.069, d.f. = 12, p = .000). Sixty seven point two percent (67.2%) of respondents that chose hip hop music as a primary choice of music chose a hip hop artist as their favorite, while 23.3% chose R&B/Pop artists as representatives of their favorite genre. Eighty four point six percent (84.6%) of Rock & Roll/Heavy Metal listeners chose Rock&Roll/Heavy Metal artists as their favorite artist. Eighty five point four percent (85.4%) of Rhythm & Blues (R&B) and Pop fans prefer R&B/Pop artists. Lastly, 68.9% of those in the Other category prefer artists from Other genres.

A larger percentage of hip hop fans listen to hip hop music once a day compared to other genres (X^2 = 9.521, d.f. = 3, p =.023). Ninety two point nine percent (92.9%) of them listen once a day compared to 72.7% of Rock/Heavy Metal fans, 87.8% of R&B/Pop fans and 80% of fans that prefer Other music, listen to their referenced type of music once a day. A rationale for frequently listening to hip hop music is because "it talks about life struggles" and "relates to certain aspects of their life." Rock/Heavy Metal fans listen because their music has "funny lyrics" and "it put them in the right frame of mind." Other fans enjoy their respective choices because "the lyrics speak to my heart because it helps me rejoice in the good times and trust God to get me through the rough times" and "they can relate to their intelligent, witty, yet often melancholy sentiments."

There is a link between music preference and watching music videos ($X^2 =$ 16.227, d.f. = 3, p =.001). Sixty percent (60%) of individuals in the Other category watch videos of their respective genre. The percentage could be larger if more videos in their respective genre were available, because many country, jazz, and gospel artist do not have videos to accompany their songs, making it difficult to watch videos. Next, Rock/Heavy Metal fans (which are older and make them of age to have careers and families) watch the least amount of music videos in this study, therefore, giving them limited time to watch videos that typically come on during prime time hours. Hip hop fans have a high percentage of video viewership. A major reason is because hip hop's up-to-date music videos are readily accessible on cable television and internet. Secondly, a lot of younger fans tend to prefer and tune in to hip hop music videos, because they use it to make sense of their everyday life, and they are more likely to tune in.

Witnessed Violent Crime

There is a link between musical preference and negative experience with police ($X^2 = 17.914$, d.f. = 3, p =.000). Of all genres, hip hop fans are the only ones that have a strong representation of negative experience with the police. Fifty six point one percent (56.1%) of hip hop fans have had a negative encounter with the police. This could be because a significant amount of fans that can relate to such topical themes may live in neighborhoods where negative police interactions take place. The higher percentage of hip hoppers having negative experiences with police may explain why they are slightly less likely than other genres to report crime.

Slightly more than a third of R&B/Pop fans and Other fans had negative experiences with police.

Overall, 35% of music preference respondents believe crime and drugs are salient issues in their neighborhoods (X^2 = 17.454, d.f. = 3, p =.001). The majority of the hip hop fans stated crime and drugs were major issues in their community. This finding is significant because it can be interpreted that since they live in areas that are considered rougher or violence prone, they are putting themselves in harm's way by cooperating with law enforcement officials. Thirty point seven percent (30.7%) of R&B/Pop fans and 28.8% of Other fans believed crime and drugs were a major problem while 18.2% of Rock/Heavy Metal fans while feel the same way. Although 23.8% of respondents as a whole believe neighborhood fights are problematic, hip hop fans have the highest representation with a whopping 36.0% witnessing neighborhood fights (X^2 = 13.488, d.f. = 3, p =.004). In contrast, the Other genre's were less likely to witness neighborhood fights. Eighty three point six percent (83.6%) of respondents from the Other genre and 81% of Rock/Heavy Metal respondents do not witness fights in their neighborhood. R&B/Pop respondents are slightly lower with 78.2% of them witnessing fights.

A correlation exists between music preference and helpful neighbors (X^2 = 11.102, d.f. = 3, p =.011). All of the Rock/Heavy Metal fans live in neighborhoods where neighbors help one another. Seventy six point two percent (76.2%) of the Other genre and 69.2% of R&B/Pop fans believe neighbors will help one another if needed. Hip hop fans composed the lowest percentage at 61.3% of respondents believe neighbors will help each other out. The specific location of the neighborhoods may impact their decision. Inner city neighborhoods with more stable

residents may be more likely to assist neighbors when needed. Moreover, if

neighbors are not familiar with one another, they may be more likely not to assist

strangers.

Although graffiti is one of the major four elements of hip hop, by pure

coincidence hip hop residents have the highest amount of graffiti in their

neighborhood because it is unlikely that the respondents are responsible for the

tagging. Almost one fifth of rap fans witness graffiti in their neighborhoods

compared to less than 10% for all other genres(X^2 = 9.142, d.f. = 3, p =.027).

Favorite Artist Genre

Overall, 80.8% of the fans relate to the lyrics of their favorite artist (X^2 =

23.456, d.f. = 4, p =.000). Eighty six point six percent (86.6%) of R&B/Pop fans

relate to their favorite artist because many of the songs talk about love & relations

and things they are going through. Hip hop fans relate least to the lyrics of their

favorite artist (71.3%). A lot of rap fans assert they listen to hip hop for

entertainment purposes or because it has a good beat. Contrary to popular belief, hip

hop fans are less likely to relate to their favorite artist. Eighty three point two percent

(83.2%) of Other respondents and 83.3% of Rock/Heavy Metal respondents relate to

their favorite artists. A significant amount of Other respondents chose gospel music

artists as their favorite artists and facility. They relate to them because they sing

about the goodness of the Lord.

Individuals that claim not to have a favorite artist are least likely to purchase

music in the store or online. However, that does necessarily mean that they do not

possess new music. Either they are not vested sufficiently into the music to purchase

it, they can't do so financially, or they file-share or otherwise obtain the music illegally. Seventy seven point six percent (77.6%) of hip hop fans agreed that they purchase music of their favorite artist genre. It is the norm for many inner city residents to illegally copy and distribute music in their neighborhoods, local barbershops, and salons for pennies on the dollar. Since rap is heavily pushed in these areas, a lot of rap and R&B/Pop fans get their music off the street for two to three dollars compared to the retail price. Ninety one point nine percent (91.9%) of R&B/Pop Fans and Other fans purchase their favorite genre while all of the Rock/Heavy Metal fans purchase their respective music ($X^2 = 39.319$, d.f. = 4, p =.000).

Rock/Heavy Metal fans watch fewer music videos than all other genres ($X^2 = 13.520$, d.f. = 4, p =.009). One reason could be because the majority of the Rock/Heavy Metal videos are not on traditional cable channels anymore such as MTV and VH1, but on premium channels. The Other genre has 63% of respondents watching music videos. That figure is low because some of the combined genres do not have music videos. For example, National Public Radio (NPR) do not have music videos while jazz and gospel possess a select few. Hip hop and R&B/Pop fans possess the highest amount with a plethora of video shows that play these specific genres. It is easy to catch these preferred videos on the internet, regular cable television, or even digital basic channels.

Slightly over a third of all respondents had a negative experience with the police outside of receiving a traffic citation ($X^2 = 15.919$, d.f. = 4, p =.003). However, almost 60% of hip hop fans have experienced negativity with police.

Almost half of the respondents that have hip hop artists as their favorite artists also believe crime and drugs are a problem in their neighborhood ($X^2 = 10.340$, d.f. = 4, p =.035). Forty five percent (45%) of individuals that did not have a favorite artist expressed it was an issue in the community as well. In contrast, almost three fourths of the other genres strongly believed that it was not a major issue where they lived. Witnessing neighborhood fights is not that prevalent either. Less than a quarter of all the respondents have witnessed a fight in their neighborhood ($X^2 = 12.932$, d.f. = 4, p =.012). However, 36.2% of hip hop fans have witnessed fights in their neighborhood. Almost 11.3% of respondents believes graffiti is noticeable in their neighborhood ($X^2 = 12.260$, d.f. = 4, p =.016). When hip hop is examined, 21.3% of the respondents stated that their neighborhoods possess buildings that have been tagged by graffiti. This tagging may include gang symbols, nick names, and even "rest in peace" memoriam for neighborhood residents that passed away, primarily by murder.

In terms of helpful neighbors, all of the Rock/Heavy Metal artists agreed that neighbors helped each other out ($X^2 = 16.339$, d.f. = 4, p =.003). Almost three quarters of R&B/Pop and Other fans agreed that their neighborhood would do the same. Fifty eight point nine percent (58.9%) of hip hop fans believe their neighborhood citizens are helpful towards one another. Respondents that didn't have a favorite music artist believe that their neighborhoods possess individuals that solve problems together ($X^2 = 12.333$, d.f. = 4, p =.015). Only 38.9% of individuals with no "Artist Preference" agreed that people solve problems together, while 43.2% of hip hopper believe the same thing. On the higher end, 75% of Rock/Heavy Metal prefers agree that people solve problems together, while 63.0% of Others believe the same.

114

Relate to Lyrics

Almost three quarters of the respondents purchase music from their favorite genre and relate to the lyrics (X^2 = 19.476, d.f. = 1, p =.000). The majority of individuals that relate to their genre of choice not only listen to their favorite type of music once a day, but the majority of them (54.2%) also attend concerts of their respective music preference (X^2 = 30.579, d.f. = 1, p = .000). Fifty six point seven percent (56.7%) of these respondents that relate to song lyrics, also watch music videos (X^2 = 11.295, d.f. = 1, p =.001). Genres like jazz do not have lyrics. In turn, it is impossible to relate to their lyrics.

Respondents that relate to artist lyrics slightly have an increased percentage of witnessing violent crime (X^2 = 9.087, d.f. = 1, p =.003) and respondents that relate to the lyrics were less likely to have a negative experience with police (X^2 = 5.027, d.f. = 1, p =.25). However, the majority of individuals that relate to the lyrics did not have a major issue with gang violence in their neighborhood (X^2 = 3.835, d.f. = 1, p = .050).

Purchase Music

It should be noted that the majority of the fans that listen to this music at least once a day will go out and purchase this type of music (X^2 = 10.512, d.f. = 1, p = .001). There is a slight increase from those that purchase this kind of music and at least listen at least once a week (X^2 = 15.648, d.f. = 1, p = .000). This could be because a greater number of older respondents don't have time to listen to music daily, but they are able to do so on the weekends. On the contrary, with the availability of local stations on the internet and morning/afternoon drive shows

115

becoming more prevalent, working adults have more access and a desire to listen to the radio. In terms of concert attendance, 57.7% of the music purchasers attend concerts of their favorite artist ($X^2 = 32.305$, d.f. = 1, p = .000). In addition, only 61.3% of music purchasers watch music videos ($X^2 = 15.356$, d.f. = 1, p = .000). Since video shows come on during primetime hours, many working adults that have extra funds may not get the chance to watch them.

In terms of reporting violent crime against various victims, it is observed that music purchasers are more likely to report violence against their immediate family when witnessed than the non-music purchaser ($X^2 = 4.816$, d.f. = 1, p = .028). This could be because music purchasers are more likely to have jobs; in turn they are more responsible. In terms of neighborhood efficacy variables, music purchasers appear to be more conscientious about preserving the safety and the cohesiveness of their family and neighborhood.

Listen Once a Day/Week

Eighty five percent (85%) of the respondents that listen once a week also listens once a day ($X^2 = 34.082$, d.f. = 1, p = .000). Since listening to music is reoccurring, music may have an impact on their lives. Almost 60% of these listeners attend concerts of their favorite genre ($X^2 = 33.987$, d.f. = 1, p = .000). Respondents that do not listen once a day are very unlikely to attend concerts. Weekly listeners (65.6%) are more likely to watch music videos compared to 62.1% of daily listeners ($X^2 = 12.931$ d= 1, p = .000).

Only 3.8% of them actually attend concerts. Sixty two point one percent (62.1%) of daily listeners watch music videos ($X^2 = 10.717$, d.f. = 1, p = .001). That may be the outlet by which they listen.

Attend Concerts

Sixty nine point one percent (69.1%) of concert-goers also watch music videos ($X^2 = 28.475$ d= 1, p = .000). Just like concert attendance, Professor Sut Jhally (1995) who wrote, edited, and narrated video documentaries titled *Dreamworlds* (1991) and *Dreamworlds II* (1995) mentions that the video serves as a marketing/promotional tool for the artists; listeners can not only see the song put in motion, but also enjoy the visual interpretation of the song and put a face to the voice.

Negative Experience with Police/Neighborhood Gangs

Overall, 16.4% live in areas where crime and drugs are a problem and have had a negative experience with police ($X^2 = 4.898$, d= 1, p = .027). Eighteen point seven percent (18.7%) of individuals did not live in those types of neighborhoods, yet still had a negative experience with the police. Over 13.9% of residents that possess neighborhood gangs have obvious signs of gang activity ($X^2 = 267.452$, d= 1, p = .000). There is a correlation between neighborhood gangs and crime and drugs ($X^2 = 116.482$, d= 1, p = .000), because in some areas, neighborhood gangs are responsible for soliciting illegal drugs. Some neighborhoods are plagued with multiple rival gangs. When there is a discrepancy over territory and instances of retaliation, neighborhood fighting amongst them may be unavoidable. However, almost three fourths of the sample didn't have an issue with both ($X^2 = 115.810$, d= 1, p = .000). In fact, 60.7% of the population with helpful neighbors didn't have gangs in their

neighborhoods ($X^2 = 8.979$, d= 1, p = .003) and 55% of the respondents solve problems together in their neighborhood where gangs are not a problem ($X^2 = 7.558$, d= 1, p = .006). Overall, 76.6% don't have a gang problem in their neighborhood and they feel safe within their neighborhood ($X^2 = 59.026$, d= 1, p = .000). The next highest percentage is the individuals that do have gangs in their neighborhoods, yet they still feel safe. They may not feel threatened by them because they are not a part of gang culture and gangs predominantly target other gang members

Crime and Drugs

There is a correlation between crime and drugs in neighborhoods and neighborhood fights ($X^2 = 157.110$, d= 1, p = .000). Sixty two point one percent (62.1%) of respondents didn't witness neighborhood fights and didn't find crime and drugs to be a problem. However, the group that found crime and drugs to be a problem also witnessed local physical altercations and 17.7% reported having a problem with local blight ($X^2 = 116.618$, d= 1, p = .000).

Neighborhoods that have crime and drugs also have a representative number of neighbors that help each other out ($X^2 = 9.095$, d= 1, p = .003). Almost 50% of crime and drug free neighborhoods reported that their neighbors help one another. However, crime and drug free neighborhoods are more likely to solve problems amongst neighbors compared to the crime prone neighborhoods ($X^2 = 19.726$, d= 1, p = .000). An overwhelming consensus believes they are safe in their neighborhoods. This includes drug/crime and drug free/crime free areas alike ($X^2 = 98.123$, d= 1, p = .000). Sixty four point six percent (64.6%) of residents feel safe in their drug free neighborhoods while 20.5% of citizens in drug/crime areas feel safe. A respondent

118

expressed the sentiment, "As much as I love my neighborhood, I will leave it if I ever become afraid to stay here."

Neighborhood Fights/Helpful Neighbors

Neighborhood fights are not as prevalent in communities where neighbors help one another (X^2 = 8.120, d= 1, p = .004) and solve problems together (X^2 = 12.036, d= 1, p = .001). A major reason could be since they do not feel physically threatened by their environment; they may be more likely to extend themselves to their fellow neighbor and less likely to disrespect each other by having physical altercations amongst one another. Only 9.1% of the areas that witness neighborhood fights make citizens feel unsafe living in their community (X^2 = 63.880, d= 1, p = .000). Areas where neighbors help one another possess the lowest amount of graffiti (X^2 = 17.786, d= 1, p = .000). This could be because neighbors collectively make it a priority to eliminate graffiti areas.

Almost 50% of helpful neighbors live in neighborhoods where people solve problems together (X^2 = 109.981, d= 1, p = .000). The association of abandoned buildings and neighbors helping one another is also significant. On the contrary, 22.4% of neighbors that don't help one another live in areas where abandoned buildings and gang activity are prevalent (X^2 = 13.571, d= 1, p = .000/ X^2 = 11.920, d= 1, p = .001). Although social disorganization theory states that outward signs of disorganization (i.e., abandoned buildings) lead to a disorganized neighborhood, over 50% of the residents that live in areas with these signs are socially cohesive. It is important to note that 60% of neighbors do not live in areas where gang activity is present. According to a respondent, "Even though I answered the previous question

119

regarding gang activities in my community, yes there have been reports of some gang/burglary type activities in my community, but not enough to say that it is gang community. I still feel safe in my community; my neighbors all watch out for each other and keep each other informed of any type of burglary/gang activities, and so on." Overall, whether the respondents live in "helpful" areas or not, they still feel safe in their neighborhood ($X^2 = 19.607$, d= 1, p = .000).

Abandoned Buildings

Almost half of the respondents that solve problems together do not have excessive abandoned buildings ($X^2 = 17.892$, d= 1, p = .000) and graffiti ($X^2 = 139.962$, d= 1, p = .000) in their neighborhoods. It could be that the neighbors band together to eliminate blight, vandalism, and gang activity therefore, making it a non-issue. Only 9.2% agreed that their area possess abandoned buildings and gang activity ($X^2 = 88.589$, d= 1, p = .000).

There is a significant relationship between those that feel safe in their neighborhoods and abandoned buildings ($X^2 = 73.598$, d= 1, p = .000). Seventy five point nine percent (75.9%) of those that live in neighborhoods where abandoned buildings are less prevalent feel safe in their neighborhood. On the other hand, 96.1% of respondents that live around abandoned buildings also feel safe in their neighborhood. That could mean that abandoned buildings in and of themselves are not intimidating, but the other social variables that are the results of a bad economy. However, 8.2% of those that live in areas that have abandoned buildings do not feel safe in their neighborhood.

120

Solve Problems Together

When neighborhood graffiti emerges, it may be masked by the fact that many neighbors solve problems together ($X^2 = 10.491$, d= 1, p = .000). Graffiti may be eradicated because neighbors may solve this neighborhood problem by covering it up once it emerges. Furthermore, people that don't solve problems together may chose not to do so because they don't have to. If their neighborhood is peaceful and vandalism-free or if their municipality has systems in place to eliminate tagging, they would not have to solve this specific problem together. Almost half, 47.3%, solve problems together and do not have gang activity in their neighborhood ($X^2 = 4.464$, d= 1, p = .035), maybe because local citizens work together through block clubs, neighborhood block watches, and patrols to eliminate such delinquent activities.

The majority of people that live in problem-solving neighborhoods feel safe in their neighborhoods as well ($X^2 = 33.745$, d= 1, p = .000). That expression of collective efficacy may be a reason why they feel safe. A 33.1% of non-problem solvers also feel safe in their neighborhood, maybe because they do not need to. Overall, less than 15% do not feel safe in their neighborhoods.

Over 80% did not experience a combination of graffiti and gang activity in their neighborhoods, while 8.4% of the areas with gang activity appear to lack the presence of graffiti ($X^2 = 114.791$, d= 1, p = .000). The absence of graffiti correlates with feeling safe in their neighborhood ($X^2 = 67.192$, d= 1, p = .000). Since graffiti is an outward sign of criminal activity and quite often gang activity, 6.1% of the respondents that do not feel safe in their area live by areas plagued by this degradation. That may be because the tagging reminds them of gangs and gang violence.

121

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

As one reflects on America's diverse history, it is quite obvious that the land

of the proud red, white, and blue was founded and sustained on violent principals that

continue to be manifest across race, creed, or color. Therefore, the United States

possessed a destructive culture well before the invention of the radio (early 1900s),

television (early 1900s), and hip hop culture (late 1970s) (Gitlin, 1996; Rhoads, 1995;

Bellis, 2012). Although this research shows a slightly significant correlation

between the feature variables of music preference and attitudes towards crime

reporting, it does not reveal a causal relationship. That is why blaming rap music and

the majority of the African American artists that are the face of this genre is largely

considered a feel-good exercise, a moral panic substituting for practicality (Gitlin,

1996). Regardless of music preference, race, and negative past experience with

police, when each correspondent was asked if they would report a violent crime in the

future, the overwhelming majority most definitely would. The probability of them

disclosing information increased depending on the proximity of the relationship with

the victim. Although this respondent has a basic distrust for the police they quoted,

"If it involved a family member or a close friend, I would be more likely to report it."

There is a gap between the overall percentage of future crime reporters and

the average percentages of specific victim relationships/descriptions. The question

involving crime reporting is closer to home and more likely to be echoed with a yes

when respondents view the victim as innocent, a child, a friend, or a relative. Outside of those parameters (i.e., gang members, known criminals), it appears residents are more likely to have reservations about crime reporting. Outside of some believing that the victim should take matters into their own hands, could it be "karma" taking place or the individual "reaping what they have sown"? In the eyes of some, violence is viewed as "street justice," meaning the actions of wrong-doers have caught up with them and getting involved would only include them in a foreign situation, putting them and their family in the line of fire, all in the name of "doing the right thing." Although this vigilante cycle of violence doesn't make one feel much safer or reduce the amount of neighborhood crime, it specifically pinpoints the alleged guilty party or "target," thus causing potential crime reporters not to get involved.

Public opinion poll data and media outlets might lead the masses to expect that African Americans, especially those from lower socioeconomic statuses, would be less likely to call the police (Walker et al, 1996, p. 90). In terms of race, this study shows there is not a significant relationship between race and willingness to report crime in the future. Contrary to the belief that African Americans are least likely to report crime, the National Crime Victim's survey data indicate that African Americans report 37% of all crimes compared to 34% for white Americans. That says a lot, especially since the Brookings institute economist Scott Winship has argued that two thirds of black children in America experience a level of poverty that only 6% of white children will ever see, meaning they are more likely to witness crime and other things that white kids would not (Wilson, 2012).

In terms of age, over 76% of respondents ages 18-25 did not report a violent crime they previously witnessed to police. This study asserts that the stop snitching attitudes are not solely perpetuated by hip hop, but predominantly encased by youth and young adults that are uninformed about the non-cooperative culture many embrace now—but willingly denounce as they mature, and the closer their relationship is to the victim. This is confirmed by a respondent adding, "I was younger and was in a position where I was 'scared' to be caught snitching. I am older and more empowered now, so I feel I would report someone being hurt to the police...though I don't have trust in them to respond, I have to do my part." Still, over 90% of the respondents decided that not reporting a violent crime is not an option, making this research a strong proponent of the culture of terror's theoretical framework and proving the social disorganization theory to be inaccurate for the purpose of this study. Social disorganization is measured by the lack of neighborhood cohesion and collective efficacy. In this case, the majority of the respondents, inner city, suburban, and rural alike possessed traits of both. There were relationships between each negative neighborhood variable and the likelihood of reporting future crimes. Results indicate that neighborhoods with gangs that possess crime and drugs and neighborhoods with neighborhood fights are very likely to report a violent crime in the future. This shows that areas that are viewed as socially disorganized are more than willing to do their part in keeping their communities safe. By the same token, the negative variables that allegedly make neighborhoods disorganized are the same variables that bring neighbors together.

Out of Baltimore, the same city where the Stop Fucking Snitching video emerged, the concept of *The Wire* was birthed. *The Wire* (2001-2008) is a Home Box

Office (HBO) original series where sociology and economics clashes with politics. This well-written visual novel offers an unapologetic view of urban decay and social dysfunction—something that many inner cities throughout the United States are all too familiar with. With the story-lines based on true stories and 80% of the characters based on real people, the series not only entertains, it also educates one on what life is like for the people often ignored (Wire, 2008). This show exposes the obvious; that America is broken, from the upper echelons of politics to the cellars of inner city ghettos. Examining the lack of crime reporting from the lens of *The Wire,* it is clear how the myth of the "crime pursuing cop" for the betterment of the community is deconstructed and the true agenda of arrest rates and promotions of the department and individual officers the true focus, while the residents and the perspective witnesses are left with the trickling down of those selfish benefits, if any.

There is little political will for a war on poverty, guns, or family breakdown. Dyson (2007) concurs that it is easier to jump on hip hop and its artists than it is to target other socioeconomic factors and work towards a palpable solution. Putting a parental advisory label on a hip hop album is more feasible and less involved than actually listening to the artists' message and working towards a solution to initiating positive change. If one breaks their leg, it only makes sense to treat the injured limb. So if a song is dedicated exclusively to the distrust of police, it would be wise to investigate the message instead of condemning the messenger. Besides, the initial invention of rap music was to provide an avenue for individuals to be a voice for the voiceless and express what was going on around them. According to respondents that are skeptical of authorities because they witnessed friends get brutalized by law enforcement, one quotes, "It's not the stop [snitching] culture, but it is police

relations. In certain neighborhoods everyone does not have equal protection under the law so they are reluctant to deal with law enforcement even though they want and need the protection."

It is not a question whether crime reporting is the right thing to do, but a question of if it is the right thing to do for the individual. Urban book writer Donald Goines understood this urban situation too well. In his book, when a character was being interrogated by police concerning the murder of her son he says, "….[She]was going to live by the rules, the rules that protected her own people. Even if she understood that those rules were no longer acceptable, she would not break them" (Goines, 1976, p. 55).

Minority neighborhoods such as this that appear to be reluctant to cooperate with police create chronic societal stereotypical perceptions that portray them in a negative manner. Respondents that witnessed this type of behavior stated, "I personally feel that crime reporting in the media is biased and further perpetuates the stereotypes of minorities." This type of rationale causes non-inner city residents and non-minorities alike to view them through an aversive racist lens (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986), which makes the lack of crime-solving appear to be self-perpetuating. A significant amount of non-crime reporters surveyed do not want to report crime because they don't feel it's going to go anywhere. At least they want the person to be prosecuted, but who wants to tell anything if they don't think anything's going to come of it (Misjak, 2010)? Community participation is vital to combating crime. People help the police solve crimes because they feel it is in their family's best interest to do so, not because they feel they are deserving of their cooperation (Natapoff, 129, 2009).

Instead of blaming the obvious, misdirected media outlets are offering a crusade against hip hop culture. Many share the sentiment that "hip hop is the rattlesnake that bit off its own tail and then listened to the death rattle warning the head that it was swallowing its body" (Tate, 1999, p. 385). In essence, many believe it is responsible for its own detrimental fate and the demise of its initial positive purpose. Still, over 90% of hip hop fans admitted they will disclose a violent crime to the police if they witnessed one, so exclusively blaming rap lyrics for endorsing noncooperation is unfounded.

A lot of rap music supposedly tells what it means to be young and black. In the inner city, likewise, the more these youths are exposed to the lifestyles that are exemplified within rap lyrics, and to peer groups that embrace the lifestyles illustrated through this type of rap, the more young people will identify and conform to them in their personal environment. "While musicians and other celebrities play a crucial role in purveying and interpreting ideas, 'stop snitching' was not a rappers creation, nor will it disappear if musicians stop talking about it" (Natapoff, 2009, p. 137). Just like Ice-T declared that his song "Cop Killer" was not advocating murdering police officers, but expressing anger towards rogue cops brutalizing inner city minorities at-will (Stallworth, 1993), mainstream rap artists are not advocating non-cooperation with law enforcement officials reporting, but speaking up against what they coin as snitching. In the Clipse's (2009) song, *"There was a Murder,"* Malice and Pusher T reiterate,

> Those that break the code we dig them holes, what's worst than a street nigga that sells his soul, be it the life we chose we pick our roles, bad man stands and fall but never folds. Gangster turns informant when the gigs up, get the two mixed up….

Which means those that chose to partake in this criminal lifestyle must abide by its underground rules. This song has nothing to do with an innocent citizen reporting a crime, but informants that cooperate when their backs are against the wall. Such songs and events have elevated the public profile of the stop snitching phenomenon, which turns out to be complex, deep seated, and long-standing.

Many agree with the statement, "I think a lot of the youth think it is not cool to report a crime because then they are snitching and I believe that has a lot to do with certain rap artists putting that image out there." However, it must be emphasized that it did not begin with a rap song—nor will it end when stop snitching t-shirts go out of style and DVDs become obsolete. Upon close analysis, it was found that the Stop Fucking Snitching DVD that gained the attention of even the most illiterate pop culturalist was coined by the media as a witness intimidation DVD. To their error, this homemade production was totally geared towards police informants that were granted clemency for the violent crimes they committed (including murder) (Brown, 2007) in exchange for information about other local drug criminals. With the miseducation of hip hop's definition of snitching, it must be realized that stop snitching is simultaneously a criminal code of the street that stresses honor among thieves—"a reflection of widespread communal distrust of police, as well as more recently, a tool of intimidation against civilian witnesses" (Natapoff, 14, 2009). Criminal justice officials must peel back each layer to get to the core of the problem, which is non-cooperation.

Contrary to popular belief, some good has come out of the stop snitching movement. For example, the Stop Fuckin Snitching DVD has become a tool to convince state legislators to pay attention to inner city crime and strengthen penalties

against witness threats and intimidation (DOJ, 2008). More programs are also in the pipeline in many distressed areas. With cities like Flint, Michigan representing over one third of this study's sample and being ranked by the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) as the most violent city in the nation, they serve as ideal locations for research, pilot anti-crime initiatives, and police reform. Standard measures of improvement include bringing the appropriate ratio of police officers to match the population, or adjusting police numbers to match the population and the volume of calls a police department receives while considering the population to increase response time. More solutions such promoting trust, managing witnesses, protecting anonymity, active prosecution, and youth education are not new, but must be implemented if criminal justice officials expect citizens to fulfill their moral duty and report violent crimes. If officials refuse to go the extra mile to realistically work towards ensuring one's safety, they cannot realistically place such dangerous expectations on citizens.

Promoting trust by obtaining community buy-in is imperative for the police to do an effective job (Whitman & Davis, 2007). This can be achieved through establishing a rapport with citizens within their jurisdiction and assisting neighborhoods with community policing efforts. When contact is made with citizens, police should treat all residents—regardless of the area—with respect. That alone will encourage cooperation among the masses. In the height of poor police relations among inner city residents, citizens may feel abandoned and betrayed by those that took an oath to protect and serve. In turn, street justice may be encouraged and practiced by many, and citizens that involve police are frowned upon. Most importantly, with an emphasis on anti-bullying initiatives taking place across the

129

nation, the criminal justice system must realize witnesses should not be bullied to testify. Such forceful actions sever a community's confidence in future crime reporting. Many believe the police do just as much harm as they do well most times. If they could stop using some of the profiling and scare tactics that they use, and got back to doing police work and community building like they used to the people would think of them as part of the community, instead of the enemy.   This can be acquired by making it mandatory to spend more time with citizens and mandating police officers to treat the witnesses that are willing to cooperate with respect instead of curtailing their responses. This can be acquired by mandating more police field-training with specific emphasis on cultural competence and cognitive interview training (Kebbell & Milne, 1998) because there is a discrepancy between what is known and what works on the street versus in the criminal justice system, and many officers indicated that they do not have enough time to conduct good eye witness interviews (Kebbell & Milne, 1998).

In terms of managing witnesses, Whitman and Davis (2007) state, "No clear responsibility among police gang unit members, prosecutors, or victim advocates maintain regular contact with witnesses because they didn't think it was their responsibility" (Whitman & Davis, 2007). If witnesses have vital information that is pertinent to a case, they should be treated with care by a government appointed/sponsored agency for as long as needed. This care should include, but not be limited to, relocation services, mental health services and protection before, during, and after the trial. The alliance of potential crime reporters relies on a simple question asked by a respondent: Who is going to protect me? Current witness

protection is inadequate when people wish to retain ties with family and friends, therefore compromising safety.

Anonymity is frequently violated. A respondent quotes, "If the crime was serious enough, I would report it as long as anonymity was maintained." Protecting anonymity will definitely change the mind of the unsure crime reporters and probably sway many non-crime reporters to do the same. Initiatives such as Crime Stoppers provide an avenue where crime reporters can anonymously give information regarding a crime. Another form of crime reporting could be creating other avenues where reporters can report, such as by cellular phone, texting, or emailing. Some innovative methods are being used to combat the fear of coming forward to report crime. Although these methods appear to be anonymous, caller ID and other telephone tracking devices make one weary of participating; using the latest technology such as crime reporting by texting is also a known method to increase neighborhood safety. Internet-based crime watches are also being established in many communities. The key to success hinges on the community's ability to encourage high rates of neighborhood participation in both formal groups and voluntary associations (Sampson & Groves, 1989). The purposes of these groups are to inform citizens of criminal activity in their areas. Some neighborhoods have also started list-servs (E-Policing) whereby they communicate daily about general neighborhood news, ideas for staying safe, and localized criminal activity. E-Policing is a way of bringing community policing to the internet and enables newsletters, crime trends, and other important information to be accessible. Next, local citizens volunteer to listen to their area local police scanner and give detailed updates of the crime, location, and perpetrator by way of social media websites pages such as Flint

Police Operations (FPO) on Facebook. Finally, one of the most obvious yet simple methods is keeping witness names out of police reports and from privileged information that defense attorneys share with their clients (Whitman & Davis, 2007).

Youth education and community involvement are also ways to combat the miseducation of crime reporting, which is fueling the stop snitching issue. All of the qualitative responses about not reporting because they don't want to be a snitch came from those between 18-25 years of age. A respondent asserts, "The ones against 'snitching' that occur in some communities is a problem that should be the subject of public education efforts, and police outreach." Just like stop snitching is a learned behavior, undoing that ideology can be achieved as well. One step in that direction includes getting local citizens who the youth and young adults alike can relate to and respect is key to establishing effective police relations and mentorships. For example, former gang member and ex-convict Michael Veal has a valid reason to detest the police for the suspicious death of his brother. However, his goal is to work with at-risk community members so residents will be able to develop real relationships with police and play a role in violence prevention (Alhajal, 2011). Willing individuals such as Veal should be used as a resource instead of a recidivist in the making. Without these efforts, the entire community suffers. Clifford Smith, known in the hip hop world as Method Man states, "Kids are so caught up in the life, they don't see anything else for themselves" (*The Wire*, 2008). That is why it is vital to keep our expectations of them clear and consistent. Either it's okay for them to tell when they witness something bad or it is not. If parents tell their children not to be a tattle tale at a very young age, then that ideology may continue to spill over outside the home and into adulthood; and take affect when it really counts.

Lastly, active prosecution is a step towards remedying witness intimidation. It should be used more energetically so legal maneuvering to protect witnesses can be possible (Whitman & Davis, 2007). In an effort to subside witness tampering, the revocation of probation, parole, bail, and harsher sentences would assist in the effort to eliminate witness intimidation. This will allow the alleged criminal to think twice about having their thuggish counterparts intimidate and/or cause harm to potential witnesses or their family members and loved ones. Since witness visibility leads to intimidation, why don't witnesses give written statements to aid the prosecution? According to Fyfe and McKay this could prove controversial because admitting evidence in the absence of the witness denies the defendant the opportunity for cross examination and the right to face their accuser (2000, p. 686). Strides have been made to counter the terrorizing of witnesses, but it is quite obvious a lot of work remains to be done.

Hip hop artists are working towards solutions to do their part by enlightening young listeners on the reality of street politics. Nas, one of the few rap artists that openly talks about the state of hip hop in his lyrics, wrote an autobiographical letter to young people, addressing them as "young warriors," admonishing them to stop the senseless violence (Canada, 2009). This is an example of hip hop temporarily abandoning the Holy trinity of contemporary rap—broads, booze, and bling—and assuming responsibility to do its part to reach young people within the inner city (Dyson, 2007). Many call for rap artists to step up and clarify the confusion between crime reporting and snitching. It must be noted that this uphill battle does not go against their personal beliefs, but against the "tough macho" image of "handling one's own" that goes against what many package and sell to the public as a platinum

hip hop record. If actors do not have to denounce every negative character they portray on the big screen, the same is wondered by the hip hop artist. Although they are involuntarily idolized, their job isn't to serve as a role model, but to entertain.

A fundamental shift must take place in the way the police envision dealing with inner city residents. In the past, "We knew the police—they were not strangers to our community" (The Wire, 2008). That relationship has experienced a negative shift towards impersonality. According to a respondent, "[Non-Cooperation] is not the culture, but its police relations. In certain neighborhoods, everyone does not have equal protection under the law so they are reluctant to deal with law enforcement even though they want and need the protection." The "one size fits all" policing approach does not work for this economically and morally diverse group of residents that they must rely on in order to successfully complete their job. Police relations are paramount to building a rapport in inner city communities.

Columnist Andrew Heller said succinctly, "You can hire all the police in the world, and it won't make a difference until people collectively decide enough is enough" (Heller, 2011, p. A3). Well, enough is enough. With everyone acknowledging something must be done and untraditional stakeholders such as ex-convicts willing to lend a hand, it is obvious that the momentum is now. Unless this collective voice resonates in the ears of individuals that have the political capital to make a difference, it will be business as usual, as inner city residents continue to live in fear and die in vain. A quote from The Wire's Bunny Colvin holds true regarding research and policy makers, "If they listen, they listen, if they don't, it'll still make some great research. What we publish on this is going to get a lot of attention…from

other researcher's…academics?.......what? They are going to study your study?

When does this shit change?" I hope that is not the case for this study.

A respondent said, "Though I now live in a very safe neighborhood my values stayed the same. I grew up in a pretty rough and violent city, but stayed safe because me, and people around me fought hard to make it that way. We got into our bits of trouble, but we always made sure to keep an eye out for each other, our families, our neighbors and anyone else that happened to be around us. If people could just go back to not being scared because they knew that others had their backs people would probably report more crimes." Fear is a major factor in it all. Fear of retribution, fear of ridicule, and then the overriding fear of the police, because they do just as much harm as they do good most times. A respondent affirmed, "If they could stop using some of the profiling and scare tactics that they use, and got back to doing police work and community building like they used to, the people would think of them as part of the community, instead of the enemy." With the budget for police shrinking within urban areas and not cooperating with the police and unsolved crimes increasing, new and innovative ways to report crime and to protect witnesses must be on the horizon for all municipalities. Hopefully, research of this caliber will open up the conversation to incorporate new policy, especially in the community policing arena.

A major issue is when inner city residents take the neighbor out of the neighborhood. Without neighbors, these areas become an area of unconcerned and unconnected strangers that are exclusively absorbed with their own affairs.
In order to properly attack the stop snitching movement, citizens must renew their minds and become adamant in believing it is possible to make a difference.

Furthermore, crime reporting promotional campaigns should be spearheaded to reaffirm what snitching is and isn't. After all, many already have pre-conceived notions, so this will eliminate the mass false conclusion and attempt to provide a consensus. Unlike Wall street, inner city neighborhoods are already "occupied," but the residents must make it a point to unify and take their concerns to those that are in a position of power to initiate change. A fed up citizen voiced their concern by stating, "We can't let this stigma stick with us. We got to get serious about talking to families and loved ones and say, 'We can't be having this'. We can't be talking about change. We have to do the change" (In the Margins, 2010). Many are afraid for their jobs and livelihoods if they report wrongdoing in the workplace just like they are fearful for their lives and their family's lives if they report violent crimes. Personal Protection Orders and current witness protection programs do not truly protect people because too many of those that attempt to take a stand still end up hurt or one of the fallen in the name of "doing what is right." Until this is recognized and acted upon by influential political plenums, faith is restored in the penal system, and reporting a wrong doer to a higher authority is no longer frowned upon, mum will continue to be the word and the stop snitching legacy will continue to penetrate all layers of society.

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Appendix A

Participation Request Statement

Participation Request Statement

Dear Participant,

My name is Ladel Lewis and I am a Ph.D. Candidate at Western Michigan University. I am here to collect data on attitudes toward crime reporting. This research is part of the requirements for a doctoral degree in Sociology. If you are interested in participating in this 3-5 minute survey, please click on the link below to begin the brief survey. Because I want to hear YOUR unique and unbiased response, please work on YOUR individual survey and do not share your answers nor thoughts with peers.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and there is no penalty for not participating. This survey is totally confidential. No identifying information will appear on the questionnaire. If you have any questions about this study, please contact me, the student investigator at (269) 387-3600 or via email at ladel.lewis@wmich.edu. If any problems and/or concerns arise concerning this project, please notify Dr. Zoann Snyder at Western Michigan University at 1903 West Michigan Avenue, MS 5257, Kalamazoo MI 49008-5257; her phone number is 269-387-5278. You may also contact the Chair of the Western Michigan University Human Subjects Institutional Review Board at (269) 387-8293 or via email at hsirb@wmich.edu, or the Vice President for Research (269) 387-8298 if any questions or issues arise during the course of the study.

Remember, I am not interested in your personal crime history.

Thank you so much for your time,

Ladel Lewis

Yes,   I consent to participate in this study

No,   I DO NOT consent to participate in this study

<p style="text-align:center">Thank you for your participation!</p>

We have received all the responses we need at this time. If you have any questions about this study, please contact me, the student investigator at (269) 387-3600 or via email at ladel.lewis@wmich.edu. If any problems and/or concerns arise concerning this project, please notify Dr. Zoann Snyder at Western Michigan University at 1903 West Michigan Avenue, MS 5257, Kalamazoo MI 49008-5257; her phone number is 269-387-5278. You may also contact the Chair of the Western Michigan University Human Subjects Institutional Review Board at (269) 387-8293 or via email at hsirb@wmich.edu, or the Vice President for Research (269) 387-8298 if any questions or issues arise during the course of the study.

Thank you so much for your time,

Ladel Lewis
Ph.D. Candidate
Western Michigan University

Hello,

I am a doctoral student at Western Michigan University investigating attitudes towards crime reporting. I am seeking participation in my study.

The purpose of the study is to increase understanding of inner city attitudes towards crime reporting among citizens such as you. The current study will fill gaps in the literature on crime reporting and musical preference. Please repost this link to your Facebook homepage so your contacts will have the opportunity to participate in this study as well. Thanks a lot!

You may access the online survey from the following hyperlink:
http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/DNTN9BK

Best,

Ladel Lewis, M.A.
Zoann Snyder, Ph.D.
Sociology Program
Western Michigan University

Appendix B

Survey

1. Are you 18 years of age or older?   Yes   No (end of questionnaire)

2. What is your gender? (circle one)   Male   Female

3. What is your zip code? _____

4. What is your age?   _____

5. What race/ethnicity do you identify with? (circle the one you identify with most)

White   African American/Black   Latino/a   Asian   Other

6. What kind of music do you primarily listen to? (circle only one)

Rap   Rock & Roll/   R& B/   Other_____
(Hip hop)   Heavy Metal   Pop

7. What is the name of your favorite artist?_____

8. Do you personally relate to the lyrics of artists from your above choice?   Yes   No

9. If so, how?_____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

10. What statements best describe your musical preference.

    I purchase this type of music   Yes   No

    I listen to this type of music at least
    once a day   Yes   No

    I listen to this type of music at least once
    a week   Yes   No

    I attend concerts of this music type   Yes   No

    I watch music videos of this music type Yes   No

11. Have you **ever** witnessed a violent crime (e.g. murder, someone getting beat up or someone getting robbed? (circle one)

                                             Yes   No (if no go to question **11b)**

    11a. If yes, did you report the incident to the police? (circle one)

                                             Yes   No

    11b. Would you report a violent crime if you witnessed one in the future?
    (circle one)

	Yes	No	Unsure

12. Explain your answer from question 10b.
_____
_____
_____
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_____

13. What statements best describe your attitudes towards crime reporting.

	Yes	No
I would report the incident to police if I witness a violent crime against a child	Yes	No
I would report the incident to police if I witness a violent crime against an innocent victim	Yes	No
I would report the incident to police if I witness a violent crime against a friend	Yes	No
I would report the incident to police if I witness a violent crime against an immediate family member (example: mother or father)	Yes	No
I would report the incident to police if I witness a violent crime against an extended family member (example: cousin or uncle)	Yes	No
I would report the incident to police if I am the victim of a violent crime	Yes	No

14. Outside of receiving a traffic citation, have you ever had a negative experience with the police?

	Yes	No

15. Are gangs a problem in your neighborhood?

	Yes	No

16. What statements best describe your neighborhood

		Yes	No
a.	Crime and/or drug selling	Yes	No
b.	Fights	Yes	No
c.	Neighbors help each other out	Yes	No
d.	Lots of empty/abandoned buildings	Yes	No
e.	People work together to solve problems	Yes	No

156

f.	Lot's of graffiti	Yes	No
g.	Gang Activity	Yes	No
h.	I feel safe in my neighborhood	Yes	No

17. Is there anything else you would like to say about crime reporting?

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Appendix C

Coding Methodology

Coding Methodology

All data was transformed from Survey Monkey into an Excel format. From there it was processed into the SPSS database using relative identifiable codes. For example, the first question asks for consent to proceed with the study. This question was coded into SPSS as "Consent". Each participant's response will be put into the database using the corresponding number on the survey in order to keep accurate records of all anonymous participants. The issue of multiple responses will be eliminated because Survey Monkey does not allow respondents to answer more than one response unless prompted by the researcher. Item non-response will not be detrimental to the study because the survey will be set to not move forward unless the item is answered. Qualitative information will be categorized using Microsoft Excel and quoted in relevant context throughout the results and conclusion sections of the paper. If the relationship between those variables is statistically significantly at the .05 level, then there is a 95% chance that the relationship was not caused by random choice.

Consent to participate was measured directly by asking the respondent if they consent to the survey protocol. If the respondent refused to participate, they were immediately taken to the end of the survey which thanked them for their time and promptly ended the survey. Willing respondents went on to the next question unless they chose to cancel the survey by clicking on the red "X" in the corner of the page.

According to HSIRB protocol respondents must be eighteen years old or older to participate. Eligible participants were deciphered by asking if they were eighteen or older. When a "Yes" was selected, they went forward with the survey. If no was

selected, they were taken to the end of the survey which thanked them for their time and promptly ended the survey. It was observed that a 12 year old untruthfully consented to participate in the study as well as professed they were eighteen years old or over. However, their true age was revealed in the demographic section, where they were removed.

Age

Age was coded using two separate methods. The first method consisted of grouping all of the ages to obtain the mode and average of the sample. Next, all ages were categorized into four separate categories; eighteen- 25 years old (labeled as zero in SPSS), 26-35 year olds (labeled as one in SPSS), 36-45 year olds (labeled as two in SPSS) and ages Over 45 are labeled with a three. Since some respondents did not answer numerically, they were still able to be grouped together while maintaining a fairly equal distribution of ages to include all participants. Responses that were entered as "31 years old", Almost 54" and "Over 50" were recoded and categorized in their respective categories. Out of 485 valid respondents, the average age is 33 years old, with a mode of 31 years old. The age parameters were reorganized into five separate groups. The eighteen to 25 year old group has 92 respondents, 26 to 35 year olds has 259 respondents, 36 to 45 year olds have 74 respondents, and individuals Over 45 year old had 59 respondents.

Gender

Gender was categorized by differentiating between males and females. Males were coded into SPSS as the reference group using the number zero and females were represented using the number one. It should be noted that of the 472 valid respondents, females make up over 64% of the respondents.

160

Zipcode

The Census Regions and Divisions of the United States breakdown of the United States are widely used for data collection and analysis. As defined by the United States Census Bureau, the United States is divided into four geographic regions. The regions were reduced to four categories to show the Northeast, the West, the South and the Midwest are the four different areas. These regions are also separated into subareas. For the sake of this research, I will not divulge into detail about the subareas. Zip Codes are divided and reported by three separate categories-individual zip codes, states and their regional geographical areas. The state of the zip code was obtained by typing the zip code into www.Google.com. The region was determined by logging onto (www.census.gov) and categorizing the states into their respective region. The Midwestern United States also known as the "Midwest", is composed of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Nebraska. This region was labeled 0 in SPSS because it possessed the most respondents and will be used as the reference region. The Northeastern United States also known as the "Northeast" is a region comprised of nine states: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. This region was labeled with the numeral three in SPSS. The western United States includes thirteen states is known as the "West" and is represented with a one. It is composed of Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico Oregon, Utah, Washington (state), and Wyoming. The last region is the Southern Region also known as the "South" and is represented with a two. This region includes Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Mississippi,

Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and Washington D.C. Zip codes are coded two ways. First, they are broken state (e.g. 48503= Flint, Michigan), then categorized by geographic location (Midwest, south, west, northeast). Geographic location is determined by utilizing the United States Census Bureau's demographic map.

Race

The variable 'race' was separated into five separate groups. African Americans are the reference group (coded with a zero), whites are coded with the number one, Latinos are coded with the number two, Asians are coded with the number three and other races are coded into SPSS with the number four

Musical Preference

The next set of questions deals with how connected respondents are to their music of choice. Questions about "Relating to Lyrics", "Purchasing", "Frequency of Listening", "Concert Attendance", and Video Viewership were coded with 0=No and 1=Yes.

Musical Preference is placed into four primary categories (Hip hop=0; Rock/Heavy Metal=1; R&B/Pop =2; Other=3). Favorite artist is also broken down qualitatively and quantitatively. It's important to cross tabulate this data in quantitative form because it will show potential correlations we otherwise would not receive. They were separated by individual artists then grouped by genre. For example, Mary J Blige qualitatively had the most votes for overall favorite artist, and was quantitatively grouped in the R&B/Pop Category. The quantitative is identical to the "music preference" coding (Hip hop=0; Rock/Heavy Metal=1;

R&B/Pop =2; Other=3) with the exception of the Not applicable (N/A) category. Respondents were placed in the N/A category when the specifically specified they didn't have a favorite artist. Individuals that fall into this category did not choose a preference and are labeled with a four. It was important to retain and compare the two variables because coding and comparing them may yield different results. Furthermore, musical preference was already given in the previous question, but a significant amount of respondent's favorite artist varied from their respective music genre. I looked up unfamiliar artists and their respective genre on the search engine "Google", where I was directed to the artist's Wilkipedia page where their genre categorization can be found. The information was verified using Amazon.com

When 'favorite artists' are taken into account (n=480), this category was analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Qualitative facts are extracted and used throughout various sections of the research. In terms of artists, overall, Beyonce and Mary J Blige leads the R&B pop section with Jill Scott and Alicia Keys coming in a close third and fourth place. Although male artists did not receive as many individual votes as all the above mentioned female artists, Usher, Stevie Wonder, Michael Jackson, Prince and Luther Vandross all tied with equal votes a piece. Gospel rap artists such as LaCrae and Canton Jones are coded under hip hop because it is a form of hip hop. Jay-Z and Tupac leads all hip hop artists. Crossover performers like Lauryn Hill (L-Boogie) was placed in the Hip hop category because of her membership with the late 1990's rap group the Refugees, and because of her blend of R&B and hip hop tracks on her lone solo album titled *The Miseducation of Lauryn Hill*. The rock category includes representation from American, Folk, English and Alternative Rock.

163

Violent Crime

The next set of variables dealing with crime reporting was analyzed in a similar fashion. Questions regarding witnessing violent crime and reporting violent crime were analyzed with "No" serving as the reference group (0) and "Yes"=1.

The rationale for reporting or non-reporting (n=463) originated with thirteen categories that were collapsed into 6 distinctive categories; Depends, Right thing/Civic Duty/Not afraid, Bad Experience with Police or the Criminal Justice System, Mind your business, Reciprocity and Scared. If a respondent gave more than one response per question, the first answered was used. For example, if a respondent replied, "I would want someone to do the same for me". That response was coded "1", in the yes category.

Neighborhood

Questions regarding negative experiences with the police and neighborhood characteristics were quantitatively coded with zero serving as the reference group (equaling 0) and one equaling yes.

Concluding Thoughts

The last item on the questionnaire allows respondents to voice any concerns or thoughts that may have surfaced during the survey whether it's in the form of a question or comment. The themes are qualitatively coded and direct quotes are used to supplement variables and thoughts throughout the paper. Of 302 respondents, 123 (40.7%) of them did not have final remarks and replied either "no, no thank you or N/A. The responses were coded similar to the above qualitative question by collapsing variables into the following categories Depends (depends on the situation), Scared (fear for the safety of self and loved ones), It's Important to Crime Report, and

Safe Neighborhood (Currently, respondents are unconcerned with crime in their area).

Media Bias, Stop Snitching Attitudes, Raising Kids Right and Issues with Criminal

Justice System are also major themes within this category. The last theme deals with

problems with the criminal justice system. This ranges from initial contact with

police officers all the way down to the incarceration in the penitentiary. Many feel it

is the police's duty to reside in the area where they are employed, protect witnesses,

and emphasized positive community relations.

Appendix D

Cross Tabulations

Gender by Musical Preference

		Musical Preference				Total
		Hip hop/Rap	Rock/Heavy Metal	R&B/Pop	Other	
Gender	Male	71	8	46	43	168
	Female	45	5	162	84	296
Total		116	13	208	127	464

$X^2 = 53.185$, d.f. $= 3$, p $= .01$

Gender by Genre of Favorite Artist

				Genre of Favorite Artist			Total
		Hip hop	Rock/Heavy Metal	R&B/Pop	Other	None	
Gender	Male	66	10	54	34	4	169
	Female	32	8	174	62	18	296
Total		100	18	228	96	22	464

$X^2 = 59.948$, d.f. $= 4$, p $= .000$

Gender by Witnessed Violent Crime

		Witnessed Violent Crime		
		No	Yes	Total
Gender	Male	61	104	165
	Female	172	121	293
Total		233	225	458

$X^2 = 19.950$, d.f. $= 1$, p $= .000$

Gender by Reported To Police

		Reported To Police		
		No	Yes	Total
Gender	Male	68	36	104
	Female	58	62	120
Total		126	98	224

$X^2 = 6.582$, d.f. $= 1$, p $= .010$

Gender by Will Report In the Future

		Will Report in the Future			
		No	Yes	Unsure	Total
Gender	Male	10	113	41	164
	Female	10	243	39	292
Total		20	356	80	456

$X^2 = 12.584$, d.f. = 2, p =.002

Gender by Violence Against Friend

		Violence Against Friend		
		No	Yes	Total
Gender	Male	9	149	158
	Female	6	277	283
Total		15	426	441

$X^2 = 3.946$, d.f. = 1, p =.047

Gender by Violence Against Immediately family

		Violence Against Immediately Family		
		No	Yes	Total
Gender	Male	8	151	159
	Female	0	286	286
Total		8	437	445

$X^2 = 14.643$, d.f. = 1, p =.000

Gender by Violence Against Extended Family

		Violence Against Extended Family		
		No	Yes	Total
Gender	Male	8	151	159
	Female	1	282	283
Total		9	433	442

$X^2 = 11.169$, d.f. = 1, p =.001

Gender by Violence Against Self

		Violence Against Self		
		No	Yes	Total
Gender	Male	15	141	156
	Female	5	276	281
Total		20	417	437

$X^2 = 14.104$, d.f. = 1, p =.000

Gender by Negative Experience With Police

		Negative Experience With Police		
		No	Yes	Total
Gender	Male	66	96	162
	Female	203	85	288
Total		269	181	450

$X^2 = 38.153$, d.f. = 1, p =.000

Gender by Crime & Drugs

		Crime & Drugs		
		No	Yes	Total
Gender	Male	88	66	154
	Female	191	84	275
Total		279	150	429

$X^2 = 6.580$, d.f. = 1, p =.010

Gender by Neighborhood Fights

		Neighborhood Fights		
		No	Yes	Total
Gender	Male	106	48	154
	Female	216	56	272
Total		322	104	426

$X^2 = 5.965$, d.f. = 1, p =.015

Gender by Graffiti

		Graffiti		
		No	Yes	Total
Gender	Male	127	24	151
	Female	246	25	271
Total		373	49	422

$X^2 = 4.202$, d.f. = 1, p =.040

Zipcode

Zip Code by Age

		Age				Total
		18-25	26-35	36-45	Over 45	
ZipCode	Midwest	79	188	48	43	358
	Northeast	0	10	3	1	14
	South	8	51	22	13	94
	West	1	4	0	2	7
Total		88	253	73	59	473

$X^2 = 19.264$, d.f. $= 9$, $p = .023$

Zip Code by Race

		Race					Total
		Black	White	Latino	Asian	Other	Total
ZipCode	Midwest	291	43	16	0	8	358
	Northeast	12	0	0	2	0	14
	South	83	4	2	3	2	94
	West	6	1	0	0	0	7
Total		392	48	18	5	10	473

$X^2 = 39.907$, d.f. $= 12$, $p = .023$

Zip Code by Listen Once a Day

		Listen Once a Day		Total
Zip Code		No	Yes	
	Midwest	37	281	318
	West	1	11	12
	South	13	75	88
	Northeast	6	1	7
Total		392	48	425

$X^2 = 13.109$, d.f. $= 3$, $p = .004$

Zip Code by Listen Once a Week

Zip Code	Listen Once a Week		Total
	No	Yes	
Midwest	15	303	318
West	0	14	14
South	1	86	87
Northeast	2	4	6
Total	18	407	425

$X^2 = 15.369$, d.f. = 3, p = .002

Zip Code by Watch Music Videos

Zip Code	Watch Music Videos		Total
	No	Yes	
Midwest	111	209	320
West	6	7	13
South	18	70	88
Northeast	4	3	7
Total	139	289	428

$X^2 = 9.564$ d.f. = 3, p = .023

Zip Code by Violence Against Immediate Family

Zip Code	V. Against Immediate Family		Total
	No	Yes	
Midwest	7	332	339
West	0	13	13
South	0	88	88
Northeast	1	6	7
Total	8	439	447

$X^2 = 8.205$, d.f. = 3, p = .042

Zip Code by Negative Experience w/Police

		Negative Experience w/Police		Total
Zip Code		No	Yes	
	Midwest	218	127	345
	West	5	8	13
	South	48	40	88
	Northeast	2	5	7
Total		273	180	453

$X^2 = 7.951$, d.f. $= 3$, p $= .047$

Zip Code by Gangs in Hood

		Gangs in Hood		Total
Zip Code		No	Yes	
	Midwest	275	68	343
	West	11	2	13
	South	82	5	87
	Northeast	6	1	7
Total		374	76	450

$X^2 = 9.856$, d.f. $= 3$, p $= .020$

Zip Code by Crime & Drugs

		Crime & Drugs		Total
Zip Code		No	Yes	
	Midwest	200	129	329
	West	12	1	13
	South	69	15	84
	Northeast	2	5	7
Total		283	150	433

$X^2 = 21.838$, d.f. $= 3$, p $= .000$

Zip Code by Neighborhoods fights

	Neighborhood Fights		Total
Zip Code	No	Yes	
Midwest	240	87	327
West	10	2	12
South	75	8	83
Northeast	4	3	7
Total	329	100	429

$X^2 = 12.457$, d.f. = 3, p = .006

Zip Code by Neighborhood HELP

	Neighborhood Help		Total
Zip Code	No	Yes	
Midwest	103	229	322
West	8	5	13
South	19	67	86
Northeast	1	6	7
Total	131	307	438

$X^2 = 9.722$, d.f. = 3, p = .021

Zip Code by Abandoned Buildings

	Abandoned Buildings		Total
Zip Code	No	Yes	
Midwest	257	69	326
West	12	1	13
South	80	4	84
Northeast	5	1	6
Total	131	75	429

$X^2 = 13.354$, d.f. = 3, p = .004

Zip Code by Gang Activity

	Gang Activity		Total
Zip Code	No	Yes	
Midwest	264	63	327
West	11	2	13
South	78	5	83
Northeast	6	0	6
Total	359	70	429

$X^2 = 9.701$, d.f. = 3, p = .021

Zip Code by Feel Safe in Hood

	Safe in Hood		Total
Zip Code	No	Yes	
Midwest	54	278	332
West	1	12	13
South	6	81	87
Northeast	3	4	7
Total	64	375	439

$X^2 = 9.871$, d.f. = 3, p = .020

Age:

Age by Race

	Race					Total
Age	Black	White	Latino	Asian	Other	Total
18-25	81	3	5	1	2	92
26-35	217	18	13	4	6	258
36-45	62	9	0	1	1	73
Over 45	39	19	0	0	1	59
Total	399	49	18	6	10	482

$X^2 = 45.875$, d.f. = 12, p = .000

Age by Musical Preference

	Musical Preference				
Age	Hip Hop	Rock/HM	R&B/Pop	Other	Total
18-25	38	2	37	14	91
26-35	61	5	120	71	257
36-45	14	3	31	24	72
Over 45	3	3	25	26	57
Total	116	13	213	135	477

$X^2 = 35.894$, d.f. = 9, p = .000

Age by Favorite Artist Genre

	Favorite Artist Genre					
Age	Hip Hop	Rock/HM	R&B/Pop	Other	None	Total
18-25	32	0	39	10	10	91
26-35	56	7	137	48	9	257
36-45	11	4	37	18	2	72
Over 45	2	7	20	25	3	57
Total	101	18	233	101	24	477

$X^2 = 65.697$, d.f. = 12, p = .000

Age by Purchase this Music

	Purchase this Music		
Age	No	Yes	Total
18-25	22	64	86
26-35	27	218	245
36-45	5	62	67
Over 45	4	50	54
Total	58	394	452

$X^2 = 16.364$, d.f. = 3, p = .001

Age by Listen Once a Day

	Listen Once a Day		
Age	No	Yes	Title
18-25	6	81	87
26-35	26	203	229
36-45	11	55	66
Over 45	14	37	51
Total	57	376	452

$X^2 = 13.461$, d.f. $= 3$, p $= .004$

Age by Attend Concerts

	Attend Concerts		
Age	No	Yes	Total
18-25	41	43	84
26-35	83	148	231
36-45	28	37	65
Over 45	16	36	52
Total	168	264	432

$X^2 = 6.252$, d.f. $= 3$, p $= .100$

Age by Witnessed Violent Crime

	Witnessed Violent Crime		
Age	No	Yes	Title
18-25	39	52	91
26-35	129	123	252
36-45	36	35	71
Over 45	38	19	57
Total	242	292	471

$X^2 = 7.995$, d.f. $= 3$, p $= .046$

Age by Reported To Police

	Reported to Police		
Age	No	Yes	Total
18-25	40	12	52
26-35	64	58	122
36-45	16	19	35
Over 45	9	10	19
Total	129	99	228

$X^2 = 11.941$, d.f. = 3, p = .008

Age by Will Report In Future

	Will Report In Future			
Age	No	Yes	Unsure	Total
18-25	10	68	13	91
26-35	8	183	59	250
36-45	2	64	5	71
Over 45	0	52	5	57
Total	20	367	82	469

$X^2 = 29.345$, d.f. = 6, p = .000

Age by Gangs in Hood

	Gangs in Hood		
Age	No	Yes	Total
18-25	62	28	90
26-35	209	33	242
36-45	63	7	70
Over 45	46	11	57
Total	380	79	459

$X^2 = 17.103$, d.f. = 3, p = .001

Age by Neighborhood Fights

	Neighborhood Fights		
Age	No	Yes	Total
18-25	54	34	88
26-35	185	48	233
36-45	52	15	67
Over 45	42	7	49
Total	333	104	437

$X^2 = 14.516$, d.f. = 3, p = .002

Age by Neighbors Help

	Neighbors Help		
Age	No	Yes	Total
18-25	35	53	88
26-35	73	164	237
36-45	19	47	66
Over 45	7	48	55
Total	134	312	446

$X^2 = 11.924$, d.f. = 3, p = .008

Age by Solve Problems Together

	Reported to Police		
Age	No	Yes	Total
18-25	45	44	89
26-35	111	119	230
36-45	32	33	65
Over 45	9	42	51
Total	197	238	435

$X^2 = 17.953$, d.f. = 3, p = .000

Age by Gang Activity

	Gang Activity		
Age	No	Yes	Title
18-25	63	26	89
26-35	200	34	234
36-45	60	6	66
Over 45	40	8	48
Total	363	74	437

$X^2 = 13.391$, d.f. $= 3$, $p = .004$

Race:

Table *** Race by Music Preference

	Music Preference				Total
Race	Hip Hop	Rock/Heavy Metal	R&B/Pop	Other	
Black	106	2	184	104	396
White	3	10	16	18	47
Latino	2	0	7	9	18
Asian	0	1	4	1	6
Other	5	0	2	135	10
Total	116	13	213	135	477

$X^2 = 93.366$, d.f. $= 12$, $p = .000$

Table *** Race by Favorite Artist Genre

	Music Preference					Total
Race	Hip Hop	Rock/Heavy Metal	R&B/Pop	Other	N/A	
Black	89	1	207	79	20	396
White	2	16	15	13	1	47
Latino	4	0	6	5	3	18
Asian	1	1	3	1	0	6
Other	5	0	2	3	0	10
Total	116	18	233	101	24	477

$X^2 = 156.234$, d.f. $= 16$, $p = .000$

Table *** Race by Listen Once a Day

	Listen Once a Day		
Race	No	Yes	Total
Black	41	329	362
White	11	29	40
Latino	1	16	17
Asian	1	3	4
Other	3	7	10
Total	57	376	433

X^2 = 12.020, d.f. = 16, p = .017

Table *** Race by Watch Music Videos

	Watch Music Videos		
Race	No	Yes	Total
Black	117	246	363
White	20	22	42
Latino	1	16	17
Asian	2	3	5
Other	2	7	9
Total	142	294	436

X^2 = 10.428, d.f. = 4, p =.034

Table *** Race by Witnessed Violent Crime

	Witnessed Violent Crime		
Race	No	Yes	Total
Black	189	204	393
White	32	14	46
Latino	12	5	17
Asian	4	1	5
Other	5	5	10
Total	242	229	471

X^2 = 11.949, d.f. = 4, p = .018

Table *** Race by Neighborhood fights

	Neighborhood Fights		
Race	No	Yes	Total
Black	274	90	364
White	39	3	42
Latino	12	4	16
Asian	3	2	5
Other	5	5	10
Total	333	104	437

$X^2 = 11.119$, d.f. $= 4$, p $=.025$

Race by Helpful Neighbors

	Helpful Neighbors		
Race	No	Yes	Total
Black	115	257	372
White	6	38	44
Latino	9	6	15
Asian	2	3	5
Other	2	8	10
Total	134	312	446

$X^2 = 12.890$, d.f. $= 4$, p $=.012$

Music Preference

Music Preference by Favorite Artist Genre

	Favorite Genre					Total
Music Preference	Hip Hop/Rap	Rock/Heavy Metal	R&B/Pop	Other	N/A	Total
Hip hop	78	2	27	2	7	116
Rock/Heavy Metal	1	11	1	0	0	13
R&B/Pop	16	1	182	6	8	213
Other	6	4	23	93	9	135
Total	101	18	233	101	24	477

$X^2 = 698.069$, d.f. $= 12$, p $= .000$

Music Preference by Listen Once a Day

	Listen Once a Day		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	8	105	113
Rock/Heavy Metal	3	8	11
R&B/Pop	23	166	189
Other	23	97	120
Total	57	376	433

X^2 = 9.521, d.f. = 3, p =.023

Music Preference by Watch Music Videos

	Watch Music Videos		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	29	94	113
Rock/Heavy Metal	9	3	12
R&B/Pop	56	135	191
Other	48	72	120
Total	142	294	436

X^2 = 16.227, d.f. = 3, p =.001

Music Preference by Witnessed Violent Crime

	Witnessed Violent Crime		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	33	83	116
Rock/Heavy Metal	8	4	12
R&B/Pop	126	86	212
Other	75	56	131
Total91	242	229	471

X^2 = 32.854, d.f. = 3, p =.000

Music Preference by Reported To Police

	Reported To Police		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	58	25	83
Rock/Heavy Metal	2	2	4
R&B/Pop	35	50	85
Other	34	22	56
Total	129	99	228

X^2 = 14.645, d.f. = 3, p =.002

Music Preference by Will Report in Future

	Will Report in Future			Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	Unsure	
Hip Hop/Rap	12	75	28	115
Rock/Heavy Metal	1	11	0	12
R&B/Pop	7	176	28	211
Other	0	105	26	131
Total	20	367	82	469

$X^2 = 28.073$, d.f. = 6, p =.000

Music Preference by Violence Against Innocent Victim

	Violence Against Innocent Victim		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	13	99	112
Rock/Heavy Metal	0	11	11
R&B/Pop	5	197	202
Other	3	126	129
Total	21	433	454

$X^2 = 16.572$, d.f. = 3, p =.001

Music Preference by Violence Against Friend

	Violence Against Friend		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	10	102	112
Rock/Heavy Metal	1	10	11
R&B/Pop	3	199	202
Other	1	127	128
Total	15	438	453

$X^2 = 16.849$, d.f. = 3, p =.001

Music Preference by Violence Against Immediate Family

	Immediate Family		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	6	106	112
Rock/Heavy Metal	0	11	11
R&B/Pop	0	205	205
Other	2	126	128
Total91	8	448	456

$X^2 = 12.319$, d.f. = 3, p =.006

Music Preference by Violence Against Self

	Violence Against Self		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	16	96	112
Rock/Heavy Metal	0	10	10
R&B/Pop	3	197	200
Other	1	126	127
Total91	20	429	449

$X^2 = 34.017$, d.f. = 3, p =.000

Music Preference by Neg. Exp w/Police

	Neg Exp w/Police		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	50	64	114
Rock/Heavy Metal	6	5	11
R&B/Pop	137	69	206
Other	86	45	131
Total	279	183	462

$X^2 = 17.914$, d.f. = 3, p =.000

Music Preference by Crime & Drugs

	Crime & Drugs		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	55	57	112
Rock/Heavy Metal	9	2	11
R&B/Pop	133	59	192
Other	89	36	125
Total	286	154	440

$X^2 = 17.454$, d.f. = 3, p =.001

Music Preference by Neighborhood Fights

	Hood Fights		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	71	40	111
Rock/Heavy Metal	9	2	11
R&B/Pop	161	42	193
Other	102	20	122
Total	333	104	437

$X^2 = 13.488$, d.f. = 3, p =.004

Music Preference by Neighbors Help

	Neighbors Help		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	43	68	111
Rock/Heavy Metal	0	11	11
R&B/Pop	61	137	205
Other	30	96	198
Total	134	312	126

$X^2 = 11.102$, d.f. = 3, p =.011

Music Preference by Graffiti

	Graffiti		Total
Music Preference	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	89	21	110
Rock/Heavy Metal	10	1	11
R&B/Pop	174	18	192
Other	111	9	120
Total	384	49	433

$X^2 = 9.142$, d.f. = 3, p =.027

Favorite Artist Genre
    Favorite Artist Genre by Relate to Lyrics

	Relate to Lyrics		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	29	72	101
Rock/Heavy Metal	3	15	18
R&B/Pop	31	200	231
Other	17	84	101
N/A	11	12	23
Total	91	383	474

$X^2 = 23.456$, d.f. = 4, p = .000

Favorite Artist Genre by Purchase Music

	Purchase Music		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	22	76	98
Rock/Heavy Metal	0	17	17
R&B/Pop	18	203	221
Other	8	87	95
N/A	10	14	21
Total	58	394	452

$X^2 = 39.319$, d.f. = 4, p = .000

Favorite Artist Genre by Watch Music Videos

	Relate to Lyrics		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	29	68	97
Rock/Heavy Metal	10	7	17
R&B/Pop	58	152	210
Other	33	57	90
N/A	12	10	22
Total	142	294	436

$X^2 = 13.520$, d.f. $= 4$, p $=.009$

Favorite Artist Genre by Witnessed Violent Crime

	Witnessed Violent Crime		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	30	70	100
Rock/Heavy Metal	13	4	17
R&B/Pop	129	103	232
Other	59	41	100
N/A	11	11	22
Total	242	229	471

$X^2 = 26.580$, d.f. $= 4$, p $=.000$

Favorite Artist Genre by Reported To Police

	Reported to Police		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	53	17	70
Rock/Heavy Metal	1	3	4
R&B/Pop	44	58	102
Other	23	18	41
N/A	8	3	11
Total	129	99	228

$X^2 = 20.730$, d.f. $= 4$, p $=.000$

Favorite Artist Genre by Will Report Future Crime

	Future Crime			Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	Unsure	
Hip Hop/Rap	9	64	26	99
Rock/Heavy Metal	1	16	0	17
R&B/Pop	8	188	35	231
Other	0	83	17	100
N/A	2	16	4	22
Total	20	367	82	469

$X^2 = 22.953$, d.f. $= 4$, p $=.003$

Favorite Artist Genre by Violence Against Innocent Victim

	Violence Against Innocent Victim		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	12	85	97
Rock/Heavy Metal	0	16	16
R&B/Pop	6	216	222
Other	1	97	98
N/A	2	19	21
Total	21	433	454

$X^2 =19.857$, d.f. = 4, p =.001

Favorite Artist Genre by Violence Against Friend

	Violence Against Friend		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	9	87	96
Rock/Heavy Metal	0	16	16
R&B/Pop	3	219	222
Other	2	96	98
N/A	1	20	21
Total	15	438	453

$X^2 =14.869$, d.f. = 4, p =.005

Favorite Artist Genre by Violence Against Immediately Family

	Violence Against Innocent Victim		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	5	92	97
Rock/Heavy Metal	0	16	16
R&B/Pop	0	223	223
Other	1	98	99
N/A	2	19	21
Total	8	448	456

$X^2 = 18.447$, d.f. = 8, p = .001

Favorite Artist Genre by Violence Against Extended Family

	Violence Against Extended Family		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	7	90	97
Rock/Heavy Metal	0	16	16
R&B/Pop	0	222	222
Other	0	99	99
N/A	2	18	20
Total	9	445	454

$X^2 = 27.109$, d.f. = 8, p = .000

Favorite Artist Genre by Violence Against Self

	V. Against Self		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	14	83	97
Rock/Heavy Metal	0	15	15
R&B/Pop	4	216	220
Other	0	98	98
N/A	2	17	19
Total	30	429	449

$X^2 = 33.201$, d.f. $= 4$, p $=.000$

Favorite Artist Genre by Negative Experience With Police

	Exp W/Police		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	43	56	99
Rock/Heavy Metal	11	5	16
R&B/Pop	143	83	226
Other	68	32	100
N/A	14	7	21
Total	279	183	462

$X^2 = 15.919$, d.f. $= 4$, p $=.003$

Favorite Artist Genre by Crime & Drugs

	Crime & Drugs		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	51	45	96
Rock/Heavy Metal	11	5	16
R&B/Pop	144	70	214
Other	69	25	94
N/A	11	9	20
Total	286	154	440

$X^2 = 10.340$, d.f. = 4, p =.035

Favorite Artist Genre by neighborhood Fights

	Hood Fights		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	60	34	94
Rock/Heavy Metal	14	2	16
R&B/Pop	166	49	215
Other	78	14	92
N/A	15	5	20
Total	333	104	437

$X^2 = 12.932$, d.f. = 4, p =.012

Favorite Artist Genre by Neighbors Help

	Neighbors Help		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	39	56	95
Rock/Heavy Metal	0	16	16
R&B/Pop	63	156	219
Other	23	73	96
N/A	9	11	20
Total	134	312	446

$X^2 = 16.339$, d.f. = 4, p =.003

Favorite Artist Genre by People Solve Problems Together

	Solve Problems		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	54	41	95
Rock/Heavy Metal	4	12	16
R&B/Pop	94	120	214
Other	34	58	98
N/A	11	7	18
Total	197	238	435

$X^2 = 12.333$, d.f. = 4, p =.015

Favorite Artist Genre by People Solve Problems Together

	People Solve Problems Together		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	54	41	95
Rock/Heavy Metal	4	12	16
R&B/Pop	94	120	214
Other	34	58	92
N/A	11	7	18
Total	197	238	435

X^2 = 12.333, d.f. = 4, p =.015

Favorite Artist Genre by Graffiti

	Graffiti		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	74	20	94
Rock/Heavy Metal	14	2	16
R&B/Pop	195	18	213
Other	84	7	91
N/A	17	2	19
Total	384	49	433

X^2 = 12.260, d.f. = 4, p =.016

Favorite Artist Genre by Graffiti

	Graffiti		Total
Favorite Artist Genre	No	Yes	
Hip Hop/Rap	74	20	94
Rock/Heavy Metal	14	2	16
R&B/Pop	195	18	213
Other	84	7	91
N/A	17	2	19
Total	384	49	433

X² = 12.260, d.f. = 4, p =.016

Relate to Lyrics

Relate to Lyrics by Purchase This Music

		Purchase Music		Total
		No	Yes	
Relate to Lyrics	No	24	65	89
	Yes	34	326	360
Total		58	391	449

X² = 19.476, d.f. = 1, p =.000

Relate to Lyrics by Listen Once a Day

		Listen Daily		Total
		No	Yes	
Relate to Lyrics	No	18	65	83
	Yes	39	308	347
Total		57	373	430

X² = 6.358, d.f. = 1, p =.012

Relate to Lyrics by Attend Concerts

		Attend Concerts		Total
		No	Yes	
Relate to Lyrics	No	24	65	89
	Yes	34	326	360
Total		58	391	449

X² = 30.579, d.f. = 1, p = .000

Relate to Lyrics by Watch Music Videos

		Watch Videos		Total
		No	Yes	
Relate to Lyrics	No	42	46	88
	Yes	100	246	346
Total		142	292	434

X^2 = 11.295, d.f. = 1, p =.001

Relate to Lyrics by Witness Violent Crime

		Witness Crime		Total
		No	Yes	
Relate to Lyrics	No	59	31	90
	Yes	181	197	378
Total		240	228	468

X^2 = 9.087, d.f. = 1, p =.003

Relate to Lyrics by Gangs in Hood

		Neighborhood Gangs		Total
		No	Yes	
Relate to Lyrics	No	79	9	88
	Yes	298	70	368
Total		377	79	456

X^2 = 3.835, d.f. = 1, p = .050

Purchase This Music

Purchase This Music By Listen Once a Day

		Listen Daily		Total
		No	Yes	
Purchase This Music	No	14	37	51
	Yes	41	328	369
Total		55	365	420

X^2 = 10.512, d.f. = 1, p = .001

Purchase This Music By Listen Once a Week

		Listen Weekly		Total
		No	Yes	
Purchase This Music	No	8	49	57
	Yes	10	359	369
Total		18	408	426

$X^2 = 15.648$, d.f. = 1, p = .000

Purchase This Music By Attend Concerts

		Attend Concerts		Total
		No	Yes	
Purchase This Music	No	41	15	56
	Yes	124	246	370
Total		165	261	426

$X^2 = 32.305$, d.f. = 1, p = .000

Purchase This Music By Watch Music Videos

		Watch Music Videos		Total
		No	Yes	
Purchase This Music	No	32	26	58
	Yes	109	264	373
Total		141	290	431

$X^2 = 15.356$, d.f. = 1, p = .000

Purchase This Music By Reported to Police

		Listen Weekly		Total
		No	Yes	
Purchase This Music	No	22	6	28
	Yes	100	91	191
Total		122	97	219

$X^2 = 6.802$, d.f. = 1, p = .009

Purchase This Music By Violence Innocent Victim

		Innocent Victim		Total
		No	Yes	
Purchase This Music	No	7	47	54
	Yes	14	368	382
Total		21	415	436

$X^2 = 8.922$, d.f. = 1, p = .003

Purchase This Music By Neighbors Help

		Neighbors Help		Total
		No	Yes	
Purchase This Music	No	23	30	53
	Yes	105	275	380
Total		128	305	433

$X^2 = 5.551$, d.f. = 1, p = .018

Purchase This Music By Solve Problems Together

		Listen Weekly		Total
		No	Yes	
Purchase This Music	No	30	26	51
	Yes	162	209	371
Total		192	230	422

$X^2 = 4.154$, d.f. = 1, p = .042

Listen Once A Day

Listen Once a Day By Listen Once a Week

		Listen Weekly		Total
		No	Yes	
Listen Once a Day	No	10	45	55
	Yes	6	345	351
Total		16	390	406

$X^2 = 34.082$, d.f. = 1, p = .000

Listen Once a Day By Attend Concerts

		Attend Concerts		Total
		No	Yes	
Listen Once a Day	No	41	15	56
	Yes	114	237	351
Total		155	252	407

X² = 33.987, d.f. = 1, p = .000

Listen Once a Day By Watch Music Videos

		Music Videos		Total
		No	Yes	
Listen Once a Day	No	28	28	56
	Yes	101	257	358
Total		129	285	414

X² = 10.717, d.f. = 1, p = .001

Listen Once a Day By Witnessed Violent Crime

		Witnessed Crime		Total
		No	Yes	
Listen Once a Day	No	37	20	57
	Yes	175	201	376
Total		212	221	433

X² = 6.684, d.f. = 1, p = .010

Listen Once a Day By Neighbors Help

		Helpful Neighbors		Total
		No	Yes	
Listen Once a Day	No	9	45	54
	Yes	118	242	360
Total		127	287	414

X² = 5.731, d.f. = 1, p = .017

Listen Weekly

Listen Weekly By Attend Concerts

		Concerts		Total
		No	Yes	
Listen Weekly	No	12	5	17
	Yes	154	248	402
Total		166	253	419

$X^2 = 7.104$, d.f. = 1, p = .008

Listen Weekly By Music Videos

		Music Videos		Total
		No	Yes	
Listen Weekly	No	13	5	18
	Yes	127	277	404
Total		140	282	422

$X^2 = 12.931$ d.f.= 1, p = .000

Listen Weekly By Feel Safe in Hood

		Safe Hood		Total
		No	Yes	
Listen Weekly	No	5	12	17
	Yes	51	349	400
Total		56	361	417

$X^2 = 3.894$ d= 1, p = .048

Attend Concerts

Attend Concerts By Watch Music Videos

		Music Videos		Total
		No	Yes	
Attend Concerts	No	81	87	168
	Yes	59	195	254
Total		140	282	422

$X^2 = 28.475$ d= 1, p = .000

Attend Concerts By Witnesses Violent Crime

		Witnessed Crime		Total
		No	Yes	
Attend Concerts	No	96	72	168
	Yes	123	141	264
Total		219	213	432

$X^2 = 4.573$, d= 1, p = .032

Attend Concerts By Crime & Drugs

		Crime & Drugs		Total
		No	Yes	
Attend Concerts	No	115	47	162
	Yes	152	96	248
Total		267	143	410

$X^2 = 4.057$, d= 1, p = .044

Attend Concerts By People Solve Problems Together

		Solve Problems		Total
		No	Yes	
Attend Concerts	No	85	73	158
	Yes	100	147	247
Total		185	220	405

$X^2 = 6.881$ d= 1, p = .009

Watch Music Videos

Watch Music Videos By Witnessed Violent Crime

		Witness Crime		Total
		No	Yes	
Watch Music Videos	No	82	60	142
	Yes	140	154	294
Total		222	214	436

$X^2 = 3.930$, d= 1, p = .047

Watch Music Videos By Neighborhood Fights

		Hood Fights		Total
		No	Yes	
Watch Music Videos	No	113	24	137
	Yes	203	75	278
Total		316	99	415

$X^2 = 4.522$, d= 1, p = .033

Watch Music Videos By Abandoned Building

		Abandoned Buildings		Total
		No	Yes	
Watch Music Videos	No	121	16	137
	Yes	220	57	277
Total		341	73	414

$X^2 = 4.998$, d= 1, p = .025

Negative Experience With Police

Negative Experience With Police By Crime & Drugs

		Crime & Drugs		Total
		No	Yes	
Negative Exp. W/Police	No	182	82	264
	Yes	102	72	174
Total		284	154	438

$X^2 = 4.898$, d= 1, p = .027

Negative Experience With Police By Neighborhood Fights

		Crime & Drugs		Total
		No	Yes	
Negative Exp. W/Police	No	210	50	260
	Yes	121	54	175
Total		331	104	435

$X^2 = 7.772$, d= 1, p = .005

Negative Experience With Police By Graffiti

		Graffiti		Total
		No	Yes	
Negative Exp. W/Police	No	238	22	260
	Yes	144	27	171
Total		382	49	431

$X^2 = 5.497$, d= 1, p = .019

Neighborhood Gangs

Neighborhood Gangs By Crime & Drugs

		Crime & Drugs		Total
		No	Yes	
Neighborhood Gangs	No	276	84	360
	Yes	9	67	76
Total		285	151	436

$X^2 = 83.302$, d= 1, p = .000

Neighborhood Gangs By Neighborhood Fights

		Fights		Total
		No	Yes	
Neighborhood Gangs	No	317	44	361
	Yes	14	58	72
Total		331	102	433

$X^2 = 115.810$, d= 1, p = .000

Neighborhood Gangs By Helpful Neighbors

		Helpful Neighbors		Total
		No	Yes	
Gangs	No	100	269	369
	Yes	33	41	74
Total		133	310	443

$X^2 = 8.979$, d= 1, p = .003

Neighborhood Gangs By Abandoned Buildings

		Abandoned Buildings		Total
		No	Yes	
Gangs	No	323	39	362
	Yes	34	37	71
Total		357	76	433

$X^2 = 70.097$, d= 1, p = .000

Neighborhood Gangs By Solve Problems Together

		Solve Problems		Total
		No	Yes	
Gangs	No	151	208	359
	Yes	43	29	72
Total		194	237	431

$X^2 = 7.558$, d= 1, p = .006

Neighborhood Gangs By Graffiti

		Graffiti		Total
		No	Yes	
Gangs	No	347	13	360
	Yes	34	35	69
Total		381	48	429

$X^2 = 129.340$, d= 1, p = .000

Neighborhood Gangs By Gang Activity

		Gang Activity		Total
		No	Yes	
Gangs	No	347	12	359
	Yes	14	60	74
Total		361	72	433

$X^2 = 267.452$, d= 1, p = .000

Neighborhood Gangs By Safe Neighborhood

		Safe Neighborhood		Total
		No	Yes	
Gangs	No	32	341	373
	Yes	31	41	72
Total		63	382	445

X² = 59.026, d= 1, p = .000

Crime & Drugs

Crime & Drugs By Neighborhood Fights

		Neighborhood Fights		Total
		No	Yes	
Crime & Drugs	No	269	14	283
	Yes	62	88	150
Total		331	102	433

X² = 157.110, d= 1, p = .000

Crime & Drugs By Neighbors Help

		Neighbors Help		Total
		No	Yes	
Crime & Drugs	No	74	209	283
	Yes	60	89	149
Total		134	298	432

X² = 9.095, d= 1, p = .003

Crime & Drugs By Abandoned Buildings

		Abandoned Buildings		Total
		No	Yes	
Crime & Drugs	No	276	10	286
	Yes	81	67	148
Total		357	77	434

X² = 116.618, d= 1, p = .000

Crime & Drugs By People Solve Problems Together

		Solve Problems		Total
		No	Yes	
Crime & Drugs	No	106	173	279
	Yes	89	58	147
Total		195	231	426

$X^2 = 19.726$, d= 1, p = .000

Crime & Drugs By Graffiti

		Graffiti		Total
		No	Yes	
Crime & Drugs	No	282	3	285
	Yes	99	46	145
Total		381	49	430

$X^2 = 88.543$, d= 1, p = .000

Crime & Drugs By Gang Activity

		Gang Activity		Total
		No	Yes	
Crime & Drugs	No	279	6	285
	Yes	82	66	148
Total		361	72	433

$X^2 = 126.857$, d= 1, p = .000

Crime & Drugs By Feel Safe in Neighborhood

		Safe Neighborhood		Total
		No	Yes	
Crime & Drugs	No	8	277	285
	Yes	56	88	144
Total		64	365	429

$X^2 = 98.123$, d= 1, p = .000

Neighborhood Fights

Neighborhood Fights By Neighbors Help

		Neighbors Help		Total
		No	Yes	
Neighborhood Fights	No	91	239	330
	Yes	43	58	101
Total		134	297	431

X² = 8.120, d= 1, p = .004

Neighborhood Fights By Abandoned Buildings

		Abandoned Buildings		Total
		No	Yes	
Fights	No	305	28	333
	Yes	52	48	100
Total		357	76	433

X² = 83.302, d= 1, p = .000

Neighborhood Fights By Solve Problems Together

		Solve Problems		Total
		No	Yes	
Fights	No	134	191	325
	Yes	61	39	100
Total		195	230	425

X² = 12.036, d= 1, p = .001

Neighborhood Fights By Graffiti

		Graffiti		Total
		No	Yes	
Fights	No	323	9	332
	Yes	58	40	98
Total		381	49	430

X² = 108.814, d= 1, p = .000

Neighborhood Fights By Gang Activity

		Gang Activity		Total
		No	Yes	
Fights	No	320	11	331
	Yes	40	61	101
Total		360	72	432

$X^2 = 181.401$, d= 1, p = .000

Neighborhood Fights By Feel Safe in Neighborhood

		Safe Neighborhood		Total
		No	Yes	
Fights	No	25	306	331
	Yes	39	57	96
Total		64	363	427

$X^2 = 63.880$, d= 1, p = .000

Helpful Neighbors

Helpful Neighbors By Abandoned Buildings

		Abandoned Buildings		Total
		No	Yes	
Helpful Neighbors	No	97	37	134
	Yes	260	39	299
Total		357	76	433

$X^2 = 13.571$, d= 1, p = .000

Helpful Neighbors By Solve Problems Together

		Solve Problems		Total
		No	Yes	
Helpful Neighbors	No	110	22	132
	Yes	86	213	299
Total		196	235	431

$X^2 = 109.981$, d= 1, p = .000

Helpful Neighbors By Graffiti

		Graffiti		Total
		No	Yes	
Helpful Neighbors	No	105	28	133
	Yes	276	21	297
Total		381	49	430

$X^2 = 17.786$, d= 1, p = .000

Helpful Neighbors By Gang Activity

		Gang Activity		Total
		No	Yes	
Helpful Neighbors	No	98	34	132
	Yes	262	37	299
Total		360	71	431

$X^2 = 11.920$, d= 1, p = .001

Helpful Neighbors By Feel Safe In Neighborhood

		Safe Neighborhoods		Total
		No	Yes	
Helpful Neighbors	No	34	96	130
	Yes	30	277	307
Total		64	373	437

$X^2 = 19.607$, d= 1, p = .000

Abandoned Buildings

Abandoned Buildings By Solve Problems Together

		Solve Problems		Total
		No	Yes	
Abandoned Buildings	No	145	207	352
	Yes	51	24	75
Total		196	231	427

$X^2 = 17.892$, d= 1, p = .000

Abandoned Buildings By Graffiti

		Graffiti		Total
		No	Yes	
Abandoned Buildings	No	347	11	358
	Yes	37	38	75
Total		384	49	433

$X^2 = 139.962$, d= 1, p = .000

Abandoned Buildings By Gang Activity

		Gang Activity		Total
		No	Yes	
Abandoned Buildings	No	327	31	358
	Yes	36	40	76
Total		363	71	434

$X^2 = 88.589$, d= 1, p = .000

Abandoned Buildings By Feel Safe in Neighborhood

		Safe Neighborhood		Total
		No	Yes	
Abandoned Buildings	No	29	325	354
	Yes	35	39	74
Total		64	364	428

$X^2 = 73.598$, d= 1, p = .000

People Solve Problems Together

People Solve Problems Together By Graffiti

		Graffiti		Total
		No	Yes	
People Solve Problems	No	163	32	195
	Yes	215	15	230
Total		378	47	425

$X^2 = 10.491$, d= 1, p = .000

People Solve Problems Together By Gang Activity

		Gang Activity		Total
		No	Yes	
People Solve Problems	No	154	40	194
	Yes	201	30	231
Total		355	70	425

X² = 4.464, d= 1, p = .035

People Solve Problems Together By Safe Neighborhood

		Safe Neighborhood		Total
		No	Yes	
People Solve Problems	No	50	141	191
	Yes	14	221	235
Total		64	362	426

X² = 33.745, d= 1, p = .000

Graffiti

Graffiti by Gang Activity

		Graffiti		Total
		No	Yes	
Graffiti	No	346	36	382
	Yes	15	34	49
Total		361	70	431

X² = 114.791, d= 1, p = .000

Graffiti by Feel Safe In Neighborhood

		Safe Neighborhood		Total
		No	Yes	
Graffiti	No	38	341	379
	Yes	26	21	47
Total		64	362	426

X² = 67.192, d= 1, p = .000

Gang Activity

Graffiti by Feel Safe In Neighborhood

		Safe Neighborhood		Total
		No	Yes	
Gang Activity	No	33	325	358
	Yes	31	38	69
Total		64	363	427

X² = 57.895, d= 1, p = .000

Appendix E

HSIRB Approval Letter
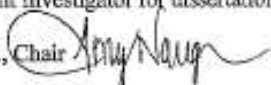
WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Date: December 17, 2010

To: ZoAnn Snyder, Principal Investigator
Ladel Lewis, Student Investigator for dissertation

From: Amy Naugle, Ph.D., Chair

Re: HSIRB Project Number: 10-12-16

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project titled "Stop Snitching: Hip-Hop's Influence on Crime Reporting in the Inner-City" has been **approved** under the **exempt** category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you may **only** conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: December 17, 2011