

Ethnic Collective Action in Contemporary Urban U.S.

Project Description and Coding Manual

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1. Introduction

This technical report briefly summarizes the coding procedures used to collect information on ethnic collective action. It seeks to add to the growing technical debates and available coding appendices on collective action in Tilly (1978), Tarrow (1989), McAdam (1982), Paige (1975). This project was funded by NSF, Sociology Program, SES-9196229, Susan Olzak, Principal Investigator.

This project seeks to identify sources of ethnic and racial conflict and protest in urban America from 1954 through the present. Several results from research on black riots and protest that occurred during the 1960s suggested that the conventional wisdom about the social sources of racial unrest might be mistaken. These studies found that the size of minority populations in cities were more related to outbreaks of racial protest than were measures of economic deprivation (Lieberson and Silverman 1965; Spilerman, 1970, 1971, 1976). We build on these findings in three ways: (1) we include both conflicts (or confrontations between two or more ethnic populations) and protests (marches, mass meetings, demonstrations on behalf of one ethnic group, expressing grievances related to discrimination or racial policy). (2) We include all ethnic groups as targets or instigators of protest and conflict. Previous research found that waves of immigration to the United States that peaked during the 1880–1920 period significantly raised rates of racial and ethnic unrest (Olzak 1992).

This work stresses the importance of competition theory for understanding how socio-economic and political processes affect racial and ethnic confrontations and protest. Ethnic collective action is defined as collective behavior that uses some set of ethnic markers (such as skin color, or nationality) as the basis for membership in a group that also articulates a grievance (such as protest against discrimination), or is acting against a specific ethnic

or race population (such as an anti-busing riot). Our project includes actions directed against some group, as well as more proactive events, directed toward specific policy or legal changes.

We test propositions derived from competition theory with data on ethnic events occurring in any Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), in the United States (see Table A.1). We use the New York Times Index and daily microfilm accounts to collect information about ethnic events during this period. In Section 2, we discuss how keywords are used to generate dates of events that are then coded from the daily microfilms.

The method of analysis applies event history methods to dynamic models of changing environmental conditions to rates of ethnic collective action. This method models transition rates as a point process, using information (from newspaper coding of events) on the duration and timing of events. This method has been successful in estimating models of organizational birth and death rates (Hannan and Freeman, 1989), of demographic changes in rates of illegitimacy (Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985), of drug use among youth (Yamaguchi and Kandel, 1985), and of religious schisms in sectarian organizations (Liebman, Sutton and Wuthnow 1988). Here the analysis arrays the event data in durations measured as the time between adjacent events, and associates these durations with levels of covariates (such as percent nonwhite in a city). The logic of event history analysis is that covariates raise rates of ethnic collective action if high levels of independent variables are associated with brief waiting times (see Tuma and Hannan, 1989).

These methods thus require special attention to gathering data on the timing and sequencing of events. We are also interested in the characteristics of ethnic events, such as the size, amount of violence, and organizational structures involved in producing ethnic events. Recent collective action research has focussed on the instrumental role played by institutions and organizations in providing a ready-made network of participants and a repertoire of strategies of protest (see McAdam, 1982). We plan to explore these characteristics in light of their potential effects on rates of action, as well as their possible effects on demobilization rates.

These characteristics describe ethnic collective action, identified by location, date, and participants. What follows is a coding procedures manual which describes in detail the methods for obtaining a list of dates of events from the New York Times Index (published yearly), and the coding manual for gathering data on events from daily microfilm accounts of the New York Times. Our procedures are derived from several years of coding similar events in the United States, for an earlier period, which have shown reliable results (see Olzak and DiGregorio, 1985). We have also relied on suggestions for coding more general kinds of collective actions, found in Tilly, 1978; Tarrow 1983; and McAdam 1982.

2. Preparation of Candidate Events: The NYT Index

The New York Times Index and the daily microfilms are available in most university libraries, including Green Library at Stanford University. We begin coding by locating a list of possible events from the New York Times Index. Headings which are likely to generate events are:

1. RACE RELATIONS.
2. MINORITIES, either generally or by specific nationality/racial population (See Ethnic Group Codes, Table A.2).
3. NEGROES - US - General.
4. BLACK or AFRICAN-AMERICAN (Note that 2 and 3 may be different headers in the Index.
5. JEWS - US. ANTI-SEMITISM - US
6. EDUCATION - Equal Opportunities, which proceeds by states.
7. LABOR - Strikes - Demonstrations.
8. DEMONSTRATIONS AND RIOTS. (appears after 1973)
9. HOUSING.
10. KU (sometimes misspelled KLU) KLUX KLAN.
11. ETHNIC GROUPS, eg. ASIAN AMERICANS, HISPANICS (or sometimes SPANISH-SPEAKING) AMERICANS, VIETNAMESE, THAI, HONG KONG REFUGEES.
12. SPECIFIC CITIES, REGIONS: Check each major metropolitan area by name (eg. NEW YORK, CHICAGO, DETROIT, SAN FRANCISCO, MIAMI, WASHINGTON DC, SEATTLE, DALLAS, ATLANTA, MONTGOMERY, NEW ORLEANS.)
13. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN FOR IMMIGRANTS. Information about minorities in this country can appear under the heading of their country of origin, such as CUBA, PUERTO RICO, HAITI, MEXICO, EL SALVADOR, CHINA, VIETNAM.
14. ASSAULTS, ATTACKS. Most of these will be interracial crimes, however, our results suggest that it is valuable to check this category when race or ethnicity is also mentioned in the index.

By searching under these categories (and by using the extensive system of cross-referencing within the index) we construct a list of possible events for the year, with full information about the location of the report or reports in the actual papers (i.e. year, month, day, section, page and column. e.g. 01, 23, Sect IV, 9:2 (1968), the ethnic groups involved, and the type of event, i.e. whether the event was a protest or conflict. This list is then entered into a file using Dbase, which can be programmed to compute a chronological file for each year. The “master list” derived from the index has the following form:

UNIT	YR	MO	DAY	SECT	PGE	COL	GRP	TYPE
001	65	01	7	11	1	4	1	1
253	65	05	25	1	1	3	2	2

From our alphabetical list of candidate events, we use the sort procedure in dbase to print a list that is organized by date within each year. This is our guide to the micro-films. The key requirements for an event to be in our “Master-List” are:

- (1) that the event is primarily racial or ethnic, and,
- (2) it is a public event, not regularly scheduled, and involves at least 2 instigators.

The following words listed below are commonly used to describe ethnic and racial collective action in the *New York Times*:

1. *Marches, Demonstrations, Rallies, Protest Meetings, Parades or Motorcades.*
2. *Riots, Melees, Shootouts, Assaults, Violent Incidents, Fights, Brawls.*
3. *Formation of an racial or ethnic group civil rights’ organization.* The date of the formation of a committee, Civil Rights’ group, or anti-busing campaign is recorded, but subsequent meetings of an organization held behind closed doors for members only are not coded as events (unless they are public and collective).
4. *Conferences.* Initial meetings of conferences are coded if they meet the criteria of a collective gathering organized to further or to protest an ethnic or racial claim. All government– sponsored meetings, as in city council, or congressional “hearings”, are NOT coded as events.

3. Notes on Specific Coding Rules

1. *Violent Collective Action.* Violent events that are ethnic, collective, and public are coded, including arson, bombings, vandalism, shootouts, and hijackings, if they have distinctly ethnic or racial victims as intended targets. We do not code *isolated incidents* which are claimed by individuals in letters, crank phone calls, random hijackings. Nor do we code “shoot-outs” between the police and quasi-military organizations, who may also happen to involve one or more of our ethnic groups (e.g. the Patty Hearst SLA shootout). Note that participants often declare that they committed the crimes on behalf of their ethnic group or ethnic/racial organization. Acts that are (1) primarily terrorist acts, or (2) acts of disturbed individuals, or (3) political left- or right-wing political organizations that are only tangentially anti-ethnic, are not coded as ethnic events. Our general rule is to avoid imputing motivation to participants. Public violence is coded as an event only if ethnic symbols, threats or epithets can be identified in the report (or in subsequent reports). On the narrative accounts, we record evidence of such epithets, symbols, or racial slurs as key information.

2. *Public Disruption.* We do not code meetings that are institutionalized and held behind closed doors (e.g. city council meetings or Civil Rights Commission Hearings). By the same logic, we do not code annual or monthly meetings. However, we code such events if an identifiable ethnic group demonstrated, picketed, or otherwise disrupted the proceedings in order to make a claim. Our key decision is (1) whether or not members of the public were present and (2) disrupted the routine proceedings (as in Tilly's concept of "contentious events," or Tarrow's "disruptive protests.")

3. *Strikes.* Because some ethnic groups tend to be concentrated in certain occupations it may be very difficult to distinguish strikes which have goals that demand redress of racial or ethnic discrimination in employment, from those aimed primarily at improving work conditions. For example, in 1972, there was a long strike at the Farah manufacturing company whose employees were almost exclusively Mexican-American women. Reports editorialized that because this ethnic group provided a pool of cheap labor in the area, the employers were able to keep their wages low and to prevent unionization. However, the collective grievance was organized around wages, not Hispanic-language, or Mexican-immigrant ethnicity. Therefore the strike at the Farrah manufactring company was not coded as an event. Had the employees struck because of presumed discrimination in hiring or promotion practices, we would have included the strike as an ethnic event.

4. *Not Events.* Action affecting race and ethnic groups not coded as event include:

A. Legal Changes.

- i) Legal suits alleging discrimination.
- ii) Charges by the U.S. Justices Department.
- iii) Court decisions/orders/appeals.
- iv) Activities of the Civil Rights Commission.
- v) Voluntary or enforced agreements of organizations/businesses etc., to ban discriminatory hiring practices, or to institute affirmative action programmes.
- vi) Speeches and Debates within Congress or Senate.
- vii) Formation of Senate or Congressional committees or commissions to investigate discrimination.

B. Individual acts or statements. Even though an individual may claim an act is on behalf of an ethnic group, we exclude acts by individuals on the grounds that they are not collective.

C. Intra-ethnic conflict. Factions and organized interests within an ethnic group can and do disagree. Disputes between the NAACP and CORE during the Civil Rights movement, for example included charges of racism, and physical attacks. Such events are excluded because we are primarily interested in conflict among groups.

D. Ethnic protest and conflict in the following *institutional locations* are excluded:

- i) College Campus and High Schools. If the incidents happened within the confines

of the institution and involved members of the institution then we do not include these conflicts. However, if members of the public participate in a collective event in an institution then we do include the event in our data. Anti-busing and pro-busing events provide a good example of this distinction. We code protests and conflict that occur on school grounds if they involve nonstudents, but we would exclude a fight between children in the classroom or schoolyard.

- ii) Prisons, jails, mental hospitals.
 - iii) Army and Navy installations.
 - iv) Ethnic problems or disputes that are primarily aimed at individuals within a specific organization, i.e., the personnel director was called “racist” by another employee.
- E. Demonstrations or protests organized by one ethnic group *on behalf of* another ethnic group. Some examples are:
- i) Organizations giving special funding for migrant workers, or instituting special programs for their education.
 - ii) Voter registration drives for blacks organized by exclusively by whites.
 - iii) Meetings to improve relationships between ethnic groups.
- F. Cultural events, such as dances and food festivals are excluded. Chicago has an “Ethnic Food Festival,” every year in July. Chinatown’s New Year Celebration in New York would be another example. Both are excluded on the grounds that cannot be coded as protest or conflict.
- G. Published letters, editorial comments, or reports of surveys, studies, or other such printed matter.
- H. Delegations to the President or other representatives of State or Federal Government.
- I. Threats or Proposals; We do not include threats or plans for future events. Only events that eventually take place are coded.
- J. Ethnic incidents which are directed at affairs in other countries. e.g. demonstration at the South African Embassy, protests of Russia’s treatment of Jews, or support for the I.R.A. in Ireland are excluded because they are not central to domestic political affairs.
- K. Police initiated action are not usually coded as an ethnic collective action unless police were acting in roles other than representatives of the city or state government (i.e., acting as members of a distinct ethnic group, e.g., white sheriffs taking off their badges). This means that we do *not* code police brutality against a minority unless (1) there is extreme brutality and ethnic slurs, and (2) there was little or no evidence that a crime had been committed. When police cease to be acting in institutionally-defined roles, ie. arresting and subduing suspects, and act primarily as white, we would code the event as racial.

4. What is an Event?

The primary source of data for this project is *The New York Times*. After locating candidate events¹ we read the reports in the daily reports. The unit of analysis is *not* the newspaper report, but the individual event. This is because one event may be covered in several different reports, and several connected events may be covered in one article.

What defines an event? There are at least *three important boundaries* that define an event. The first, the location of the event, is straight-forward. Protests or conflicts that occur outside of SMSA's are not coded—rural events, which are extremely rare are not included. We use a gazeteer to locate places within SMSA's. In some reports more than one city or town will be mentioned. For example, in the Civil Rights Era, some protest marches began in the South and ended in Washington. If an event begins in one SMSA and moves to another, but involves the same group of people it remains one event. In such case we give precedence to the fact that the same people are involved, despite a shift geographical location. We flag cases where protesters move from one location to another to conduct their protest using the variable HOME described below.

The *second boundary* is defined by the participants in the event. This boundary is particularly important when newspaper reports describe several different forms of protest happening simultaneously in an SMSA. For example, in Louisville on September 4, 1975 half of the children in the school district (i.e. 60,000 children) boycotted classes to protest busing. At the same time, 1,500 to 2,000 protesters marched through the center of town and at one of the schools in the district, 200 protestors blocked the way of black children as they tried to enter. These events are coded as separate (3 events in total) because they involve separate groups protesting in different ways.

The *third boundary* involves the temporal dimensions of the event. An event is coded as *one event* if it includes more or less continuous action, so that there are no gaps of more than 24 hours, and it includes some of the same participants involved in a grievance or protest over the same issue. Three important exceptions to this are anti-busing, pro-integration protests, and protests at the workplace. Because the work week structures the time and limitations of school related events, continuous activity from Friday which resumes on Monday is coded as one event. Boycotts of work organizations may also be coded from Friday to Mondays ignoring the week-end gaps.

Some events may start as a peaceful protest, then with the arrival of a second group, develop into a violent confrontation. The shift from protest to conflict marks the beginning of a *second stage* of the event. Each stage is documented on a separate narrative sheet

¹ That is, newspaper reports that might contain descriptions of collective behavior that uses some set of ethnic markers (such as skin color, or nationality) as the basis for membership in a group that also articulates a grievance (such as protest against discrimination), or is acting against a specific ethnic or race population (such as an anti-busing riot).

because the stages will often have quite distinct characteristics. The fact that they are connected events is noted in that they will share a similar “ID” (described in detail below) up to the last digit (ie. 0500020 and 05000021 indicate a second stage of the second event happened in Chicago in the same year). In effect, this event becomes two separate events.

Two different events are designated as “linked” only when the previous event in a sequence has been coded, and only when the daily newspaper reports the events as causally linked. Examples include: an attack on Blacks one day, followed by protests against that attack, which may occur in one or more urban areas. LINKED events need not be in the same SMSA, nor involve the same persons. They are linked because they follow one another chronologically, both events fit the criteria for a coded event, and because the report of the second or subsequent event mentions its connection to prior events.

5. The Narrative Account

The narrative form contains qualitative descriptions and quotes from reports on ethnic collective action.²

1. TITLE: The coder initials and dates the form, and notes the full title of the article, including relevant sub-titles.
2. SOURCE: The “source” of the event is a published account, which will usually be the *New York Times*. Information about the location, i.e. month, day, year, section, page and column, (e.g. N 26, Sect V, 3:3 (1972)), of the account is recorded here. Note that in most cases, the *date of the New York Times account will be one day later than the event*. If one event is reported in several articles, these subsequent references are included in brackets. When more than one event is reported, information on the newspaper report is repeated for each event. For highly complicated single events, (same participants, same issue, same SMSA, few gaps in time) we complete several narrative forms as the event unfolds in the reports, staple all the narratives together, and complete one narrative summary and one code sheet for the whole event.
3. PRESUMED ORIGINS: In addition to the precise information about the timing of the event, news reports often give some background information about why the event occurred. They may report, e.g. “mounting bad feeling between ethnic groups” or, “continuing tension” about an issue, or “long standing racial animosity in the area”. This information is entered in quotes, if possible.
4. PREVIOUS ETHNIC ACTIVITY: When the report refers to a specific prior incident this is completed, with a brief description, together with any information which would help locate the incident in the news reports, e.g. “last week there was a similar disturbance”. Any such references are followed up to see if a codeable event occurred. If no information

² A copy of the Narrative Form and Coding Sheet are included on the last page of this appendix.

is given about any previous activity, the coder enters, “none mentioned”.

5. **PRECIPITATING ACT:** Need not be a coded event. It is the reporters’ guess about what caused the event. It may be a crime, or police arrest, or long-term discriminatory patterns. An example of this would be a police action, which is followed by a race riot in the community where the police action occurred, as was the case in June 1965, when a police arrest sparked the Watts race riot.

6. **SEQUENCE:** The coder summarizes the chronology of the event, focusing on answers to the questions, Who? What? Where? and When? Any specific information on the time of day of the event and its duration should be specifically noted in quotes. The summary includes the number of participants, or estimates of the size of the event, who took part, what they did, and includes quotations that illustrate the intent, and important aspects of the event, such as symbols, racial epithets or organizational labels mentioned. Quotes and racial slurs are extremely useful to use for distinguishing crimes from racial and ethnic events. Use this space to indicate the reason why this event was judged as an ethnic collective action and pay particular attention to the timing and sequence of events as they unfold.

7. **LINKED EVENTS:** This category refers to explicit links between events already coded. Events may be linked in two ways; (1) subsequent events may be direct responses to an initial event, or, (2) two or more events may be related to the same issue or incident. In the latter case we count subsequent events as being linked only to the first in the series. It is helpful to give the complete sequence of events a name which describes the essential features, e.g. “Canarsie School Dispute” and to complete this category with, e.g. “Ninth of twenty-four events”.

8. **OUTCOMES.** These are most often unknown. An outcome might be a judicial decision, an arrest, a conviction, a change in the law, an action taken by a business, etc. Because events unfold chronologically, only proximate outcomes are likely to be reported within the year under consideration. If no information is given on outcomes at the time the event is coded the coder leaves the section blank.

9. **COMMENTS.** For communication of any information which is not specifically requested elsewhere but seems to be relevant, to draw attention to peculiarities of the event, or specific difficulties in coding for use in discussion at a later date.

6. Quantitative Codes for Event Characteristics

The following coding categories allow us to quantify information collected in the narrative form. We use CREATE STRUCTURE in dbase to create a set of variables that are in numerical format (real numbers). The FIELD WIDTH refers to the largest possible number of columns observed for that variable: that is, if the largest riot we observe is of 10,000, the “field width” is 5 columns wide. The field name is the internal Dbase label for the variable,

limited to 8 characters. The following variable description follows our narrative, and is our own shortened description of the information contained on the narrative form. It does not appear in the Dbase files. All Dbase files must have a name of 8 characters or less, and are followed by .dbf, as in the example NEWS.dbf

UNIT This is the SMSA where the event occurred, coded from three-digit unit code (see table A.1), ranging from 1 to 318. Only events that took place in an SMSA that existed in 1970 are in this data set.

REG One digit code organized by Division and State:

Code = 1 Northeast (New England Division): Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island (Division Middle Atlantic): New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania.

Code = 2, North Central (East North Central Division): Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin (Division West North Central): Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas.

Code = 3, South (South Atlantic Division) Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida. (East South Central Division) Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi. (West South Central Division): Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas.

Code = 4, West (Mountain Division): Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada (Pacific Division): Alaska, California, Hawaii, Oregon, Washington

ORIG One digit code indicating origin of protestors: Code = 0, Participants all from the SMSA. Code = 1, Two groups, one group which is local, the other non- local. Code = 2, All non-local participants (ie. a Washington DC Civil Rights demonstration from Georgia). Code = 3, Predominantly local instigators with at least some non- local participants (Civil Rights marches to City Hall, with some Civil rights activists from other regions, as was the case in all Martin Luther King marches).

HOME A three-digit code indicating the hometown SMSA of most of the participants. Code = 999, if they came from unknown or diverse locations.

ID Five digit code unique to an event or to a stage in an event. An example of the first event in an SMSA would be 00010. If the event had a second stage (if the first event is a civil rights march that is met with antiblack violence by the Klan (the same day or within 24 hours of the initial stage) then we code a second stage of that event. Use all timing information to rank-order events as first, second, third, etc. For example, use information that a protest that occurred in the morning turned into a race riot in the afternoon to order the events. Take the exact hours (if known) into account in the duration of the events (TOTDUR) as well as the ID. A second stage of an event that

requires a separate coding sheet and a unique ID code, which would be 00011 in this example. If this same conflict occurred after 24 hours had passed since the previous event, then the ID code would be 00020, indicating a second and separate event. For example, an ID of 00010 indicates the first event found for an SMSA in a given year, and the last digit 0 indicates that it is the *first or only stage of the event*. An event has a *second stage* if (1) the participants and issues are virtually the same, (2) but the event type changes from protest to a conflict, or from conflict to a protest. A separate coding sheet is filled in for each stage, because if the event has changed from a protest to a conflict, its event characteristics will not be the same (ie. event type, instigators and victims, etc).

STYR The last two digits of the year in which the event occurred, eg. 1972=72.

STDY A three-digit code indicating the year when the event began. It ranges from 1 to 365, indicating the day of the year which is printed at the bottom left of a page of an Ever-Ready Calendar. Jan 1st always has a stdy = 001, first day of the year. Feb 14 = 045, and Dec 31 = 365. February 29 is coded as March 1, (060), as long as there is no other event in that unit on March 1. If there is an event on February 29 and on March 1 in the same SMSA, code as STDY=60 and STDY=61, respectively.

TOTDUR An estimate of the duration of the event entered as a five digit code. A twenty four hour period is coded as 001.00, and parts of a day by their decimal equivalent, e.g. four hours = 000.17, six hours = 000.25 and “one day” = .50. In some cases, such as boycotts, the event ends at the date of the last reported action. Some school and business organization begin and end only during the “work week”. An example would be an anti-busing protest organized around the school week that began on a Monday, and continues daily through Friday, but stops on Saturday and Sunday and resumes action on the following Monday, but then ends, would be coded as one continuous protest that has a TOTDUR of 6.0.

NITE A one-digit code indicating whether collective action continued into the night (usually past midnight). The NITE variable applies only to events that start during the day and continue into the night. It is another measure of severity. It does not apply to events which happen during the night.

Code = 0, activity ended by midnight or earlier.

Code = 1, if the action is more or less continuous but with some gaps, (e.g., late night hours).

Code = 2 if the action lasts continuously through the night.

EVNTYP This is a one-digit code which distinguishes whether an event is a protest or a conflict event.

Code = 1 for ETHNIC PROTEST in which an ethnic group which makes a claim or

articulates a grievance on the basis of ethnic or national identity. The claim is specifically ethnic and is made on behalf of the ethnic group as a whole. The key differences from conflict events are: (a) protests are usually on behalf of one group, (b) the claim or grievance is a policy change, aimed at a local, State or Federal Government Agency, law officials, or the general public, as in claims of discrimination in housing education or jobs, and (c) violence can be present but is not the predominant feature of the event, ie. happens as a by-product of the protest, as would be the case if sit-in protesters engaged in a scuffle with by-standers or the police.

Code = 2 for ETHNIC CONFLICT in which two or more ethnic groups engaged in a collective confrontation with each other, or with some symbol of authority, such as a police headquarters. The activity usually involves an attack group members (or an institution symbolizing that group, such as a synagogue) based solely on the ethnic or racial identity of the group. Reference may be made to language, skin colour, nationality or other form of ethnic identification. It may, but does not necessarily involve violence, or the threat of violence to people or property. The key differences from protest are: (a) the presence, real or symbolic target of the event and (b) the presence of a threat or actual use of violence to attack a group. RIOTS (see EVNTFORM codes below) are a particular type of conflicts which differ from other conflicts in that they usually involve just one ethnic group and always involve large-scale violence. RIOTS also differ from inter-ethnic conflicts in that the target of riots is usually only vaguely articulated as being against “the system” or “the white power structure,” or (in the case of white anti-busing riots) “the prevailing policies”. Riots differ from protests that only incidentally incite violence in that violence is present from the beginning of the event which is large-scale and diffuse in its goals. Protests, that become large-scale riots are coded separately as the first and second-stage of an event. In this example, each stage would be distinguished as a protest and conflict EVNTYP.

EVNTFORM This refers to the specific form that the collective action takes:

Code = 01 SPONTANEOUS DISRUPTION. An unplanned and spontaneous public disruption of daily activities, often labeled “racial incident, clash, assault, gathering or “shoot-out”. It may vary greatly in size and violence, and is characterized by its lack of organization and spontaneity. It involves (a) participants numbering less than 100, and (b) only sporadic episodes of violence, or no violence at all. This is distinguished from RIOTS which are distinguished by large-scale and continuous violence.

Code = 02 MEETING OR RALLY. A pre-arranged gathering, which implies some minimal degree of social organization, but excludes regularly scheduled activities, such as those such as commemorating Martin Luther King’s death each year in April, national holidays such as Columbus Day or St. Patrick’s Day, political party meetings in neighborhoods or cities, or annual conferences of any organization or civil rights group. Such events are likely to be called “marches, demonstrations, conference, and sit-ins. They are always coded

as protest events. They generally last only a few hours.

Code = 03 PICKETING. Picketing is a formal protest by a subset of group or committee members in a specific location, e.g. outside a business or organization. Participants usually carry placards or banners and often try directly or indirectly to disrupt normal activities, and to focus public attention on a specific target, about which they have an ethnic claim. They are distinguished from RALLIES in that picketing means that a small group of protesters engage in repeated protests at the same protest site.

Code = 04 BOYCOTT. A boycott is an organized action designed to prevent customers from obtaining services or products from some organization. Because the end of a boycott is rarely reported, we have to estimate their endings. We code the end of a boycott on the date it was last reported in a newspaper. These events will be analyzed separately from other kinds of protests since boycotts have vague starting and ending dates, and the number of participants is often difficult to estimate.

Code = 05 ETHNIC CONFLICT AT WORKPLACE. An ethnic conflict that disrupts normal work activities in order to publicize an ethnic grievance or civil rights violation has this code. Workers who go on strike with primarily economic goals, such as negotiation of new contracts or claims for more benefits are not coded as ethnic events here. For an event to be included here, the action must have a specific ethnic grievance or claim, such as perceived discrimination of Mexicans by the union or the organization.

Code = 06 PUBLIC DISRUPTION NOT OTHERWISE CLASSIFIED. The disruption of normal or scheduled activities, e.g. meetings, work, plans for busing, traffic. Such events are protests that are not rallies, meetings, sit-ins or boycotts, but that disruption street activity with little violence present. They are distinguished from code 1 in that they are always PROTEST EVENTS.

Code = 07, RIOT. Large-scale and hostile crowd actions that are distinguished by (a) involvement of large numbers of persons (50-100), (b) the presence of weapons, such as firebombs, guns, or other lethal weapons (carried by rioters), and (c) long durations, lasting from two hours to several days, in most cases. May be labeled riot, melee, or large disturbance, and described as spontaneous, involving large numbers and often including mention of weapons or violence. Also distinguished by the presence of the police, usually in large numbers, possibly including national guard or state police. May begin with antibusing protests, which turn into a second state white-instigated riot, as was the case in Boston in September, 1974.

Code = 08 ETHNIC VANDALISM. Attacks on property, such as swastikas painted on synagogues, slashing of school bus tires, or graffiti which contains ethnic or racial epithets. The number, and ethnic background of perpetrators of such events are usually unknown.

We assume such events are underreported, and so will be analyzed separately from other conflict events.

Code = 09, PROTEST NOT OTHERWISE LISTED/SYMBOLIC PROTEST. This category includes miscellaneous, unusual or new event forms that do not fit any of the other categories, but meet all the other criteria of a protest. An example would be a group taking the option of going to jail rather than paying a fine, presumably because this action draws further attention to their cause.

SECFORM Because many action involve more than one form, we code secondary activities here. Picketing and boycotting, for example often coincide, as do demonstrations and public disruptions. This is not the same as the event moving from one stage to another, which involves a change in EVENT TYPE.

Codes range as above for EVNTFORM, 1-9.

Code = 00, if no second event form is recorded.

THRDFRM Code as above for the third form of activities (1-9).

CLAIM1 This is the main claim or grievance articulated during the event. It is not the cause attributed to the act by the reporter, but what the participants actually say about their actions.

Code = 1 UNSPECIFIED PROBLEM OR NOT REPORTED.

Code = 2 SPECIFIED GRIEVANCE TIED TO SOME PREVIOUS INCIDENT (Even if the previous incident was not coded as an ethnic event). An ethnic group alleges that the group or one of its members was the victim of discrimination, maltreatment, or violence, e.g. police inattention to the murder of a Black person sets off a demonstration. This code implies that a specific occurrence generated this event.

Code = 3 ANTI-DISCRIMINATION OR PRO-RIGHTS OF THE ETHNIC GROUP. This refers to the situation where there is a generic claim to mistreatment, or discrimination. No one specific incident is referred to in the report as the precipitating the event. Note that most Civil Rights protests will fall into this category.

Code = 4 ACTIVITY DIRECTED AGAINST ANOTHER ETHNIC GROUP. This refers primarily to conflict events. It includes events which are precipitated by an issue, e.g. against welfare housing, when a specific ethnic group is the target of the activity. It usually includes activities by the majority ethnic group, aimed at preserving the status quo, such as protests against black housing projects, as well as clearcut "racist" behaviour such as Ku Klux Klan "cross-burnings".

Code = 5 LAND OR PROPERTY CLAIMS. This involves claims to ownership of land or property, which the protestors demand be restored to the ethnic group. An example would be the 1972 Mexican- -American occupation of Santa Catalina Island off the California Coast.

Code = 6 ANTI-BUSING PROTEST OR ANTI-SCHOOL INTEGRATION PROTEST BY WHITES. Activity directly connected with policies and implementation of integration achieved through busing plans that took place during the 1970s and 1980s in the US. This category includes marches and protests by parents, but does not include fights or shouting among school children on school grounds. It does include boycotts, protest, and other activities that involved the community as a whole (which may include children, but not predominantly so). Note that campus and school events are not coded unless they involve the community or neighborhood residents. An example of an event coded 6 would be the case of Canarsie, Brooklyn, when parents occupied an elementary school to protest busing plans.

Code = 7, PRO-BUSING OR PRO-INTEGRATION. These are demonstrations primarily involving black parents (sometimes including whites) who want their children to attend a particular school, or be bussed to “white” schools, or are more generally related to the pro-busing concerns of black or minority parents.

CLAIM2 If the ethnic group voices more than one claim or grievance, use Claim codes given above.

Code = 0, means that there was no second claim.

CLAIM3 If the ethnic group voices a third claim.

Code = 0, means that there was no third claim.

NPART This is a six-digit code of the reporter’s estimate of number of participant if reported as an actual number (coded as missing otherwise). This means that both sides of a two-group conflict or demonstration are counted as participants. It excludes (a) the number of police present, and (b) onlookers, by-standers, and others not directly involved in the event. If no information is available about the number of participants, this variable is coded as missing (in STATA, this is indicated with a period.)

SIZE This a single digit code indicating the coder’s best guess about the size of the gathering. It is based on keywords mentioned in the report or on the NPART variable. There are six size categories:

Code = 0 if unknown number of participants (usually vandalism)

Code = 1 small group, few, (2 to 9 participants)

Code = 2 medium size group, committee, assembly (10 to 49)

Code = 3 large gathering, a hundred or so (50 to 499)

Code = 4 mass, or hundreds, less than a thousand (500 to 999)

Code = 5 thousands or tens of thousands, huge rally (over a 1000)

ENDEV Dummy variable that equals 0 if the situation returns to inactivity following an event. It is coded 1 if there is another event (related or unrelated) event within 24 hours in the same SMSA.

NGRPS Ethnic Group Code for each distinct ethnic groups involved, including initiators. For most protest only GRP1 will be coded. For most conflicts, GRP1 and GRP2 will be coded.

GRP1 Two digit coded from Table A.2 ETHNIC GROUP CODES, for the first or only group involved in the event. Code 0 if no clear instigator is present (usually ethnic vandalism event).

GRP2 Two digit code from Table A.2 ETHNIC GROUP CODE if a second group is involved in the event. Code = 00 if no second group is involved.

GRP3 Two digit code from Table A.2 ETHNIC GROUP CODE if a third group is involved. Code=00 if no second group is involved.

RACE1 One digit code for the “race” of the first ethnic group involved in the event as follows:

Code = 0 Race information for any of the participants is unknown.

Code = 1 African-American or Black

Code = 2 White and Non-Hispanic

Code = 3 Hispanic: Includes Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Latin Americans, Filipinos.

Code = 4, Asian: Includes Japanese, Chinese, Southeast Asians, Taiwanese, Hong Kong.

Code = 5, Mixed racial identification specifically.

RACE2 Same as above. Code = 0 if there is no second group.

RACE3 Same as above for third group, Code=0 if no third group.

RACE4 Same as above for fourth group, Code=0 if no fourth group.

RACE5 Same as above for fifth group, Code=0 if no fifth group.

ETHCOAL Dummy variable mentioning that there was a specific racial or ethnic coalition group or organization present at the event. An example would be Jesse Jackson’s “Rainbow Coalition” organization engaging in a protest.

Code = 1, if a coalition is mentioned in the report, 0 otherwise.

INT1 Two digit code from ETHNIC GROUP CODES in B referring to the ethnic group initiating the event (if known).

Code = 00 if no initiator known, or if can’t be determined.

INT2 This is coded if two groups initiated conflict against a third group, or if two groups engaged in protest.

TARGET This refers to the ethnic group which was the immediate target of the conflict. Code using the ethnic group codes. Code = 00, if event type PROTEST or it is not clear which group is the target and which group initiated the event.

THRT One digit code indicating whether or not an event (either a protest or conflict) included a some level of violence or threat of violence, as follows:

Code = 0, no threat of violence.

Code = 1, threat present either (a) personal warning, or (b) physical evidence of weapons mentioned in report.

Code = 2, random or undirected violence, e.g. sniping, firebombs, bricks flying in the air, gunshots heard.

Code = 3, violence which is aimed at specific individuals or properties, e.g., specific stores looted and or damaged, vandalism to specific ethnic organization or house.

PROP Extent of property damage as follows:

Code = 0 no damage mentioned.

Code = 1 some minimal damage to property, such as windows broken.

Code = 2 extensive damage to buildings, cars, homes, or other structures.

Code = 3 extensive damage, and fire-bombing or looting reported.

PERS Number of participants injured including police or by-standers who were injured during course of event (do not code if died after end of event).

Code = 000 no injuries.

Code = —. Fill in blanks with estimate or exact number of injuries.

TAKE One digit code indicating occupation or takeover of buildings or spaces, as described below:

Code = 0 no takeover.

Code = 1 Barricades, or blocking access.

Code = 2 Takover of space: whole streets, vacant lots.

Code = 3 Occupying buildings.

Code = 4 Taking hostages or preventing someone from leaving building.

WEAP One digit code indicating the type of weapons used by participants.

Code = 0, no weapons reported at the event.

Code = 1 non-lethal weapons such as rocks, bricks, bottles thrown, clubs, or mace.

Code = 2 Lethal weapons used, e.g. guns, knives, firebombs.

KILL Number of persons killed as the direct result of the ethnic event, including police (incidental deaths or accidents not part of the event are not included in this count).

Code = 000, none killed.

Code = —, fill in the blanks with the exact number of participants killed. If the number killed in an event is published in a later summary account as the corrected number,

change the original number and mark the later date of the newspaper report in the narrative section of the coding sheet marked “comments” on the front.

POL A dummy variable indicating whether or not police were present at this event.

Code = 0, Police not present.

Code = 1, Police were present during the event (local, state, or national-level police).

POLLEV This one-digit code represents an estimate of the type of police forces present at an event. Note that the numbers are assumed to be inclusive, which means that if the level 6 is coded, we assume that local police were present also.

Code = 0, Police not present.

Code = 1, Local police only present, or inferred from the account.

Code = 2, Local police plus reinforcements from some other source, such as reserves, or police from neighborhood precincts, or cities.

Code = 3, Local and State police.

Code = 4, Local and National Guard.

Code = 5, Local Police and Army.

Code = 6, Army and National Guard.

POLEST The coder’s estimate of the total number of police officers present (whether state or local) based on the following categories:

Code = 0 No police were present.

Code = 1 Numerical estimate cannot be made, or unsure whether or not they were present.

Code = 2 Small numbers (1-10). This code might be suggested by such phrases as, several police or two police cars arrived.

Code = 3 Medium number (11-50), as in “many officers” or “six police cars.”

Code = 4 Medium-Large, (51-100), would imply a significant police action and would usually mean more than just local police are involved, as in “scores of police.”

Code = 5, Large (Over a hundred police). This might be suggested by the large number of actions reported, such as arrests, cordoning off streets or areas, the number of forces involved, or by the size of the area, e.g. “violence occurred in 17 block Black section of town.” Usually occurs only during substantial race riots.

Code = 6, Massive Forces (500+). Descriptions such as “massive,” “thousands ”.

POLNO A four-digit code which is coded only if an exact estimate of the numbers of police forces present is given in the report. This is distinguished from the variable above as the reporter’s estimate of police numbers.

Code = 0000 Police not present. Code = — Fill in the blanks with the figures given in the report. Note that when an event lasts for some time we may have to average the

numbers over the period. This is done by adding the numbers each day, and divide by the number of days. Police/days.

Code = 9999, Exact numbers not published in the report.

POLACT This is a one-digit code to summarize the most intrusive actions taken by the police toward participants in the event.

Code = 0, No police present.

Code = 1, Police observed only, or no details given.

Code = 2, Police actions are limited and unobtrusive, i.e. little or no interaction with participants. No physical force used.

Code = 3, Police used at least some physical force, e.g. forming lines, or grappling with protestors, carrying them from the site, making arrests, or using their nightsticks—in this situation, for the purposes of crowd control only—not as weapons, see the following variable for comparison.

Code = 4, Police used weapons, such as nightsticks, guns, teargas, firehoses, cattleprods, or went on horseback to disperse the crowd.

ROM This refers to any actions taken by police to restrict the freedom of movement of participants:

Code = 0, No restrictions.

Code = 1, Barricades erected.

Code = 2, Streets cordoned off.

Code = 3, Isolating or restricting access to disturbed areas.

Code = 4, Curfew imposed.

CURDUR A three digit code that refers to a situation where the police impose a curfew. It is coded in exactly the same way as the TOTDUR variable, using decimal days (so that 8 hour curfew is coded as .333) The initial report will probably give the information that a curfew has been imposed, and follow up articles will report when it has been lifted. Again, if no exact time of the lifting of the restrictions is given, the end of the curfew is taken as the date of the report in the N.Y.T. Code as 999 if missing information.

ARRSTS The total number of arrests reported in the initial or subsequent reports. Note that this information is not always found with the initial report about an event. Actual number or a code of 000 indicating no arrests reported is entered here.

ORG1 This is a one-digit code indicating that participants in an event showed evidence that they belong to an informal or formal organization with some degree of hierarchy. Level of hierarchy refers to how formal an organizational structure, with headship and membership, name, and location of operation is known. Five gradations in organization

are recognized by the coding system, ranging from 0 to 3. Code 4 indicates that the event was a formation of an ethnic or racial civil rights organization.

Code = 0 No organizational structure reported. This means that no proper organizational name (such as the N.A.A.C.P., La Raza, etc.) is mentioned in the report.

Code = 1 Some organizational features are present for at least one group. That is, the report on an event mentions a spokesperson or leader and/or members (as in Church members, union members). Clear evidence that, although an organization or organizational members were present, there is no one identifiable organization that is the primary instigator. NO LABEL OR PROPER NAME USED.

Code = 2 Distinguished by one or more organizations listed by proper name. For an event to be coded as 2, there would have to be at least some overlap between organizations mentioned and the participants in the event, but not all organizational members participated and not all participants need to be organizational members (some overlap between organization and event participants).

Code = 3 Refers to a high degree of overlap between group 1 participants and some organizational membership such that few other participants or outside agitators are mentioned besides those from known organization(s).

Code = 4 Refers to a founding event. Either the transformation of an organization from local to national level or the formation of a new national and ethnic organization. For example, the first conference of Jesse Jackson's PUSH organization would be coded as a protest meeting.

ORG2 Level of organizational structure as in ORG1 (1-4).

ORG3 Level of organizational structure present for ethnic group 3 involved in the event.
smallskip

ORG4 Level of organizational structure present for ethnic group grp4 involved in event.

ORG5 Level of organizational structure present for group 5 involved in the event.

HIST1 One digit variable indicating past history of the organization listed. If there is more than one organization behind the event, then take the major or primary organization given in the report.

Code = 0, None mentioned.

Code = 1, New organization formed, delegates or convention cited.

Code = 2, Renamed organization, or new formation of formerly existing organization.

Code = 3, Existence of older, formerly established (if only for one day) organization. Organizational existence is taken for granted in the report.

HIST2 through HIST5 Organizational history for ethnic group 2,3, 4, and 5, respectively, coded using the same codes as listed for HIST1.

LINK A six-digit code to be coded at the end of each year's coding, indicating an explicit link to one other event that was coded. The first three digits of the link is the SMSA of the event to which this one is linked and the last three digits refer to the id number of that event in that SMSA. For example, there was a riot event taking place in New York City (SMSA=174) on day 241 of year 1967. The ID of this event is 10 but it is linked to a protest event (which is in the event5492.dta but it is not on the separate riots265). The link variable for the id 10 race riot is linked to a protest in New York city that has an id of 170. Thus the link variable for this race riot is 17400170. The zeros in the middle of the link variable can be either 00 or 000. Only the digits matter and they refer to the SMSA and the id of an event that preceded it. In most cases this will be coded 0 (no event that we have coded is also mentioned in the newspaper report of the event now being coded). Also, in some cases the "link" variable left off the last digit (e.g., coded 17400001 where it should have been coded as 174000010). In both cases, the event being coded would be linked to the first event (id=10) in New York city (smsa=174) in that same year as the linked event.

SEQUENCE This variable identifies the consecutive number of the event, if it comprises part of a series or chain of events, (see above). The first event is 1, 2nd event is 2, etc. Code = 00, if unrelated to previous events.

The following variables are currently available on hard copy only, in room 242, Department of Sociology, Stanford University. They have not yet been transcribed and put on the data set.

NYTYEAR This is the Year of the NYT Report, two digits, 82=1982.

NYTMONTH This is the month of the NYT Report (1-12).

NYTDATE This is the actual date of the report (March 13 would be 13).

NYTSECT This is the Section Letter (weekdays) or Letter (weekend editions): A or I = 1, B or II =2, C or III = 3, D or IV = 4, E or V = 5, F or VI =6.

NYTPAGE This the Section and Page of NYT Report, three digits. For example, if it is in page one, code=001.

NYTCOL This is the Column Number that the report appeared in. For example, in the New York Times Index listing for a report on July 18, 1964: 16: 1, the column number is 2 and the page number is 16.

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Table A.1. SMSA Unit Codes

001 Abilene, TX	035 Bradenton, FL
002 Akron, OH	036 Bridgeport, CT
003 Albany, GA	037 Bristol, CT
004 Albany–Schenectady–Troy, NY	038 Brockton, MA
005 Albuquerque, NM	039 Brownsville–San Benito, TX
006 Alexandria, LA	040 Bryan–College Station, TX
007 Allentown–Easton, PA–NJ	041 Buffalo, NY
008 Altoona, PA	042 Burlington, NC
009 Amarillo, TX	043 Canton, OH
010 Anaheim–Garden Grove, CA	044 Cedar Rapids, IA
011 Anchorage, AL	045 Champaign–Urbana IL
012 Anderson, IN	046 Charleston–North Charleston, SC
013 Ann Arbor, MI	047 Charleston, WV
014 Anniston, AL	048 Charlotte–Bastonia, NC
015 Appleton–Oshkosh, WI	049 Chattanooga, TN–GA
016 Asheville, NC	050 Chicago, IL
017 Atlanta, GA	051 Cincinnati, OH–KY–IN
018 Atlantic City, NJ	052 Clarksville–Hopkinsville, TN–KY
019 Augusta, GA–SC	053 Cleveland, OH
020 Austin, TX	054 Colorado Springs, CO
021 Bakersfield, CA	055 Columbia, MO
022 Baltimore, MD	056 Columbia, SC
023 Baton Rouge, LA	057 Columbus, GA–AL
024 Battle Creek, MI	058 Columbus, OH
025 Bay City, MI	059 Corpus Christi, TX
026 Beaumont–Orange, TX	060 Dallas–Fort Worth, TX
027 Billings, MO	061 Danbury, CT
028 Biloxi–Gulfport, MS	062 Davenport–Moline, IA–IL
029 Binghamton, NY–PA	063 Dayton, OH
030 Birmingham, AL	064 Daytona Beach, FL
031 Bloomington, IN	065 Decatur, IL
032 Bloomington–Normal, IL	066 Denver–Boulder, CO
033 Boise City, ID	067 Des Moines, IA
034 Boston, MA	068 Detroit, MI

- 069 Dubuque, IA
070 Duluth–Superior, MN–WI
071 Eau Claire, WI
072 El Paso, TX
073 Elmira, NY
074 Erie, PA
075 Eugene–Springfield, OR
076 Evansville, IN–KY
077 Fall River, MA–RI
078 Fargo–Moorhead, ND–MN
079 Fayetteville, NC
080 Fayetteville–Springdale, AR
081 Fitchburg–Leominster, MA
082 Flint, MI
083 Florence, AL
084 Fort Collins, CO
085 Fort Lauderdale–Hollywood, FL
086 Fort Myers, FL
087 Fort Smith, AR–OK
088 Fort Wayne, IN
089 Fresno, CA
090 Gadsden, AL
091 Gainesville, FL
092 Galveston–Texas City, TX
093 Gary–Hammond–East Chicago, IN
094 Grand Forks, ND–MN
095 Grand Rapids, MI
096 Great Falls, MT
097 Greely, CO
098 Green Bay, WI
099 Greensboro–Winston–Salem NC
100 Greenville–Spartanburg, SC
101 Hamilton–Middletown, OH
102 Harrisburg, PA
103 Hartford, CT
104 Honolulu, HI
105 Houston, TX
106 Huntington–Ashland, WV–KY–OH
107 Huntsville, AL
108 Indianapolis, IN
109 Jackson, MI
110 Jackson, MS
111 Jacksonville, FL
112 Jersey City, NJ
113 Johnson City–Bristol, TN–VA
114 Johnstown, PA
115 Kalamazoo–Portage, MI
116 Kankakee, IL
117 Kansas City, MO–KS
118 Kenosha, WI
119 Killeen–Temple, TX
120 Knoxville, TN
121 Kokomo, IN
122 La Crosse, WI
123 Lafayette, LA
124 Lafayette–West Lafayette, IN
125 Lake Charles, LA
126 Lakeland–Winter Haven, FL
127 Lancaster, PA
128 Lansing–East Lansing, MI
129 Laredo, TX
130 Las Vegas, NV
131 Lawrence, KS
132 Lawrence–Haverhill, MA–NH
133 Lawton, OK
134 Lewiston–Auburn, ME
135 Lexington–Fayette, KY
136 Lima, OH
137 Lincoln, NE
138 Little Rock AR
139 Long Branch–Asbury Park, NJ
140 Longview, TX

Ethnic Collective Action in Contemporary Urban U.S.

- 141 Lorain–Elyria, OH
142 Los Angeles–Long Beach, CA
143 Louisville, KY–IN
144 Lowell, MA–NH
145 Lubbock, TX
146 Lynchburg, VA
147 Macon, GA
148 Madison, WI
149 Manchester, NH
150 Mansfield, OH
151 McAllen–Pharr–Edinburg, TX
152 Melbourne–Cocoa, FL
153 Memphis, TN–AK–MS
154 Meriden, CT
155 Miami, FL
156 Midland, TX
157 Milwaukee, WI
158 Minneapolis–St. Paul, MN–WI
159 Mobile, AL
160 Modesto, CA
161 Monroe, LA
162 Montgomery, AL
163 Muncie, IN
164 Muskegon–North Shores MI
165 Nashua, NH
166 Nashville–Davidson, TN
167 Nassau–Suffolk, NY
168 New Bedford, MA
169 New Britain, CT
170 New Brunswick–Sayreville, NJ
171 New Haven–West Haven, CT
172 New London–Norwich, CT–RI
173 New Orleans, LA
174 New York, NY–NJ
175 Newark, NJ
176 Newport News–Hampton, VA
177 Norfolk–Virginia Beach VA–NC
178 Northeast Pennsylvania
179 Norwalk, CT
180 Odessa, TX
181 Oklahoma City, OK
182 Omaha, NB–IA
183 Orlando, FL
184 Owensboro KY
185 Oxnard–Ventura, CA
186 Panama City, FL
187 Parkersburg–Marietta, WV–OH
188 Pascagoula–Moss Point, MS
189 Paterson–Passaic, NJ
190 Pensacola, FL
191 Peoria, IL
192 Petersburg–Hopewell, VA
193 Philadelphia, PA–NJ
194 Phoenix, AZ
195 Pine Bluff, AR
196 Pittsburgh, PA
197 Pittsfield, MA
198 Portland, ME
199 Portland, OR–WA
200 Poughkeepsie, NY
201 Providence–Pawtucket, RI–MA
202 Provo–Orem, UT
203 Pueblo, CO
204 Racine, WI
205 Raleigh–Durham, NC
206 Reading, PA
207 Reno, NV
208 Richland–Kennewick, WA
209 Richmond, VA
210 Riverside–San Bernardino CA
211 Roanoke, VA
212 Rochester, MN

- 213 Rochester, NY
214 Rockford, IL
215 Sacramento, CA
216 Saginaw, MI
217 St. Cloud, MN
218 St. Joseph, MO
219 St. Louis, MO-IL
220 Salem, OR
221 Salinas-Monterey, CA
222 Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT
223 San Angelo, TX
224 San Antonio, TX
225 San Diego, CA
226 San Francisco-Oakland, CA
227 San Jose, CA
228 Santa Barbara-Lompoc CA
229 Santa Cruz, CA
230 Santa Rosa, CA
231 Sarasota, FL
232 Savannah, GA
233 Seattle-Everett, WA
234 Sherman-Denison, TX
235 Shreveport, LA
236 Sioux City, IA-NB
237 Sioux Falls, SD
238 South Bend, IN
239 Spokane, WA
240 Springfield, IL
241 Springfield, MO
242 Springfield, OH
243 Springfield-Holyoke, MA-CT
244 Stamford, CT
245 Steubenville-Weirton, OH-WV
246 Stockton, CA
247 Syracuse, NY
248 Tacoma, WA
249 Tallahassee, FL
250 Tampa-St. Petersburg, FL
251 Terre Haute, IN
252 Texarkana-TX-AR
253 Toledo, OH-MI
254 Topeka, KS
255 Trenton, NJ
256 Tucson, AZ
257 Tulsa, OK
258 Tuscaloosa, AL
259 Tyler, TX
260 Utica-Rome, NY
261 Vallejo-Napa, CA
262 Vineland-Bridgeton, NJ
263 Waco, TX
264 Washington, DC
265 Waterbury, CT
266 Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA
267 West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL
268 Wheeling, WV-OH
269 Wichita, KS
270 Wichita Falls, TX
271 Williamsport, PA
272 Wilmington, DE-NJ-MD
273 Willmington, NC
274 Worcester, MA
275 Yakima, WA
276 York, PA
277 Youngstown-Warren, OH
278 Anderson, SC
279 Athens, GA
280 Bangor, ME
281 Bellingham, WA
282 Benton Harbor, MI
283 Bismarck, ND
284 Bremerton, WA

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285 Burlington, VT	302 Medford, OR
286 Casper, WY	303 Newark, OH
287 Charlottesville, VA	304 Newburgh–Middletown, NY
288 Chico, CA	305 Ocala, FL
289 Cumberland, MD–WV	306 Olympia, WA
290 Danville, VA	307 Portsmouth–Rochester, NH–ME
291 Elkhart, IN	308 Redding, CA
292 Enid, OK	309 Rock Hill, SC
293 Florence, SC	310 Salisbury–Concord, NC
294 Glens Falls, NY	311 Sharon, PA
295 Hagerstown, MD	312 Sheboygan, WI
296 Hickory, NC	313 State College, PA
297 Iowa City, IA	314 Victoria, TX
298 Jacksonville, NC	315 Visalia–Porterville, CA
299 Janesville–Beloit, WI	316 Wausau, WI
300 Joplin, MO	317 Yuba City, CA
301 Las Cruces, NM	318 Fort Walton Beach, FLA

Table A.2. Ethnic Group Codes

01 Black	19 Vietnamese
02 Mexican or Chicano	20 Undifferentiated South East Asian
03 Puerto Rican	21 Bahamian
04 Cuban	22 Trinidadian
05 Haitian	23 Jamaican
06 Dominican Republic	24 Other West Indian
07 Other Central or South American	30 Undifferentiated White
09 Undifferentiated Hispanic or Latino	31 Italian
12 Chinese	32 Jewish
13 Japanese	33 Other European
14 Korean	34 Arab
15 Filipino	40 Integrated group or ethnic mix
16 Asian Indian	50 Asian—Not specified by nationality
17 Malaysian	51 Eastern European
18 Hawaiian	60 Police*

*The “police” are coded as an ethnic group only if they are the explicit targets of an ethnic/racial conflict, and as such represent the “system.” For example, when a mob of African-American attacks a police station specifically as a symbol of the white power structure.