

Analyzing the Relationship Between Live Music Performances and Violence in Madison

By

**Cody Fearing, Taylor Konkle, Jacquelyn Laitsch, Hannah Pierce, Claire Rater,
Teddy Varelis, Randy Stoecker¹**

**Department of Community and Environmental Sociology
University of Wisconsin-Madison**

May, 2017

¹ Allison Connell, Jordan Minick, Brigham Starks, and Mandy Thor were also part of the fall 2016 Community and Environmental Sociology capstone class research team and contributed to the data collection. Many thanks to the University of Wisconsin-Madison Morgridge Center for Public Service for supporting this research with a Service Learning Fellow, Maximum Ink for providing their paper archives, and the Isthmus for providing access to their performances database. Thanks to Madison Police Department for providing the initial data sets.

Contents

Abstract

Why do This Study?

What Does the Research Say?

Methods of Our Study

How Did We Construct the Data Set?

How Did We Determine the Genre Codes?

Our Analyses

Map Analysis

Methods for Map Analysis

Map Discussion

Genre Calls Ratios Analysis

Methods for genre calls ratios analysis

Discussion of genre calls ratios analysis

Comparing Calls and Offenses for Genres

Methods for the calls versus offenses analysis

Discussion of calls versus offenses analysis

Studying violence in police calls and offenses

Methods for violence ratio analyses

Discussion of violence ratio analyses

Limitations and Conclusion

Summary of Major Findings

Appendices

Abstract

This project tested the dominant cultural belief that Hip-Hop music is a more violent form of music. We collaborated with Dr. Karen Reece, president of the Urban Community Arts Network (UCAN), which confronts the racialized barriers local Hip-Hop artists face and builds sustainable and safe performance opportunities for all local Hip-Hop artists. Our research compared music genres and indicators of violence. Using data from the Madison Police Department (2008-2016), we coded and analyzed 4,624 police calls made from bars, clubs and venues licensed to host live musical performances in Madison. We then determined whether there was a live music performance during the time of a police call by using archives from local publications, venue websites, and direct correspondence with venues. When compared with all other genres, our analysis does not confirm the popular belief that live Hip-Hop performances have higher instances of violence in Madison, WI.

Introduction--Why do This Study

Hip-Hop² is an underrepresented music genre in the city of Madison, Wisconsin. The stigma that Hip-Hop is a music genre associated with violence, especially weapons violence, is one that criminalizes the genre as a whole and hurts local artists through their complete lack of access to performance space. The news media perpetuates the stigma, making isolated incidents sound commonplace with comments such as “The, ahem, rap against Hip-Hop shows in Madison has long been that they attract violent crowds — and sometimes they do, including ones with guns.”³

The UW Madison Department of Community and Environmental Sociology’s partnership with the Urban Community Arts Network has helped bridge knowledge about the music scene and social research methods to study the question of whether Hip-Hop is a more violent music genre. We know that other genres of music in Madison have developed networks of artists, booking agents, and venue owners. These connections and straightforward avenues to performance opportunities are not present for Hip-Hop artists to establish themselves in the local music scene. Many problems with venue space for local Hip-Hop artists have arisen in the past in Madison. The Frequency, a downtown music venue, put a complete ban on the genre after a weapons incident outside the venue after a Hip-Hop show.⁴ Many local bars have filtered Hip-Hop out of their jukeboxes, even though currently about 40 of the top Billboard 100 songs are in the Hip-Hop genre.^{5,6} The exclusion of Hip-Hop from professional performance spaces sends the genre underground to places such as house parties, thus risking further criminalization.

But is the dominant cultural fear of Hip-Hop deserved? We have seen in our data that weapons incidents have occurred during a wide variety of genres of live performances in Madison, and the highest incidence by genre was not live Hip-Hop shows. But weapons incidents related with the Hip-Hop genre seem to generate wider media attention than other genres, and add to the stigma associated with violence. Because of the poor relationship the city of Madison has with Hip-Hop as a whole, and the lack of performance space for so many talented artists, we have taken on this research project that looks at the relationship between music genre and violence, as seen through police calls for service.

What does the Research Say?

The current literature on Hip-Hop music focuses heavily on themes of the genre’s historical emergence, lyrical analysis, and potential to promote cultural violence. There is limited research

²The Urban Community Arts Network uses the term “Hip-Hop” to designate the genre as a formally named genre. We follow that usage in this report.

³ Chris Rickert. Chris Rickert: Madison city officials look to get jiggy wit' it. Wisconsin State Journal, February 23, 2017. http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/columnists/chris-rickert/chris-rickert-madison-city-officials-look-to-get-jiggy-wit/article_10ca52d4-09d6-5547-ab86-254230a9a321.html

⁴Andy Downing. The Frequency pulls the plug on Hip-Hop after gun incident. The Capital Times, January 31, 2013. http://host.madison.com/ct/entertainment/music/the-frequency-pulls-the-plug-on-Hip-Hop-after-gun/article_93839fc8-6b13-11e2-8328-0019bb2963f4.html

⁵Gina Heeb. Several downtown Madison bars filter Hip-Hop from TouchTunes players. The Daily Cardinal, April 24, 2017. <http://www.dailycardinal.com/article/2017/04/several-downtown-madison-bars-filter-Hip-Hop-from-touchtunes-players>

⁶The Hot 100. Billboard. <http://www.billboard.com/charts/hot-100>

on the relationship between live music performances and violence. Roberts and Mattern, for example, found that live music performers could use their command of the venue to mitigate confrontation and fighting amongst their audiences.⁷ Armstrong examined the lyrical content of Rap and Country music through quantitative analyses and could not provide significant evidence that distinguished the two genres in relation to violent content.⁸

Other research has looked more generally at the relationship between music genre and violence. Chen et al. found several genres of music--including Hip-Hop, Metal, and Techno--that suggested increased tendencies for alcohol use and aggressive behavior within a sample of young people. They also found that listening preferences could reflect personal predispositions or lifestyle preferences.⁹ Wingood et al. found that exposure to Rap music videos was positively associated with aggressive behaviors and negative health outcomes at a 12-month follow-up for Black girls ages 14-18.¹⁰

None of this research gets at the focus of our study--whether live Hip-Hop performances have more incidents of violence than other genres. These studies also do not question the race and class biases that inform perceptions of aggression, threat, and criminality.¹¹

Groups working in communities are challenging the criminalization and stigmatization of Hip-Hop culture/s, performance artists, and Black and Brown communities. Organizations such as the Urban Community Arts Network, First Wave under the UW-Madison Office of Multicultural Arts Initiative (OMAI), and the John "Vietnam" Nguyen Project's One Life Program engage Hip-Hop as a vessel for community-based empowerment, creative justice, and collective liberation.¹² Community-based organizations are integrating Hip-Hop and performance space cultivation as a viable tool for leadership and career development.¹³ In some places the cultural production of Hip-Hop music and performance spaces are being used as resistance to hyper-criminalization and structural violence.¹⁴ In Central America, culturally specific ideologies of non-violence are being interwoven into Hip-Hop lyrics and performance spaces.¹⁵

⁷ Music, Musicians, and Barroom Aggression. Mattern, K. Roberts, J.C. The Qualitative Report 2014 Volume 19, Article 82, 1-21.

⁸ The Rhetoric of Violence in Rap and Country Music. Armstrong, E. Sociological Inquiry 63(1): 64-78. January 2007.

⁹ Music, Substance Use, and Aggression. Chen, M.-Jinn; Miller, B.; Grube, J.; Waiters, Elizabeth Journal of Studies on Alcohol, May 2006, Vol.67(3), pp.373-381

¹⁰ A Prospective Study of Exposure to Rap Music Videos and African American Female Adolescents' Health. Wingood GM, DiClemente RJ, Bernhardt JM. American Journal of Public Health. 2003;93 (3):437-439.

¹¹ Hip hop and the Aesthetics of Criminalization. Queeley, A. Souls, 2003, 5:1.

Looking to Get Paid: How Some Black Youth Put Culture to Work, in Yo' Mama's Disfunktional! Fighting Culture Wars in Urban America. Robin D.G. Kelley. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 77.

¹² UCAN: <http://ucanmadison.blogspot.com/>; First Wave-OMAI <https://omai.wisc.edu/>; John Vietnam Nguyen Project:

<http://www.dailycardinal.com/article/2017/04/the-jvn-project-empowering-youth-and-connecting-communities-through-the-art-of-Hip-Hop>

¹³ Open mic: Professionalizing the rap career. Lee, J. Ethnography, Vol. 10, No. 4, Special Double Issue (Part One)--Urban Ethnography: Its Traditions and Its Future (December 2009), pp. 475-495

¹⁴ Deviant Politics: Hip Hop as a form of resistance against hyper-criminalization and structural violence. Diaz, S.I. University of Texas-El Paso. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing. 2015.

¹⁵ La Filosofía de la no violencia en Guatemala: Retirándose de la violencia a través del Hip Hop. Sepúlveda, M. Anuario de Estudios Centoamericanos, Universidad de Costa Rica, 40: 263-288, 2014.

Challenging dominant beliefs that criminalize and stigmatize Hip-Hop requires both counter-examples and good data. After learning and experiencing the local Hip-Hop scene and reviewing the literature, it was evident that there was a need for studying the relationship between Hip-Hop music and violence further. Local Hip-Hop artists lack venue space due to stigma around their relationship with violence; we have studied the police data to see if this perception has any validity. This study seeks to provide good data that can help us see more clearly the extent to which Hip-Hop is associated with violence in the real world, rather than just in people's minds.

Methods of Our Study

Our study tests the dominant cultural perspective that sees Hip-Hop music as a more violent music genre. We treat this belief as a testable hypothesis. The hypothesis (H_1) is that live Hip-Hop shows are more violent than other genres of music. In classic forms of scientific research, the main hypothesis is accompanied by a "null hypothesis" stating that there is "no difference." So in this case the null hypothesis (H_0) is that Hip-Hop is not more violent prone than any other genre of music. In classic forms of scientific research one is never able to "prove" the hypothesis. Rather, the task is to "disprove" the null hypothesis. In our case, then, that means "disproving" that there is no difference between Hip-Hop and other genres when it comes to their association with violence.

The next step is to find good data with which to conduct the research. There are, of course, many potential ways to study "violence" in relation to musical genres. Our concern was most focused on the issue of Hip-Hop artists not having access to performance space. So our study was also focused on data related to violence during musical performances. The best data set we could imagine was from the Madison Police Department that documented calls for service during the times of performances.

How did we construct the data set?

Our project started in the fall of 2016 with a list of 10,214 calls for service we received from the Madison Police Department to 63 Madison bars with entertainment licenses and live music within the timeframe of 2008-2016. Not all bars had calls. This was a comprehensive list of calls for service at 46 live music venues in Madison over the time period of 2008-2016. This initial data set did not include any information about whether there was a music performance during the time of the call. The first thing we did with this data was to have each researcher look up a few of the venues and determine how difficult it was to find past performance data for the study period. Our goal was for a complete data point to include the police call information, along with the performer, genre, and set time of a live performance/DJ set on the date of the call, or a designation of no music on that date. Police calls for service that were made between the hours of 12am-3:59am were filled in by using performance data from the preceding date. Through our initial search, we determined that Isthmus online calendar archives, venue websites, WORT FM's website, and Facebook event pages were good places to start to fill in data points. Other sources we used to fill in data include: Madison Public Library newspaper archives, *The Wisconsin State Journal* and *The Cap Times* publications, *Songkick*, *Bands In Town*, *Archive (Way Way Back Machine)*, *Eventbrite*, *Eventful*, *Thrillcall*, and webpages for individual artists.

Many of the police calls for service were irrelevant to our study, and were therefore removed from our initial list of 10,214 calls. A list of all of the call descriptions from the MPD original spreadsheet, and all of the call descriptions we removed from that spreadsheet can be found in

Appendix A. Contact with MPD gave us information with which to clarify call descriptions and determine which calls we should keep and delete. We excluded police calls for service if they were made between the hours of 4:00 am and 7:00 pm. Some other criteria for specific call descriptions to be excluded are if they were not made in response to chargeable offenses, such as “silent 911 call” (typically a pocket dial), or if they were descriptions such as “traffic incident,” where the call was clearly not tied to the venue.

Another way that we edited the data set was by eliminating some of our initial venues. Some venues we started with did not hold liquor licenses, which was one of our venue criteria for the study. We also did not include hotels with live music venues within their restaurants as there was no way to tell whether the police calls for service related to the music, or to the hotel functions at the address. We did not include venues that had fewer than five calls for service over the last eight years and that were not primarily live music venues. We also limited our research to the Madison city limits, so venues that were in neighboring towns were not included (ex. Inferno Nightclub). The final data included 4,625 calls for service.

We divided the edited data set among research team members to search for performances that matched the times of the calls. Each member was given about the same number of calls, which were divided according to venue. Many of our data sources at this point were not comprehensive, so determining whether to conclude a certain night had “no live music” was difficult. The team followed a process of checking multiple sources before determining whether there was, in fact, no live performance/DJ set, and recording that in the dataset.

Many of the venues we studied were not in operation for the entirety of the 2008-2016 period. We addressed this by either deleting calls outside of the time frame in which a venue was operational or, if the venue changed names to another live performance/DJ venue within our study period, we listed the new name in the dataset.

The team realized that we did not have enough complete sources online, so we reached out to local media sources for aid. After a scheduled meeting with *The Isthmus*, their calendar editor Bob Koch graciously provided digital calendar archives for 28 individual venues within our study population between the years 2009 and 2015. The year 2016 was available to us on *The Isthmus* calendar archive online. Many shows in the archives from *The Isthmus* included a distinction as “on-going” or “on-going expired”, and this was interpreted as either a weekly performer, or the end of a weekly performer at the venue.

Another local print media source that the team used was *Maximum Ink*. For this source, sole curator and writer Rökker graciously provided hard copies of each monthly issue from 2008-2016. Within each issue, we searched for live music performances/DJ sets at every venue within our population. Since this source went back to 2008, and *The Isthmus* only went back to 2009, most of our 2008 data is reliant on *Maximum Ink*. This source, along with *The Isthmus*, provided a majority of our live performance/DJ set data.

For specific shows across all sources, it was common to only find the performer and set time. Since the genre was missing from many of the primary sources, we had to look elsewhere to find genres for each performance in the dataset. On performer’s Facebook pages we found many genres under the “about” tab. Other websites we used to fill in genre data for calls include: *YouTube*, *SoundCloud*, *Mixcloud*, venue Facebook pages, performer web pages, general Google searches, and *Songkick*. When multiple genres were listed for a performer, all were added into the spreadsheet for later re-coding and simplifying.

We tried collecting information directly from venues themselves and had varying degrees of response and willingness to contribute. In some cases, venue owners provided us with confidential information but did not give us permission to use the information in this study. That information is not included in our data set.

At the end of the 2016 fall semester, the team consolidated all data, and made sure everything was clean and organized into a new final master spreadsheet. This included ensuring that all cases with live-performances had the genre and set time included, clarifying what certain coding meant for each group-member's individual spreadsheet, making sure the "unwanted" calls were removed from the spreadsheet, and cross referencing calls at random to make sure mistakes weren't made when transferring data.

MPD offered us a second data set on the offenses (charges) made from the calls for service at our same 46 venue addresses over our study period (2008-2016). This dataset contains 1,661 cases.

In the 2017 spring semester, six out of nine researchers from the fall capstone course continued working with the data. We focused primarily on analysis, but the data collection process was still a major part of the work we completed.

We started the semester by contacting venues directly and asking for information on past performances. A script we used for all contact can be found in Appendix B. We contacted Crystal Corner Bar, Segredo's/Liquid, Red Zone/ The Annex, Whiskey Jacks, The Wisco, The Orpheum, Genna's, Knuckle Down Saloon, The Rigby, Babes, Madison's, Come Back Inn, Essen Haus, and Tip Top Tavern.

Of these venues we heard back from all but one venue. Even though we heard back from most venues, we only received *specific live music performance/DJ set information* from Come Back Inn and Essen Haus, who graciously provided us with their past performance data for the years 2013-2015.

Our final master spreadsheet was combined with the offenses spreadsheet for analysis, and this process identified 881 calls we had missed from our original calls for service spreadsheet. After eliminating the calls that were either out of our time frame, or had call descriptions we had decided to delete, there were 430 calls to complete performance, genre, and set time for. We followed the same methods as first semester in exhausting all of our sources from *The Isthmus*, *Maximum Ink*, and multiple other online sources to complete this dataset. We also found a few new online sources that were helpful: *archive.org* (*The WayBack Machine*), and *JamBase*.

With the new calls that we had originally missed, and the calls that were not completed after first semester, the team went back and made sure to exhaust all sources to fill in gaps in the data. When we exhausted all sources and could not find show data, we either used the codes "no live music" or "unknown" to say if we were sure there was no show, or if we did not have enough information to tell.

We then focused on the calls that were coded as "unknown;" these were the calls for service that we had not yet found enough information to determine if there was a performance. We decided to eliminate the "unknown" code by going through the hard copies of *Maximum Ink* as provided by Rökker one last time to look for patterns of live music to determine whether we could confidently say if there was music or not. When we saw a pattern in bands playing on certain days of the week at the same bar, but could not find show-specific data, we used the

code “probably live music” in the dataset. We also used these patterns for gaps in the data to say “probably no music” on nights the venue did not usually host a live music performer/DJ.

In the final run through Maximum Ink we identified nine venues with liquor licenses and live performances. Only three of those venues seem to have regular and frequent live performances, all of which are a combination of rock genres with either blues or country. The others were Celtic, solo performers, or jazz. Based on the fact that an initial analysis in fall of 2016, before we had fully cleaned the data and found the missing cases, was confirmed by the current analysis, we highly doubt anything will change when we include these venues. These venues are listed in Appendix C.

How did we determine the Genre Codes?

To analyze the hypothesis that live Hip-Hop shows are more violent than other genres of music, we calculated and compared the number of total calls and violent calls based on genre. Music genres can be dynamic and subjective, especially for local musicians with a unique, hybrid sound or who have a very niche audience. Importantly, artists’ genres do not always conform to the venue’s overall genre reputation. For transparency and consistency, every live music event that occurred during one of our police calls received two genre codes: a detailed genre and a simplified genre.

We applied a detailed genre code to each live music performance in the data set. In cases where venues booked multiple musicians for a single evening, the detailed genre code includes genres from all performances. For example, one evening at Crystal Corner had three performers - Tani Diakite & the Afrofunkstars, Samba Novistas, and DJ Spincycle - and their corresponding genre code is “Malian Blues-Funk, Samba, and DJ music (African, Latin, & Caribbean)”. These genre codes are very unique and display the performers’ self-identified genres. We determined show genres using the artist’s Facebook and website pages, SongKick, ReverbNation, and Wikipedia.

For evenings in which the performance genres vary greatly (Opera/Comedy; Samba/Electro), the detailed genre code reflects the performance that occurred closest to the police call. For example, if there were two shows, one at 7:30PM and one at 10:00PM, and the police call occurred at 1:30AM, the genre of the artist who played at 10:00PM would be used. Additionally, we drew upon the musical reputations of venues for artists who typically performed a wide range of genres.

A simplified genre code streamlined the analysis process. We condensed hundreds of artist-identified genres down into 23 categories by considering genre influences, fusion and parent genres, and popularity. UCAN experts then reviewed our codes. These 23 categories are outlined and explained in Appendix D. Many of these genres overlap in their sounds and origins, but we use these categories to highlight differences in the audiences that attend these shows and the corresponding atmospheres of venues hosting these shows. For example, we simplified “Country/Folk/Americana/Bluegrass” into “Country” because of stylistic overlaps - country influences the other three categories - and because of the venue’s reputation for playing country music.

Hip-Hop music received three codes because exclusively Hip-Hop shows are rare in Madison. We wanted to highlight the difference between shows that are purely Hip-Hop and shows that are influenced by Hip-Hop. Rock music received additional attention as well due to its

overwhelming frequency and variation. As a highly dynamic genre, both contributing to many genres and influenced by many genres, rock music earned multiple simplified codes: American and Classical Rock, hard rock and heavy metal, punk. Of the many rock subgenres, we chose these categories for their popularity in our dataset and the different audiences they would attract. All other rock codes fell into the “Rock Mix” category, such as alt-rock, blues rock, and psychedelic rock.

Jam Band mix and singer-songwriter mix are smaller, less popular genres from our dataset but they both create a notably different atmosphere at venues and draw a unique crowd of showgoers. Jam bands are famous for genre-crossing, long instrumental jams, and improvisational live shows. Although jam bands could be classified based on the genres that most influence them, such as rock or folk, they earned their own category because of their tendency to create festival-like atmospheres. Similarly, we thought that singer-songwriters in Madison deserve their own code as well because as writer, singer, and instrumentalist, they are more able to cross genres. As a one-person-show, the atmosphere is more casual and less conducive to rowdy dancing or partying.

Karaoke and open mic, although not exactly a music *genre*, are categorized alone as well because these events are very different than other shows. For details on karaoke and open mic culture Madison, we interviewed Kent Genis, a local musician who’s been attending open mic nights in Madison for 12 years. Based on his experience, karaoke nights are not typically considered live music *performances* and music played often varies in genre. These events often occur late on weekend nights, and so dancing is very common. For open-mic, performers typically sign up the night of and can perform a wide range of music genres, depending on the venue. Very often, open-mic events are sit-down affairs. Open-mic nights can host a very wide variety of music, so attaching a specific genre code would be unrealistic. Some venues have dedicated open-mic nights that feature a specific local artist, and thus that performer sets the tone for the evening.

Using the simplified genre codes, we assigned each venue three genre codes based on the number of shows per genre in our dataset, the venue’s self-advertised music reputation, and public reputation. Most venues play a variety of genres, so we believe three codes captures this diversity and more accurately reveal the style of music at our venues. Noteworthy, our venues’ genre codes are not all encompassing. Rather, these codes reflect the most common genres that occurred on nights receiving police calls.

For venues that had fewer than ten police calls or few known live music events during those calls, we relied almost completely on other sources: venues websites, Facebook pages, third party websites (WORT 89.9FM), local online newspapers (Isthmus.com), university newspapers (Badger Herald, The Daily Cardinal), and word-of-mouth (Karen Reece, president of UCAN). For example, Area 51 Bar & Grill often had live music shows, but we could not identify specific performances or artists, so we coded nights that had live music as “Probably: Electro, Mixed or Rock, Country,” based on secondary sources, as the ones listed above.

Our Analyses

Finding reliable data on performances was challenging. In some cases we had to rely on our knowledge of venues and our judgment to decide whether there were reliable patterns of performances that we could add to the police data set. And in some cases we simply could not say for sure whether there was a performance at a given venue at a given time. Consequently, we are also using a “triangulation” method to conduct our analyses. In triangulation, the

researcher tries to study something using a variety of different methods and a variety of different angles. Then, to the extent those different analyses agree, the researcher can be more certain they are getting a full and true picture of what they are studying. The following sections will cover all the analyses we conducted.

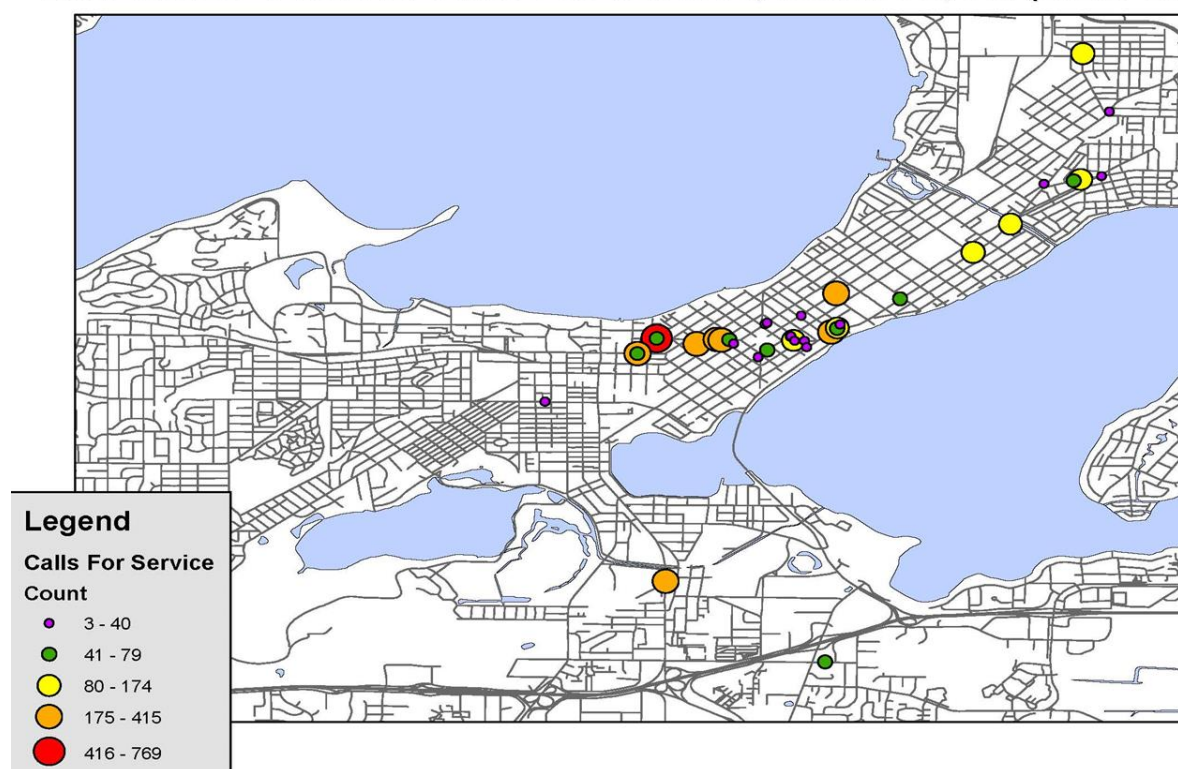
Map analysis

Our first analysis was a descriptive approach to see where police calls were concentrated in the Madison music scene.

Methods for map analysis

The map was constructed using the police calls for service for each of the venues between 2008 and 2016. Using ArcGIS, the addresses of each venue were geocoded to a shape file of Dane County. Each venue is represented by a location point which varies in size depending on the number of calls the venue received over the eight years. The density of call counts is broken down into 5 categories and described in the key.

Live Music Venues: Calls For Service, Madison, WI (2008-2016)



Map Discussion

One venue had a significant amount of calls in comparison to the others and is in its own category (red). The venues that have higher calls for service overall are located within the heart of downtown. There are no venues on the Eastside of Madison with more than 172 calls between 2008 and 2016. This could be due to the fact that high density housing and students are concentrated in the downtown State Street area of Madison. It is important to note that those

venues closer to more diverse populations in the city do not stand out as exceptionally heavy call locations. Hip-Hop is a racialized genre, but its actual fan base (and in Madison also its performer base) is extremely diverse. The mainstream cultural hypothesis we are testing--that Hip-Hop is a medium associated with greater violence--is also a racialized hypothesis because of the genre's association with African Americans, who are also believed to be more violent.¹⁶ Yet, our initial analysis shows the highest concentration of calls to bars that cater to the overwhelmingly white University of Wisconsin student population. But this analysis remains at a pretty superficial level. The next analyses will drill down into this general finding.

Genre call ratios analysis

Another way to get at our hypothesis is to find a way to see whether Hip-Hop generates more calls. If we had a complete data set that included all the performances for all the venues in Madison, regardless of whether there were any police calls, this analysis would be easier. But that data set is too impractical to construct. Instead, in this analysis, we used the venue codes and then looked at the ratio of calls by months in operation for each venue, and then combined those to get a genre-level ratio analysis. This also controls for the difference in numbers of performances of different genres.

Methods for genre call ratios analysis

To compare the frequency of police calls across music genres, we tallied the number of police calls and months of operation for each venue and noted if calls corresponded to a particular genre of music frequently, infrequently, or not at all. Genres included: Hip-Hop All, Live Hip-Hop, Hip-Hop All No Live, Jazz, Country, Latin, Bluegrass, Blues, Rock, Folk, EDM, and Karaoke.

This was done by organizing all data for number of police calls, months of operation (during the 2008-2016 time frame), and the frequency of each of our genres for each venue into an excel spreadsheet. We cross checked this with the data from the Madison Police Department, venue websites and newspaper archives. The newspaper archives we used were the Capital Times archive, the Isthmus archive, and Maximum Ink archives. We used the combined simplified genres of, Rock, Blues, Bluegrass, Country, Jazz, Folk, EDM, Karaoke, Latin, and Hip-Hop. We chose these genres because they most accurately represented our dataset in that each genre had 50 or more calls on the police calls datasheet (the Performing Arts code also met these criteria but, as it was not music, we did not include it in our analysis).

Hip-Hop was divided into three different categories. "Hip-Hop All", "Mixed with Hip-Hop / DJs" (All Hip-Hop including Mixes and DJs-minus live, true Hip-Hop performances), and "Live Hip-Hop." These categories were distinguished by examining the detailed genres for each performance/artist and comparing them to the list of 23 simplified genres that include the detailed genres that fit under each category (See Appendix D). The purpose of these three distinctions is to see how the number of police calls compared with only true, live Hip-Hop and, Hip-Hop Mixes/DJs. The simplified genre category, "Hip-Hop Mix" includes many different genres including, R&B, Reggae, Jazz, Rock, House, Latin, Salsa, Reggaeton, Dance, Soul, Club Music, Funk, Electronic, Techno, EDM, Trance, Pop, Drum and Bass, and Hip-Hop DJs. The simplified genre, "Hip-Hop (only)" includes Hip-Hop (southern). The simplified genre category "Hip-Hop/Rap" includes Rap Collective, Rap, Hip-Hop, Hip-Hop/Funk, Hip-Hop/R&B/Pop, American Rap. These two simplified genres, Hip-Hop only and Hip-Hop/Rap, are

¹⁶ Michelle Alexander. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. 2010. The New Press.

the two “true” Hip-Hop categories. These are used for comparison because they do not include other genres, allowing us to analyze police calls strictly for Hip-Hop performances. A popular way to play Hip-Hop in Madison is through Hip-Hop DJs. DJs that play Hip-Hop frequent many different venues in Madison including Cardinal Bar, Liquid, Natt Spil, Segredo’s, The Knuckle Down Saloon, and The Red Zone (and The Annex@ The Red Zone). DJs also typically play many different genres of music and are not an accurate representation of Hip-Hop artists. They may typically have younger, more party-oriented crowds that are not coming to see strictly Hip-Hop shows.

“Hip-Hop All” includes all genres that fall under the three Hip-Hop codes: Hip-Hop (only), Hip-Hop/Rap, and Hip-Hop Mix. “Live Hip-Hop” includes all genres that fell under Hip-Hop (only) and Hip-Hop/Rap. No DJs were included in this category. “Mixed with Hip-Hop / DJs” includes all genres that fall under the category Hip-Hop Mix. No live, true Hip-Hop performances were included in this category. Everything that was included in the “Live Hip-Hop” category was excluded from the “Mixed with Hip-Hop / DJs” category. In our data set listing police calls, performers, and genres, performances that were categorized with the simplified genre category “Hip-Hop” were put into the categories “Hip-Hop All” and “Live Hip-Hop” for this analysis. Those that were categorized with anything including Hip-Hop Mix, were put into the category “Hip-Hop All” and “Mixed with Hip-Hop / DJs” for this analysis. The “Live Hip-Hop” category only included those that were categorized as “Hip-Hop” in the data set.

The category “Live Hip-Hop” is intended to be the category of reference for Hip-Hop in Madison. This is the “true” Hip-Hop category, so the results for “Live Hip-Hop” in Madison will highlight the number of police calls live Hip-Hop performances receives in Madison.

Each venue was coded by frequency of genre, rather than by one specific genre, because most venues play a diverse set of music genres. It would be an injustice to generalize each venue this way, so we thought it was better to take our most popular genres and highlight how often each venue played each genre. In the final chart, we coded each venue as “Mixed w/ Genre X” and then “Frequently,” “Infrequently,” or “None.” These are mixed because each venue plays a large selection of music. So it is rarely just one genre of music. But, “frequently” signifies that they play genre X a lot, “infrequently” shows that they play genre X a little, and “none” signifies that they do not play genre X. For example, the Orpheum Theater had 38 out of 136 calls for Hip-Hop, so this was coded as “Live Hip-Hop Frequently,” as other genres had five or six calls. The Barrymore Theater had 68 calls, and the genres appearing most frequently were for Rock, Hip-Hop, EDM Mix, and Performing Arts. Even though there were only eight calls for Hip-Hop, this is still considered “Live Hip-Hop Frequently” because it was in the majority of calls. Rock had six calls, Hip-Hop had eight calls, EDM Mix had six calls, Performing Arts had seven calls, and Jam Band Mix had nine calls (the remaining 32 calls were either unidentified genres or were not a frequent genre with only one or two calls). This puts Hip-Hop calls in the majority of police calls, so we coded this venue as “Live Hip-Hop Frequently.” As our data was based on police calls only, we could only classify frequency of genres per venue based on how many police calls respective genres received.

The distinction between “frequently,” “infrequently,” and “none” was decided by counting the number of times a genre showed up for a venue’s police calls. From there, we were able to base the “frequently,” “infrequently,” and “none” codes on the ratios of calls. This involved some individual judgment for each venue. For example, a venue where two of ten calls were Hip-Hop might be coded as “frequent” whereas another venue where four of fifty calls were Hip-Hop might be coded as “infrequent.” We thus considered both the number of calls and the

proportion, relying more on the number for venues that had more calls. Appendix E shows the most common genre for each venue and contains our list of genre of police calls per venue.

During the calls per month per genre analysis, some venues were treated specially in the analysis due to too few calls or too many calls. Genna's Lounge, LeChardonnay, and Madison's were excluded due to their short list of calls. Two analyses were run to compare Hip-Hop calls per month per genre with and without R Place on Park. Two analyses were also run to compare Country calls per month per genre with and without Whiskey Jack's. R Place on Park and Whiskey Jack's had well over the average amount of calls per month. All of these venues are still included in the rest of our analysis and data sets.

In order to get these numbers, we tallied up the number of calls per genre at each venue. Using 12 genre categories, we have 12 different tallies for each venue. Then we tallied up the months of operation for each venue, accounting for months in which we could confirm venues were closed temporarily. Then, we divided the "calls per venue" tally by the "months of operation" tally. The interpretation of each numbered result would be the average number of calls per month that genre frequency received.

Discussion of genre call ratios analysis:

Table 1: Frequency of Police Calls Per Month Per Genre (2008-2016)			
Genre*			
	<i>Frequently</i>	<i>Infrequently</i>	<i>None</i>
Bluegrass	0.76	1.28	1.41
Blues	0.78	1.55	1.27
Country**	2.90	0.91	1.10
EDM	2.04	0.97	1.10
Folk	0.75	1.41	0.92
Hip-Hop All**	2.39	0.97	1.03
Mixed with Hip-Hop / DJs**	3.00	1.22	1.03
Live Hip-Hop**	1.53	2.08	1.20
Jazz	1.00	0.99	1.49
Karaoke	0.64	1.04	1.42
Latin	1.25	2.21	1.12
Rock	1.02	0.72	2.26

*All categories use the “mixed” coding scheme

**These analyses include R-Place on Park as well as Whiskey Jack’s, respectively

The first thing to note from Table 1 is that what differences do exist are not large. In the “frequently” column, which is the best column to judge the ratio of police calls for a genre, the results range from a low of .76 calls per month per venue for bluegrass to a high of 3 calls per month per venue for Hip-Hop all (no live).

The genres with the highest calls per month per genre include (in order from highest to lowest) Mixed with Hip-Hop / DJs Frequently, Country Frequently, Hip-Hop All Frequently, and EDM Frequently.

Two other genre categories that received comparably high calls per month were (in order from highest to lowest), Rock None, Latin Infrequently, and Live Hip-Hop Infrequently. This does not show that these genres had high ratios of police calls per month, but that these categories must be mixed with genres/venues that do have high averages of police calls per month.

The distribution of Hip-Hop across the three different categories of Hip-Hop All, Mixed with Hip-Hop / DJs, and Live Hip-Hop showed differences. The highest of these three categories was Mixed with Hip-Hop / DJs Frequently with an average of 3.00 police calls per month. But it is important to remember that we cannot be certain how much Hip-Hop is actually played in this category. The Live Hip-Hop Frequently category (our reference category for analysis) has 1.53 calls per month, which is the fifth highest calls per month in the “Frequently” category.

It is unclear whether these differences are large enough to warrant explanation. What is important to this study is that they do not clearly or decisively support the dominant cultural hypothesis that live Hip-Hop performances are more dangerous as measured by the overall number of police calls for service. We also cannot conclude with any certainty what the explanation might be for the differences are. But it may be interesting to study whether live Hip-Hop shows may have a different kind of security that lowers the number of police calls.

To drill down into our data bit data we did another analysis. Table 1 includes two potential outlier venues, R-Place on Park and Whiskey Jack’s. R-Place on Park had 255 calls, and we could only find advertised performances for five of those calls. It was also difficult to find people knowledgeable enough about the venue to give us solid extra information, and there were stories of over-policing in the community. Whiskey Jack’s had 769 calls, and we could only find six advertised performances. We talked to knowledgeable parties who helped us learn of patterns for regular live performances and what genre the performances typically were. Due to these factors of large amounts of calls with small amounts of data, we wanted to run an analysis that excluded these venues so we could analyze our concrete data without large amounts of calls where we had to estimate performers and genres.

The results of analysis without R-Place on Park and Whiskey Jack’s were as follows:

Country: Frequently= 1.95 (compared to 2.90 including Whiskey Jack’s), Infrequently= 0.91 (No Change), None= 1.10 (No Change)

Hip-Hop All: Frequently= 2.19 (compared to 2.39 including R-Place on Park), Infrequently= 0.97 (No Change), None= 1.03 (No Change)

Mixed with Hip-Hop / DJs: Frequently= 2.68 (compared to 3.00 including R-Place on Park), Infrequently= 1.22 (No Change), None= 1.03 (No Change)

Live Hip-Hop: Frequently= 1.534 (No Change), Infrequently= 2.079 (No Change), None= 1.28 (compared to 1.201 including R-Place on Park)

The removal of Whiskey Jack's showed declines in the call ratios for the Country Frequently category. This could mean that Whiskey Jack's is a venue that receives a high number of police calls for reasons beyond the type of music that they play. Even then, however, country music still was higher than live Hip-Hop. The removal of R-Place on Park did not seem to have much effect except on the Mixed with Hip-Hop / DJs category. Our subsequent analyses will include both venues, but the reader should keep in mind our findings here.

Based on our analysis so far, then, we cannot conclude that Hip-Hop, particularly live Hip-Hop, is a genre that is clearly more associated with danger. But this analysis only looks at the number of overall police calls, which includes a wide variety of incidents, most of which do not include any kind of violence. Additionally, this method imperfectly standardizes the data. We have to assume that the proportions of calls for each genre in each venue are relatively equal. That is not an outlandish assumption, since Madison bars tend to have somewhat stable groups of patrons, making it less likely that different genres will bring different patrons to a bar. But we have no data to verify this assumption. To deal with some of these challenges we turn next to the genre analyses.

Comparing Calls and Offenses for Genres

It is important to understand that calls for service are coded by dispatchers. Once an officer arrives on the scene they may find circumstances to be different than the call code. Sometimes they don't find anything that needs an intervention. So analyses that focus only on calls for service may be biased by "false positives." Because we have both a calls for service data set and another data set that lists charged offenses for those calls we can see whether calls for service for different genres produce different proportions of charged offenses.

Methods for the calls versus offenses analysis

A call for service to the police does not always mean that there is an actual threat or crime. One way to determine whether a call indicates an actual threat is to look at another data set on actual charges. Each data set has a common code, so we can compare which calls resulted in offense charges.¹⁷ To determine the proportion of calls for service that resulted in offenses we combined the calls and offenses data sets by matching the call codes and times and dates of service. We then totaled the calls for service for each genre, and found the proportion of those calls that resulted in offense charges. The proportion of calls that ended in offenses per simplified genre code was made by dividing the total number of offenses per simplified genre code by the total number of calls for service per simplified genre code.¹⁸

¹⁷ It is also important to remember that charges don't necessarily result in convictions.

¹⁸ This data only includes the codes, and nothing on who was charged nor the circumstances.

Table 2. Proportion of Calls that End in Offenses per Simplified Genre Category			
<i>Genre</i>			
	<i>Total Calls</i>	<i>Total Offenses</i>	<i>Proportion of calls that end in offenses</i>
American + Classic Rock	24	5	0.2083
Bluegrass Mix	71	15	0.2113
Blues Mix	94	20	0.2128
Country	274	109	0.3978
Caribbean Mix	27	10	0.3703
EDM Mix	314	120	0.3822
Folk Mix*	46	24	0.3077
Funk Mix	21	4	0.1905
Hard Rock + Heavy Metal	47	13	0.2766
Live Hip-Hop	104	39	0.375
Hip-Hop All	260	81	0.3115
Jam Band Mix	34	16	0.4706
Jazz Mix	116	37	0.319
Karaoke/Open Mic	57	19	0.3333
Latin Mix	251	79	0.3147
Performing Arts	83	20	0.241
Rock Mix**	209	70	0.2857
World Mix	80	20	0.25

*singer-songwriter combined with folk music because of small numbers

**Punk combined with Rock because of small numbers

Discussion of calls versus offenses analysis

Table 2 shows that there is not a lot of variation in the proportions of calls that result in offenses, from .21 for Bluegrass to .47 for Jam Band mix. Live Hip-Hop ends up slightly below Country and EDM, and very close to Caribbean Mix and Karaoke and Open Mic. Part of our concern in this analysis was whether there is any support for the belief that Hip-Hop requires extra security and policing compared to other genres. If that was the case we would expect to see higher

proportions of charges for Hip-Hop than other genres. But that does not appear to be true for either Live Hip-Hop or Hip-Hop All, and it is at least not true more than for Jam Band Mix, Country Mix, and EDM.

This analysis still uses a broad brush to test the dominant cultural hypothesis that Hip-Hop is a genre associated with more violence. So far, our analyses have only looked generally at police calls for service, and at charged offenses generally. And even charges offenses can range from nonviolent offenses like trying to skip out on a bill to the most violent. To get to that most fine-grained level and fully test whether Hip-Hop attracts more violence, we need to do a couple more analyses.

Studying violence in police calls and offenses

Methods for violence ratio analyses

To study the relationship between violence and different genres of music, we developed and conducted violence ratio analyses to compare the rates of violence across all simplified genre categories. Each analysis compared a count for the total number of police calls for service to a count for the total number of calls for potentially violent incidents within each genre. This allows for an analysis that can treat Hip-Hop independently

Referencing the 2017 *Uniform Crime Reporting Definition Glossary for Summary Reporting* (UCR), we coded descriptions for service calls within our data set (n=4,624) as either violent or nonviolent. We also conducted a violence ratio analysis using a dataset that contained only the service calls that resulted in offense charges (n=1,660). To determine counts within both of these datasets, we gave a value of (1) to violent service calls/offense charges and gave a value of (0) to non-violent service calls/offense charges.

Because this study addresses perceptions of violence associated with music genres, we conducted these violence ratio analyses using two distinct violence-coding methods. The first method, *UCR-exact coding*, only codes service call and offense charge descriptions that have been identified as violent by the UCR. The second method, *perceived violence coding*, starts from the UCR definitions of violent offenses, and then adds codes that are not recognized as violent by the UCR, but could be recognized as violent by venue management/staff, patrons and performance artists.

For example, the UCR defines a *weapons violation* as a non-violent offense. In our *perceived violence coding* method, we coded *weapons violation* as violent. The decision to do an analysis with the code *weapons violation* as violent reflects dominant cultural perspectives of weapons/guns being associated with Hip-Hop music and culture/s. Additionally, in our *perceived violence coding*, we identified service calls coded as *disturbance* as violent, even though UCR defines *disturbance* as non-violent. It is important to note, however, that the vast majority of *disturbance* service calls within our full data set resulted in offense charges that UCR codes as non-violent. Because of the high frequency and potentially skewing influence of *disturbance* service calls within our data set, we believed that it was relevant to conduct violent ratio analyses that compared *disturbance* service calls and associated offense charges when coded as both violent and nonviolent. See Appendix F for details on the two types of coding.

We computed the total number of calls for service and the total number of violent calls for each simplified genre category. To compute a violence ratio, we divided the total number of violence-

coded service calls by the total number of service calls for each of the simplified genre categories and for both the *UCR exact* coding scheme and the *perceived violence* coding scheme. We used the same method for the offences data set.

Discussion of violence ratio analyses

The tables below show the results of the violence ratio analyses for both the service call data set and the offense data set. Table 3 shows the analysis using the two coding schemes for the calls for service data. In this analysis “Live Hip-Hop” refers to live Hip-Hop shows, and “Hip-Hop All” includes DJ sets that may include a wide variety of genres depending on the venue.

Table 3: Total Calls and Violent Calls for Service Call Data (Interpretive and UCR Exact)							
<i>Perceived Violence Coding Scheme</i>				<i>UCR Exact Coding Scheme</i>			
<i>Simplified Genre</i>				<i>Simplified Genre</i>			
	<i>Total Calls</i>	<i>Violent Calls</i>	<i>Violence Ratio</i>		<i>Total Calls</i>	<i>Violent Calls</i>	<i>Violence Ratio</i>
American + Classic Rock	24	4	0.16	American + Classic Rock	24	2	0.0833
Bluegrass Mix	71	9	0.13	Bluegrass Mix	71	4	0.0563
Blues Mix	94	20	0.21	Blues Mix	94	4	0.0425
Country	274	83	0.3	Country	274	24	0.0875
Caribbean Mix	27	7	0.26	Caribbean Mix	27	2	0.0741
EDM Mix	314	91	0.29	EDM Mix	314	27	0.0859
Folk Mix	46	8	0.17	Folk Mix	46	0	0
Funk Mix	21	4	0.19	Funk Mix	21	1	0.0476
Hard Rock + Heavy Metal	47	13	0.28	Hard Rock + Heavy Metal	47	5	0.1063
Live Hip-Hop	104	30	0.29	Live Hip-Hop	104	11	0.105
Hip-Hop All	260	107	0.41	Hip-Hop All	260	38	0.1461
Jam Band Mix	34	5	0.15	Jam Band Mix	34	1	0.029
Jazz Mix	116	28	0.24	Jazz Mix	116	9	0.0776

Karaoke/Open Mic	57	27	0.47	Karaoke/Open Mic	57	8	0.1403
Latin Mix	251	100	0.4	Latin Mix	251	27	0.1075
Performing Arts	83	13	0.16	Performing Arts	83	3	0.0361
Punk Mix	36	12	0.33	Punk Mix	36	5	0.1388
Rock Mix	209	57	0.27	Rock Mix	209	17	0.0813
Singer-Songwriter	32	7	0.22	Singer-Songwriter	32	2	0.0625
World Mix	80	20	0.25	World Mix	80	6	0.075

**Jazz Mix is Jazz Mix and Piano

**World Mix consists of World Mix and West African Mix

Looking at Table 3, note that the *UCR exact* coding scheme has lower ratios simply because fewer calls are coded as violent overall. In the *UCR exact* coding, Hip-Hop All (which includes DJs), Karaoke/Open Mic, and Punk Mix have the highest violence ratios. The more restrictive Live Hip-Hop category ends up sixth in the list. When we switch to the perceived violence coding things change somewhat. Karaoke/Open Mic, Hip-Hop All, Latin Mix, Punk Mix, and Country have the highest ratios. Hip-Hop ends up in a middle group with a similar violence ratio to the simplified genre categories of Country, Heavy Metal and Hard Rock, Latin Mix, Punk Mix, Rock Mix, EDM Mix and Jazz Mix. It is important to remember here that the Hip-Hop All simplified genre category, with a violence ratio of 0.41, is largely composed of DJ performance sets that included but were not limited to Hip-Hop.

From this analysis, we once again are unable to rule out the null hypothesis that Hip-Hop is no more violence-prone than other genres.

It is important to remember that calls for service are coded by dispatchers. Service calls coded as violent could result in non-violent offense charges or no charges at all. We can compensate for this bias by looking at the offenses data set.

Table 4: Total Calls Vs Violent Calls for Offense Data (Perceived Violence and UCR Exact)							
Perceived Violence Coding Scheme				UCR Exact Coding Scheme			
<i>Simplified Genre</i>				<i>Simplified Genre</i>			
	<i>Violent Offense Count</i>	<i>Total Offense Count</i>	<i>Violent Offense Ratio</i>		<i>Violent Offense Count</i>	<i>Total Offense Count</i>	<i>Violent Offense Ratio</i>

American + Classic Rock	2	5	0.4	American + Classic Rock	1	5	0.2
Bluegrass Mix	1	15	0.067	Bluegrass Mix	1	15	0.067
Blues Mix	6	20	0.3	Blues Mix	3	20	0.15
Caribbean Mix	2	10	0.2	Caribbean Mix	2	10	0.2
Country Mix	40	109	0.37	Country Mix	28	109	0.26
EDM Mix	47	120	0.39	EDM Mix	16	120	0.13
Folk Mix	7	24	0.18	Folk Mix	5	24	0.2
Funk Mix	1	4	0.25	Funk Mix	0	4	0
Hard Rock & Heavy Metal	8	13	0.62	Hard Rock & Heavy Metal	5	13	0.38
Live Hip-Hop	16	39	0.41	Live Hip-Hop	6	39	0.15
Hip-Hop All	42	81	0.52	Hip-Hop All	24	81	0.3
Jam Band Mix	4	16	0.25	Jam Band Mix	0	16	0
Jazz Mix	17	37	0.46	Jazz Mix	8	37	0.27
Karaoke or Open Mic	8	19	0.42	Karaoke or Open Mic	3	19	0.16
Latin Mix	38	79	0.48	Latin Mix	20	79	0.25
Performing Arts	9	20	0.45	Performing Arts	3	20	0.15
Rock Mix	33	70	0.47	Rock Mix	13	70	0.19
World Mix	11	20	0.58	World Mix	7	20	0.35

**Folk Mix contains Folk Mix and Singer Songwriter

**Rock Mix contains Rock Mix and Punk Mix

The first thing to note from Table 4 are the relatively small numbers. Remember that these data sets cover the years 2008 to the fall of 2016. Those small numbers mean that we need to exert some caution to not over-interpret any differences. It is also important to note that the numbers are not standardized in this data set. Thus, a higher number of offenses does not mean that a genre has more incidents. It may simply have more performances and remember that we do not have data on the total number of performances with and without incidents. Additionally, the

drop in numbers of violent offenses from the perceived violence coding to the UCR exact coding is primarily due to the exclusion of the *disorderly conduct* offense charge being considered non-violent within the UCR-exact coding.

The results of this analysis are similar to the violence ratios derived from the service call data. Using the UCR exact coding scheme, the Live Hip-Hop ratio is below Hard Rock and Heavy Metal, World Mix, Hip-Hop All, Jazz Mix, Latin Mix, Country Mix, American and Classic Rock, Caribbean Mix, Folk Mix, and Karaoke or Open Mic. Live Hip-Hop performances have violence ratios closest to simplified genre categories of EDM Mix and Karaoke/Open Mic, along with the same ratios as Blues Mix and Performing Arts. The Hip-Hop All category has a higher violence ratio of 0.3. Again, this simplified genre category is largely composed of DJ performance sets that included but were not limited to Hip-Hop. Using the perceived violence coding scheme, the live Hip-Hop violence ratio comes in below the simplified genre categories of Hard Rock and Heavy Metal, World Mix, Hip-Hop Mix, Latin Mix, Jazz Mix, Performance Arts, and Karaoke or Open Mic.

We also took a detailed look at weapons violations. Within the time frame of our study there were 11 calls for service that were described as a *weapons violation*. None of these cases were associated with a live Hip-Hop performance or DJ set that was exclusively Hip-Hop music. There were 13 calls for service that resulted in *weapons violation* charges, only one of which was associated with Hip-Hop through a DJ set spinning both electronic dance music and Hip-Hop.

These analyses are the cleanest, most specific tests of the mainstream cultural hypothesis that Hip-Hop is associated with violence. And they are the tests that most question that hypothesis.

From the offense data analyses, we cannot determine that live Hip-Hop performances are more violence-prone. Thus, we cannot completely reject our null hypothesis that the Hip-Hop genre is no more violence-prone than other genres.

Limitations and Conclusion:

This study has attempted to test the mainstream cultural hypothesis that Hip-Hop is a music genre that is more associated with violence. That hypothesis has been used to close down music establishments in Madison, create and enforce dress codes focused on racialized attire associated with Hip-Hop (such as banning du rags and grillz),¹⁹ censor music offered in venues, and exclude local live Hip-Hop performers from Madison music venues.

Using a triangulation approach to test the mainstream cultural hypothesis, we cannot find enough empirical support that allows us to reject the “null hypothesis” that Hip-Hop is no more associated with violence than other music genres in Madison.

It is important to understand that we are not asserting that Hip-Hop is “safer” than any other genre. Our data sets also do not allow us to make recommendations on what is to be done. Our data is incomplete for some venues, and we have had to make assumptions about patterns

¹⁹ Some UW students critical of State Street bar dress code. NBC15.com.
<http://www.nbc15.com/content/news/Some-UW-students-critical-of-state-street-bar-dress-code-420548203.html>

of performances for other venues when we could not find advertised performances dating back reliably to 2008.

What we can conclude is that there seems to be no empirical justification for restricting live Hip-Hop performances more than other genres in Madison that rests on a belief of Hip-Hop as a more violent genre. Safety for the public is, of course always a concern, and venue owners and the police are right to care about people's safety. But we believe this research shows that caring about people's safety should not be limited to Hip-Hop and, in fact, there may be other music genres that present more threats to safety than Hip-Hop.

Summary of Major Findings

- Live Hip-Hop shows do not show up as associated with the highest proportions of police calls, offenses, or violence using any analysis.
- A standardized measure of police calls for service across venues by genre shows that mixed DJ sets that may or may not include Hip-Hop, Country music, and EDM showed higher call numbers than live Hip-Hop
- The proportion of police calls for service that result in charged offenses shows that Hip-Hop ends up slightly below Country music and electronic dance music, and very close to Caribbean Mix and Karaoke/Open Mic.
- Ratios of the proportion of service calls coded as violent using a less restrictive method showed that DJ sets, Karaoke/Open Mic, Punk Mix, and Country music had higher proportions of violent calls for service than live Hip-Hop.
- Ratios of the proportion of service calls coded as violent using a more restrictive method showed that DJ sets, Karaoke/Open Mic, Punk Mix, Latin, and Hard Rock/Heavy Metal had higher proportions of violent calls for service than live Hip-Hop.
- Ratios of the proportion of charged offenses coded as violent using a less restrictive method shows that live Hip-Hop comes in below Hard Rock/Heavy Metal, World Mix, DJ sets, Latin, Jazz, Performance Arts, and Karaoke/Open Mic.
- Ratios of the proportion of charged offenses coded as violent using a more restrictive method shows that live Hip-Hop comes in below Hard Rock and Heavy Metal, World Mix, DJ sets, Jazz, Latin, Country, American/Classic Rock, Caribbean, Folk, and Karaoke/Open Mic.
- The data set included 11 calls for service coded as a weapons violation, and 13 offense charges coded as a weapons violation. None of these cases were associated with a live Hip-Hop performance or DJ set that was exclusively Hip-Hop music.

Appendices

Appendix A

List of all call codes 2008-2016 provided by MPD:

911 Abandoned Call
911 Disconnect
Accident Hit and Run
Accident Private Property
Accident Property Damage
Accident Unknown Injury
Accident w/Injuries
Accident-Citizen Report
Adult Arrested Person
Aggravated Battery
Alarm
Alarm Broadcast and File
Alcohol Conveyance (Detox)
Animal - Lost
Animal Complaint-Bite
Animal Complaint-Disturbance
Animal Complaint-Stray
Annoying/Obscene Phone Call
Arson
Assist Citizen
Assist Citizen-Lake
Assist Fire/Police
Assist Follow Up
Assist Follow-Up
Assist K9
Assist/Community Policing
Attempt to Locate Person
Attempted Homicide
Attempted Suicide
Battery
Burglary-Residential
Check Parking Postings
Check Person
Check Property
Child Abuse
Civil Dispute
Damage to Property
Death Investigation
Description
Disturbance
Domestic Disturbance
Drug Investigation
Emergency

EMS Assist
Enticement/Kidnapping
Escort Conveyance
Explosives Investigation
Exposure
Fight Call
Foot Patrol
Forgery
Found Person
Found Property
Fraud
Fraud/Identity Theft
Graffiti Complaint
Information
Injured Person
Intoxicated Person
Juvenile Complaint
Landlord Tenant Trouble
Liquor Law Violation
Liquor Law/Bar Check
Lost Property
Misdialed 911 Call
Missing Adult
Missing Juvenile
Multiple/Nuisance 911 Calls
Neighbor Trouble
Noise Complaint
Non-Residential Burglary
Odor/Smoke Complaint
OMVWI Arrest/Intoxicated Driver
On Duty Training
On St Parking Complaint
Overdose
PC Conveyance/Commitment
Person with a Gun
Phone
Playing w/Telephone 911 Call
PNB/AED Response
Preserve the Peace
Problem-Solving - Property
Pvt Prop Parking Complaint
Question 911 Call
Rec/Stolen/Outside Agency
Repo
RetailTheft
Road Rage
Robbery - Armed
Robbery-Strong Armed
Safety Hazard
Serving Legal Papers
Sexual Assault

Significant Exposure (Officer)
 Silent 911 Call
 Silent Case Number
 Solicitors Complaint
 Special Event
 Stalking Complaint
 Stolen Auto
 Stolen Bicycle
 Stolen Other Vehicle-Cycle
 Suspicious Person
 Suspicious Vehicle
 Test 911 Call
 Theft
 Theft from Auto
 Threats Complaint
 Towed Vehicle
 Towed Vehicle/Abandonment
 Traffic Arrest
 Traffic Complaint/Investigation
 Traffic Incident
 Traffic Stop
 Trespass
 Unintentional 911 Call
 Unknown
 Unwanted Person
 Violation of Court Order
 Voided Case/Incident Number
 Weapons Violations

List of calls we excluded from the study:

911 Abandoned Call
 911 Disconnect
 Accident Hit and Run
 Accident Private Property
 Accident Property Damage
 Accident Unknown Injury
 Accident w/Injuries
 Accident-Citizen Report
 Alarm
 Alarm Broadcast and File
 Alcohol Conveyance (Detox)
 Animal - Lost
 Animal Complaint-Bite
 Animal Complaint-Disturbance
 Animal Complaint-Stray
 Assist Citizen-Lake
 Assist Follow Up
 Assist Follow-Up
 Assist K9
 Burglary-Residential

Check Parking Postings
Death Investigation
Description
Emergency
Escort Conveyance
Explosives Investigation
Found Person
Found Property
Information
Juvenile Complaint
Landlord Tenant Trouble
Lost Property
Misdialed 911 Call
Missing Adult
Missing Juvenile
Multiple/Nuisance 911 Calls
Odor/Smoke Complaint
OMVWI Arrest/Intoxicated Driver
On Duty Training
On St Parking Complaint
Overdose
Phone
Playing w/Telephone 911 Call
Problem-Solving - Property
Pvt Prop Parking Complaint
Question 911 Call
Rec/Stolen/Outside Agency
Repo
Road Rage
Serving Legal Papers
Significant Exposure (Officer)
Silent Case Number
Solicitors Complaint
Stalking Complaint
Stolen Auto
Stolen Bicycle
Stolen Other Vehicle-Cycle
Test 911 Call
Theft from Auto
Towed Vehicle
Towed Vehicle/Abandonment
Traffic Arrest
Traffic Complaint/Investigation
Traffic Incident
Traffic Stop
Unintentional 911 Call
Unknown
Voided Case/Incident Number

Appendix B

Script researchers used when contacting venues:

I am a student in a University of Wisconsin class working with the Urban Community Arts Network on a research project about music and violence. We are trying to find out if there is any difference between types of music genres and violence, using calls for service to police as one source of data, and then matching that to data on live or DJ performances. We are wondering if you have a list of performances dating back to the beginning of 2008. We are not identifying any individuals in our research but we will probably identify names of venues.

Appendix C

Live music venues we intentionally did not include:

Africana Restaurant and Lounge
 Alliant Energy Center
 Angelic Brewing Company
 Frida's
 Genna's
 Indie Coffee
 Inferno Nightclub
 Johnson Public House
 Kimia Lounge
 King Club
 Le Chardonnay
 Liliana's
 Louisianne's
 Madison's
 Seven
 The Eastside Club
 The Edgewater

Live music venues discovered after our research:

1. Merchant
 - a. Open since 2011
 - b. 121 S Pinckney St, Madison, Wisconsin, WI 53703
 - c. Yes liquor license
 - d. Variety of music
2. Brocach Irish Pub
 - a. Open now
 - b. 1843 Monroe St, Madison, WI 53711
 - c. Yes liquor license and live music
 - d. Celtic music Friday's since 2012
3. The Bayou
 - a. Operated 2009 - July 2016
 - b. 802 Atlas Ave, Madison, WI 53714
 - c. Yes liquor license and live cajun music
4. The Mason Lounge (Jazz)
 - a. Open now

- b. 416 S Park St, Madison, WI 53715
 - c. Yes liquor license and live music
- 5. Tempest Oyster Bar
 - a. Open now since at least 2011
 - b. 120 E Wilson Street
 - c. Yes liquor license and light jazz solo guitar
- 6. Bowl-A -Vard Lanes
 - a. Open now
 - b. 2121 E Springs Dr
 - c. Yes liquor license
 - d. Country, rock, other genres irregularly Thurs-Sat
- 7. Lazy Oaf Lounge
 - a. Open now
 - b. 1617 N Stoughton Rd, Madison, WI 53704
 - c. Yes liquor license
 - d. Rock music Saturday nights
- 8. Chief's Tavern
 - a. Open now
 - b. 300 Cottage Grove Rd.
 - c. Yes liquor license
 - d. Wednesdays: Karaoke @ 9pm, First & Third Thursdays: Hoot N Annie String Band, Fridays: Live Music @ 6:30pm, Saturdays: Live Music @ 8pm, Rock and blues
- 9. Pooley's Sports & Company
 - a. Open now
 - b. 5441 High Crossing Blvd, Madison, WI 53718
 - c. Yes liquor license
 - d. Every couple months, country night on Saturdays

Appendix D:

Discussion of genre construction

There are websites at <http://everynoise.com/enggenremap.html> and <http://www.musicmap.info/> that discuss genres.

Interview with Kent - 12 years of open-mics in Madison.

****Karaoke** is more different than open mics and comedy open mics.

Karaoke: people get very, very drunk to sing in public → part of karaoke culture. Singing, not 'performing' less of a show. Karaoke Kid (on Uni Ave) are full time Karaoke bar, may start at 7pm. DJ often comes in around 8 or 9.

Open Mic: varies by location, generally sit-down (different than bars), listening to the poetry, music; generally less rowdy. To play an open mic they'd ask around and go online; some are

explicitly xyz (comedians, poets, guitar players, etc) → they go to feel it out unless it's advertised. Very flexible! Genre mixing and diversity in performances is welcome.

Disproportional number of men playing guitars. Sign up is usually on the spot, although sometimes venues "feature" artists, like Gennas. The featured artist each week was advertised for the open mic night. OMs happen most nights but Friday and Saturday, b/c bars want to "get crazy" and fill up the bar, move the chairs aside.

Frequency of Open mic nights.

Monday - 3 bars

Tues - 2 bars

Wed - 3 bars

Thurs - 2

Fri - 2

About 12 open mics weekly.

[Comedy open mic 3 nights a week! Opening act is the "sacrifice comic" so comedy open-mic people band together]

Some places only do once a month (Brink Lounge, Come Back In].

The 23 simplified genre codes and the detailed codes they include:

1. American and Classical Rock
 - a. Classic rock
 - b. Country and rock covers
 - c. Classic and modern rock
 - d. Contemporary rock
 - e. Live band karaoke: classic rock and alt-rock
 - f. Oldies
 - g. Rock n'roll (and rock n'roll cover bands)
 - h. English rock
 - i. Rock, funk, reggae
2. Blues Mix
 - a. American blues
 - b. Rhythm and blues
 - i. Old school R&B
 - ii. R&B DJ
 - c. American folk
 - d. Blues pop
 - e. Blues rock
 - f. Soul (and neo-soul)
 - g. Americana
 - h. Motown

- i. Acoustic rock
- 3. Bluegrass Mix
 - a. Bluegrass
 - b. Instrumental
 - c. Newgrass jam
 - d. Fiddle tunes
 - e. Country blues
 - f. American string band
 - g. Irish traditional and pub
 - h. Alt-country
- 4. Caribbean Mix
 - a. Reggae (originate from Jamaica)
 - i. Reggae DJ
 - ii. Reggae crossover
 - b. Reggaeton (originates from Puerto-Rico)
 - c. Ska
 - i. Alternative ska
 - d. Cajun and Zydecco
 - e. Cumbia
 - f. Funk
 - g. Future-tronic island dub
 - h. New Orleans brass band
 - i. Rock steady
 - j. Ska and conscious dancehall
 - k. Plena
 - l. Hip-Hop
- 5. Country Mix
 - a. Classic country
 - b. Old-time hillbilly
 - c. Country and rock
 - d. Country and blues
 - e. Honky tonk
 - f. Psycho-nova/bossabilly
 - g. Americana
 - h. Rock and pop
 - i. Alt-country
 - j. Post-American punk
 - k. Roots rock
 - l. Singer-songwriter country
 - m. Rock and blues
- 6. EDM Mix
 - a. EDM (electronic dance music) and EDM DJs
 - b. Dance/dancehall
 - c. Electronic (aka electro)

- i. Electro indie
 - ii. Electro dance
 - iii. Electronic rap
 - iv. Electronic soundscapes
 - v. Electro-pop
 - vi. DJ electro
 - d. Industrial
 - e. Techno
 - i. Techno-trance
 - ii. Tribal techno
 - f. Dubstep
 - g. Drum and bass
 - h. Downtempo and lounge
 - i. Jazz
 - j. Disco
 - k. Hip-Hop
 - l. Nudisco and funk
 - m. Funk and soul
 - n. House
 - i. Deep house
 - ii. Chicago house
 - o. Trap (a southern Hip-Hop/hardcode Hip-Hop)
 - p. Rap rock
 - q. Hardstyle
 - r. Grunge and 90s retro (retro rock)
7. Folk Mix
- a. Folk
 - i. Indie folk
 - ii. Folk rock
 - iii. Folk rock soul
 - b. Blues
 - c. Blueish grass
 - d. Rock
 - e. Country (Alt-country)
 - f. Kentucky fried
 - g. Americana
 - h. Psychedelic pop
 - i. Pop rock
 - j. Punk and surfer
 - k. String band
8. Funk Mix
- a. Funk
 - i. Funk Juggernaut
 - ii. Funk rock

- iii. Funk jam band
 - iv. Funk fusion
 - v. Future funk-glitch hop
 - vi. Freestyle funk
 - vii. Funk electronica
- b. Reggae
- c. Afrobeat (African music and jazz, soul, and funk)
- d. R&B
- e. Soul and groove
- f. Progressive rock
- g. Hip-Hop
- h. Techno, dub, and dance
- 9. Hard Rock & Heavy Metal
 - a. Hard rock
 - b. Garage punk, rock, and trash
 - c. Heavy wooden
 - d. Metal
 - i. Death metal
 - ii. Gravity metal
 - iii. Noise rock and metal
 - e. Deathcore
 - f. Post-punk heavy rock
 - g. Acid jazz and jam
 - h. Southern gothic
 - i. Country and punk rock
 - j. Dance punk
- 10. Hip-Hop (only)
 - a. Hip-Hop
 - b. Hip-Hop Southern
 - c. Alternative Hip-Hop
- 11. Hip-Hop/Rap
 - a. Hip-Hop and rap
 - b. Rap collective
 - c. American rap
 - d. Hip-Hop and funk
 - e. Hip-Hop and R&B
 - f. R&B and pop
- **Hip-Hop & Hip-Hop/Rap were combined to do our analyses.
- 12. Hip-Hop Mix
 - "Hip-Hop and..."
 - a. Contemporary R&B
 - b. Reggae and reggaeton
 - c. Dancehall
 - d. Latin, salsa, and plena

- e. Electro/house
 - f. Jazz
 - g. Experimental
 - h. Old school and soul
 - i. Pop
 - j. Freestyle funk
 - k. Electronica
 - l. Eclectic house and trance
 - m. Tribal techno
 - n. Rock
 - o. R&B
 - p. Funk and disco
 - q. DJ
13. Jam Band Mix
- a. Jam
 - b. Jamband
 - c. Funk
 - d. Reggae
 - e. EDM
 - f. Live jamtronic rock and roll
 - g. Post-rock jam
 - h. Psychedelic jam
 - i. Rock
14. Jazz Mix
- a. Jazz band
 - b. Jazz piano
 - c. Jazz funk
 - d. Old school
 - e. Hip-Hop and soul
 - f. Jazz swing
 - g. Gypsy jazz
 - h. Rock and blues
 - i. Jazz fusion
 - j. Sax rock
 - k. Western swing
 - l. Vintage jazz
 - m. Classic country
15. Karaoke or Open Mic
- a. Karaoke
 - b. Open jam session
 - c. Open mics
 - d. Comedy open mic
16. Latin Mix
- a. Charanga

- b. Salsa
 - c. Rhumba
 - d. Latin dancehall and house
 - e. Singer-songwriter
 - f. Samba (and Samba de Pagode)
 - g. Drum and bass
 - h. Hip-Hop soul
 - i. Reggaeton
 - j. Electro
17. Performing Arts
- a. Theater
 - b. Comedy theater (not comedy open mic)
 - c. Musical
 - d. Parody play
 - e. Gothic fiction play
 - f. Live music played to silent film
 - g. Historical drama play
 - h. Children's theater
 - i. Choice
 - j. Circus music and performance
 - k. Opera
 - l. Cowboy music
 - m. Yodeling
 - n. Symphony
 - o. Ballet
 - p. Horror fiction
 - q. Acapella
 - r. Poetry
 - s. Pedal punk
 - t. Animal show
 - u. Multi-instrumentalist
18. Piano
- a. Solo pianist
 - b. Piano dueling
 - c. Comedy
19. Punk Mix
- a. Garage rock
 - b. Garage punk
 - c. Punk rock
 - d. Post-punk and post-punk rock
 - e. Rockabilly
 - f. Latin
 - g. Pub rock
 - h. Ska punk and rock

- i. Hip-Hop garage punk
 - j. G-funk
 - k. Surfer rock and surfer punk
 - l. Alt-rock
 - m. Folk rock
 - n. DIY Punk
 - o. Metal
20. Rock Mix
- a. Canadian alternative country
 - b. Blues, and folk rock
 - c. Celtic and celtic rock
 - d. Country rock n'roll
 - e. Country rock
 - f. Hardcore punk
 - g. Rock n'roll
 - h. Rock and pop
 - i. Funk and funk fusion
 - j. Electro and electronic rock
 - k. Reggae
 - i. Reggae rock
 - ii. Bluegrass reggae
 - l. Progressive rock and dance
 - m. Psychedelic rock
 - n. Indie pop
 - o. Rhythm and soul
 - p. Live band karaoke
 - q. Southern rock
 - r. Blues rock
 - s. Hard rock
 - t. Americana and roots
 - u. World music and rock
 - v. New wave rock
 - w. Pollinated blues
 - x. Cover bands and acoustic bands
21. Singer-song writer Mix
- a. Singer-songwriter
 - b. Acoustic guitar
 - c. American singer-songwriter
 - d. Folk
 - e. Sublime cover band
22. West African Mix
- a. Nigerian
 - b. Afrobeat
 - c. Malian blues (and Malian blues and funk)

- d. Samba
 - e. DJ music (Africa, Latin, Caribbean)
23. World Mix
- a. World beat and performances
 - b. World music
 - c. World rock
 - d. Japanese pop, rock, and jazz
 - e. Polka
 - f. Slovenian-American Hip-Hop & Electronic

Appendix E

Most Common Genres Per Venue

This table shows the top three genres played (based on number of police calls) for each venue. Because our data is strictly based on police calls, this cannot definitively represent the frequency of genres at venues, but with our educated guesses, this is our best labeling of each venue. We assigned top three genres to each venue, as most venues play a wide variety of music. This was the best way to categorize each venue without over generalizing. The genres are based on our simplified genre codes.

Venue	Most Common Genres
Alchemy Cafe	Jazz/Bluegrass-Folk
Area 51 Bar & Grill	Country/Mixed Rock
Argus	Funk
Babes	Rock/Country/Singer-songwriter
Badger Bowl	Rock/Latin
Barrymore Theater	Rock/Hip-Hop&Rap/Performing Arts
Bartell Theatre	Theater/Comedy
Brocach	Bluegrass
Cafe Monmartre	Folk/Blues

Cardinal Bar	Latin/EDM/Hip-Hop
Come Back In Bar	Karaoke/Blues/Bluegrass
Crystal Corner	Country/Rock
Dragonfly Lounge	Folk/Rock
Genna's Lounge	NA
Hamilton's On The Square	Blues/Rock
Harmony Bar	Rock/Blues
High Noon Saloon	Rock/Bluegrass/Folk/Jazz/Blues
Ivory Piano Bar	Jazz
Liquid	EDM
Majestic Theater	EDM/Rock/Hip-Hop/Bluegrass
Malt House	Bluegrass/Jazz
Mickey's Tavern	Punk/Rock/West African Mix
Mr. Roberts	Blues/Rock/Karaoke
Natt Spil	Hip-Hop/EDM/Rock/Funk
Orpheum Theater	Hip-Hop/EDM/Rock/Hard Rock & Heavy Metal/Country/Folk
Overture Center for the Arts	Performing Arts/Rock/EDM
R Place on Park	Hip-Hop/Blues

Red Rock Saloon	Country/Rock
Restaurant Magnus	Jazz/World Mix
Segredo's	EDM/Hip-Hop&Rap/Latin
Sprecher's Restaurant & Pub	Blues/Rock
The Essen Haus	World Mix/Blues
The Fountain	Jazz
The Frequency	Funk
The Knuckle Down Saloon	Blues/Rock/EDM
The Pub	Country
The Red Zone (and The Annex@ The Red Zone)	Hard Rock & Heavy Metal
The Tempest Oyster Bar	Jazz
The Rigby	Folk/Rock
The Wisco Bar	Hip-Hop&Rap/Rock/Hard Rock & Heavy Metal
Tip Top Tavern	Jazz/Caribbean Mix
Up North Bar	Folk/Blues/JamBand Mix
Whiskey Jack's	Country

Calls per venue (broken down by genre)

1. Alchemy
 - Months of operation =82
 - a. Jazz *

- b. Bluegrass-Folk*
 - c. Funk
 - d. Hip-Hop Mix and Funk Mix=1
 - e. Hip-Hop Mix=1
- 2. Area 51 Bar & Grill
Months of Op= 27
 - a. Country*
 - b. Mixed Rock
- 3. Argus
Months Op= 80
 - a. Mix groove, rock, & funk → Funk*
- 4. Babes
Months op = 97
 - a. Rock*
 - b. Country*
 - c. Singer-songwriter
- 5. Badger Bowl
Months = 91
 - a. Rock*
 - b. Latin
- 6. Barrymore Theatre
Months = 97
 - a. Rock*
 - b. Jam Band Mix
 - c. Hip hop/Rap*=8
 - d. EDM Mix & Hip-Hop MIX (DJ)=1
 - i. Only one got removed as a DJ (so only one call for Hip-Hop DJ)
 - e. Performing Arts
- 7. Bartell Theatre
Months = 58
 - a. Theater*
 - b. Comedy
- 8. Broach
Months = 96
 - a. Irish / Bluegrass*
- 9. Cafe Montmartre
Months = 17
 - a. Folk*
 - b. Blues*
- 10. Cardinal Bar
Months = 105
 - a. Latin*
 - b. EDM*
 - c. Hip-Hop* (ALL DJs) (NO LIVE HIP-HOP)

11. Come Back In Bar

Months = 102

- a. Karaoke*
- b. Blues*
- c. Bluegrass

12. Crystal Corner

Months = 101

- a. Country*
- b. Rock*

13. Dragonfly Lounge

Months = 82

- a. Folk*
- b. Rock*

14. Genna's Lounge

Months = 101

- a. NA

15. Hamilton's on the Square

Months = 23

- a. Blues & Rock (only 1 entry)

16. Harmony Bar

Months = 94

- a. Rock *
- b. blues*

17. High Noon Saloon

Months = 81

- a. Rock **
- b. Bluegrass & Folk 36
- c. Jazz, Blues, R&B 34
- d. Hip-Hop/Rap= 21
- e. Rock mix & Hip-Hop mix=1
- f. Hip-Hop Mix=6

18. Ivory Piano Bar

Months = 80

- a. Piano=Jazz*

19. LeChardonnay

Months = 6

- a. NA

20. Liquid

Months = 27

- a. Calls EDM Mix = 33 *
- b. Calls Hip Hop = 1
- c. Calls Hip Hop Mix & Latin Mix = 1 (DJ) (no change)
- d. Calls American + Classic Rock = 1

21. Madison's

Months =2

- a. NA

22. Majestic Theater

Months = 104 (lots of change here)

- a. Calls EDM = 42*
- b. Calls Rock = 28*
- c. Calls Hip Hop (& Rap) = 13*
- d. Calls Bluegrass Mix = 6
- e. Calls American + Classic Rock = 5
- f. Calls World Mix = 5
- g. Calls Funk Mix = 4
- h. Calls Latin Mix = 4
- i. Calls Blues Mix = 3
- j. Calls Performing Arts = 3
- k. Calls Country Mix = 3
- l. Calls Jam Band Mix = 3
- m. Calls Folk Mix = 3
- n. Calls Singer-songwriter = 3
- o. Calls Caribbean Mix = 2
- p. Calls Hip Hop Mix & Other = 4
- q. Calls Hip Hop Mix =5
- r. Calls West African Mix =1
- s. Calls Hard Rock & Heavy Metal = 1

23. Malt House

Months = 99

- a. Calls Bluegrass Mix = 4*
- b. Calls Jazz Mix = 2
- c. Calls American + Classic Rock = 1

24. Mickey's Tavern

Months = 104

- a. Calls Rock Mix = 10*
- b. Calls Country Mix = 2
- c. Calls Performing Arts = 1
- d. Calls EDM Mix = 4
- e. Calls West African Mix = 6
- f. Calls Punk Mix = 18*
- g. Calls Singer-songwriter Mix = 3
- h. Calls Jazz Mix = 3
- i. Calls Hard Rock & Heavy Metal = 3

25. Mr. Roberts

Months =104

- a. Calls Blues Mix = 29*
- b. Calls Rock Mix = 21*
- c. Calls Karaoke or Open Mic = 11

- d. Calls Singer-songwriter = 7
 - e. Calls Punk Mix = 4
 - f. Calls Jam Band Mix = 2
 - g. Calls EDM Mix = 1
 - h. Calls Hip Hop = 1
 - i. Calls Country = 1
 - j. Calls Caribbean Mix = 1
26. Natt Spil
- Months = 89 (no live hip hop shows)
- a. Calls Hip Hop Mix = 11*
 - b. Calls EDM Mix = 6
 - c. Calls Rock Mix = 4
 - d. Calls Hip Hop Mix & Funk Mix = 3
 - e. Calls Funk Mix = 3
 - f. Calls Hip Hop Mix & EDM Mix = 2
27. Orpheum Theater
- Months = 105
- a. Calls Hip Hop = $38/105 = 0.37$
 - b. Calls EDM Mix = 27
 - c. Calls Rock Mix = 17
 - d. Calls Hard Rock & Heavy Metal = 15
 - e. Calls Country Mix = 9
 - f. Calls Folk Mix = 7
 - g. Calls Jam Band Mix = 7
 - h. Calls Performing Arts = 5
 - i. Calls Blues Mix = 3
 - j. Calls Hip Hop Mix & EDM Mix = 3
 - k. Calls Punk Mix = 2
 - l. Calls Hip Hop Mix & Blues Mix = 1
 - m. Calls Bluegrass Mix = 1
 - n. Calls Hip-Hop Mix = 1
28. Overture Center for the Arts
- Months = 104
- a. Calls Performing Arts = 56
 - b. Calls Rock Mix = 7
 - c. Calls EDM Mix = 4
 - d. Calls Singer-songwriter = 3
 - e. Calls Folk Mix = 3
 - f. Calls Country = 2
 - g. Calls Blues Mix = 2
 - h. Calls Hip Hop/Rap = 1
 - i. Calls Hip Hop Mix & Blues Mix = 1
 - j. Calls Bluegrass Mix = 1
 - k. Calls Piano = 1

- I. Calls Jazz Mix = 1
- 29. R Place on Park
 - Months = 45
 - a. Calls Blues Mix = 2/
 - b. Calls Hip Hop Mix & Blues = 2/
 - (=all calls w/genres)
- 30. Red Rock Saloon
 - Months = 105
 - a. Calls Country Mix = $74/105 = 0.705$
 - b. Calls Blue Mix = 1/
 - c. Calls American + Classic Rock = 5/
 - d. Calls Performing Arts = 1/
- 31. Restaurant Magnus
 - Months = 95
 - a. Calls Jazz Mix = $3/95 = 0.0316$
 - b. Calls World Mix = $2/95 = 0.0211$
- 32. Segredo
 - Months = 79
 - a. Calls Hip-Hop Mix & EDM Mix = $197/79 = 2.4936$ *i got 199
 - b. Calls Hip Hop Mix & Latin Mix = $3/79 = 0.0127$
 - c. Calls EDM Mix = $111/79 = 1.392$
 - d. Calls Hip Hop/Rap = $6/79 = 0.063$
- 33. Sprecher's Restaurant & Pub
 - Months = 78
 - a. Calls Blues Mix = 4 *
 - b. Calls Rock Mix (American+Classic Rock) = 4 *
 - c. Calls Folk Mix = 1
 - d. Calls Country Mix = 1
 - e. Calls Funk Mix = 1
 - f. Calls Jazz Mix = 1
- 34. The Essen Haus
 - Months = 102
 - a. Calls World Mix (Polka) = 60 *
 - b. Calls Bluegrass Mix = 1/
 - c. Calls Blues = 6/
 - d. Calls Jazz = 1/
 - e. Calls Country Mix = 1
- 35. The Fountain
 - Months = 84
 - a. Calls Jazz Mix = 27 *
 - b. Calls Piano Mix = 14 *
 - c. Calls Karaoke Mix = 2/
 - d. Calls Singer-songwriter = 2/
 - e. Calls Jam Band Mix = 1/

- f. Calls Performing Arts = 1
- 36. The Frequency ??
 - Months = 88
 - a. Calls Funk Mix = 1/
 - b. Calls Hip Hop Mix = 1/
- 37. The Klinik Bar
 - Months = 1
 - NA: after canceling hip hop shows in 2008, they closed in May 2008.
- 38. The Knuckle Down Saloon
 - Months = 63
 - a. Calls Blues Mix = 13 *
 - b. Calls Rock = 2
 - c. Calls EDM = 1
- 39. The Pub
 - Months =
 - a. Calls Country Mix = 16*
- 40. The Red Zone (and the Annex@ The Red Zone)
 - Months = 64
 - a. Calls Hard Rock & Heavy Metal = 4 *
 - b. Calls EDM Mix = 1/
 - c. Calls Hip Hop Mix = 1/
 - d. Calls Punk Mix = 1/
- 41. The Rigby
 - Months = 82
 - a. Calls Folk Mix = 2 *
 - b. Calls Rock Mix = 1 *
- 42. The Tempest Oyster Bar
 - a. Calls Jazz Mix = 2
- 43. The Wisco Bar
 - Months = 105
 - a. Calls Hip Hop = 2 *
 - b. Calls Rock Mix = 3 *
 - c. Calls Hard Rock & Heavy Metal = 2 *
 - d. Calls American + Classic Rock = 1
 - e. Calls Hip Hop/Rap=3
 - f. Calls Hip Hop Mix & Performing Arts = 1
- 44. Tip Top Tavern
 - Months = 104
 - a. Calls Jazz = 3 = 0.028 *
 - b. Calls Caribbean Mix = 2 = 0.019
 - c. Calls Folk = 1 = 0.0096
 - d. Calls Karaoke or Open Mic = 1 = 0.0096
- 45. Up North Bar
 - Months = 90

- a. Calls Blues Mix = $4/90 = 0.044$ *
 - b. Calls Folk Mix = $5/90 = 0.055$ *
 - c. Calls Jam Band = $5/90 = 0.055$ *
 - d. Calls Bluegrass Mix = $2/90 = 0.022$
 - e. Calls Jazz Mix = $2/90 = 0.022$
 - f. Calls Funk Mix = $1/90 = 0.011$
 - g. Calls Karaoke or Open mic = $1/90 = 0.011$
 - h. Calls Country Mix = $1/90 = 0.011$
46. Whiskey Jack's
Months = 81
- a. Country 100% country

Appendix F

Table of violent and nonviolent coding by description for Service Call Data

Description	Perceived Violence Coding	UCR Exact Coding
	Violent = 1, Non-violent = 0	Violent = 1, Non-violent = 0
Adult Arrested Person	0	0
Aggravated Battery	1	1
Annoying/Obscene Phone Call	0	0
Arson	1	0
Assist Citizen	0	0
Assist Fire/Police	0	0
Assist/Community Policing	0	0
Attempt to Locate Person	0	0
Attempted Homicide	1	1
Attempted Suicide	1	1
Battery	1	1
Check Person	0	0
Check Property	0	0
Child Abuse	1	1
Civil Dispute	0	0
Damage to Property	0	0
Disturbance	1	0
Domestic Disturbance	1	0
Drug Investigation	0	0

EMS Assist	0	0
Enticement/Kidnapping	1	0
Exposure	0	0
Fight Call	1	1
Foot Patrol	0	0
Forgery	0	0
Fraud	0	0
Fraud/Identity Theft	0	0
Graffiti Complaint	0	0
Injured Person	0	0
Intoxicated Person	0	0
Liquor Law Violation	0	0
Liquor Law/Bar Check	0	0
Neighbor Trouble	0	0
Noise Complaint	0	0
Non-Residential Burglary	0	0
PC Conveyance/Commitment	0	0
Person with a Gun	1	0
PNB/AED Response	0	0
Preserve the Peace	0	0
Retail Theft	0	0
Robbery - Armed	1	1
Robbery-Strong Armed	1	1
Safety Hazard	0	0
Sexual Assault	1	1
Silent 911 Call	0	0
Special Event	0	0
Suspicious Person	0	0
Suspicious Vehicle	0	0
Theft	0	0
Threats Complaint	1	0
Trespass	0	0
Unwanted Person	0	0

Violation of Court Order	0	0
Weapons Violations	1	0

Table of violent and nonviolent coding by description for Offense Data

Description	Perceived Violence Coding	UCR Exact Coding
	Violent = 1, Non-violent = 0	Violent = 1, Non-violent = 0
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	1	1
ALL OTHER LARCENY	0	0
ALL OTHER OFFENSES	0	0
ARSON	1	0
BURGLARY/BREAKING AND ENTERING	0	0
COUNTERFEITING/FORGERY	0	0
CREDIT CARD/AUTOMATIC TELLER MACHINE FRAUD	0	0
DESTRUCTION/DAMAGE/VANDALISM OF PROPERTY	0	0
DISORDERLY CONDUCT	1	0
DRIVING UNDER THE INFLUENCE	1	0
DRUG EQUIPMENT VIOLATIONS	0	0
DRUG/NARCOTIC VIOLATIONS	0	0
EMBEZZLEMENT	0	0
FALSE PRETENSES/SWINDLE/CONFIDENCE GAME - FRAUD	0	0
FAMILY OFFENSES, NONVIOLENT	0	0
FORCIBLE FONDLING	1	1
FORCIBLE RAPE / SEX OFFENSES, FORCIBLE	1	1
FORCIBLE SODOMY / SEX OFFENSES, FORCIBLE	1	1
IDENTITY THEFT	0	
IMPERSONATION	0	0
INTIMIDATION	1	1
KIDNAPING/ABDUCTION	1	0
LIQUOR LAW VIOLATIONS	0	0
POCKET-PICKING - THEFT OFFENSE	0	0

PURSE-SNATCHING - THEFT OFFENSE	0	0
ROBBERY	1	1
SEXUAL ASSAULT WITH AN OBJECT	1	1
SHOPLIFTING - THEFT OFFENSE	0	0
SIMPLE ASSAULT	1	1
STOLEN PROPERTY OFFENSES	0	0
THEFT FROM BUILDING	0	0
TRESPASS OF REAL PROPERTY	0	0
WEAPON LAW VIOLATIONS	1	0
WIRE FRAUD	0	0