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Public Unstructured Socializing and the Code of the Street: Predicting Violent Delinquency and Victimization

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ABSTRACT

Using longitudinal survey and space–time budget data from adolescents in the Netherlands, this study examines whether the code of the street affects violent delinquency and victimization, and whether these effects vary by lifestyle. Values similar to the code (i.e., conflict positioning) were related to higher risk for violent delinquency; this relationship was stronger when involvement in public unstructured socializing was high. No relationship was found between these values and victimization. The findings suggest a nuanced relationship between the code of the street and violent delinquency and speak to the code of the street theory’s applicability outside the United States.

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Elijah Anderson’s *Code of the Street* (1999) is a well-known and increasingly popular explanation for violence among urban youth. The theory contends that subcultural values favorable toward violence, especially in retaliation to insults or challenges, encourage youth to engage in violent delinquency and may influence their risk for victimization. Recent work on the code of the street suggests an important role of situational context for the expression of code-related values. For example, a qualitative study by Lindegaard, Miller, and Reynald (2013) suggests that the context in which street culture is enacted determines its effectiveness in protecting followers from victimization. In particular, youths who intentionally exhibited code-related behavior in situations in which it was expected were less likely to experience violence. To date, few studies have quantitatively examined how the effects of the code of the street are influenced by contextual or situational characteristics. A notable exception is a study by McNeeley and Wilcox (2015a), which found that the effects of values (consistent with the code of the street) on violent victimization were conditioned by lifestyle. Specifically, they found that code-related values were positively related to violent victimization among individuals who frequently engaged in routine activities outside their homes.

To date, it is unknown whether particular types of activities—or particular settings of those activities—are more important than others in influencing the effects of code-related values on behavior. Therefore, the current study seeks to advance knowledge on the interrelationships between the code of the street, lifestyles, violent delinquency, and victimization. We use longitudinal survey and space–time budget data taken from adolescents in the Netherlands to examine whether the effects of code-related values on violent delinquency and victimization are contingent on involvement in public unstructured socializing.

In addressing this research question, we make the following important contributions to the literature. First, we extend the literature by testing hypotheses derived from the code of the street literature using a European sample. While previous research suggests that subcultures like those

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described by Anderson exist outside the United States (e.g., Brookman et al. 2011; Henricksen and Miller 2012; Holligan 2015; Lindegaard et al. 2013), quantitative tests of the code of the street's effect on delinquency and victimization have focused on American samples. Second, our incorporation of lifestyle-routine activities theory allows us to account for the potential situational nature of the code of the street. In particular, we extend recent work on the influence of the code of the street and routine activities on victimization (McNeeley and Wilcox 2015a) by using *longitudinal data* to examine the interrelationships between code-related values, routine activities, and the outcome variables; using space–time data to create more *accurate measures of activities that take place in public spaces*; and examining these interrelationships among *adolescents* instead of among adults. In addition, we extend previous research regarding the interaction between individual propensity and the immediate environment (e.g., Svensson and Pauwels 2010; Wikström 2004; Wikström and Butterworth 2006; Wikström and Svensson 2008) by examining whether the code of the street's effects on *delinquency* are moderated by lifestyle.

The code of the street

Anderson (1999) described the way that the emergence of oppositional values lead to violence in urban areas. Based on observations of inner-city areas in Philadelphia, Anderson argued that the “code of the street” provides members of disadvantaged communities with non-traditional methods of obtaining respect. Of particular importance for this study is that the code of the street emphasizes toughness as a way of earning and maintaining respect, with the idea that losing respect may lead to attacks that can cause injury or death. To exhibit one's toughness, violent displays are necessary in response to challenges or insults, even when trivial. While Anderson's work was based on inner-city communities in Philadelphia, scholars have found evidence of similar subcultural values in various contexts, including less disadvantaged communities, and in multiple geographic locations, including different areas in Europe. Specifically, ethnographers have identified subcultural groups that promote violence as a means of gaining status and respect in the United Kingdom (Brookman et al. 2011), Scotland (Holligan 2015), and Denmark (Henricksen and Miller 2012). However, to date, no studies that we are aware of have used European samples to *quantitatively* examine theories of crime and victimization derived from Anderson's observations.

Research generally shows that individuals with pro-violent attitudes are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior (e.g., Baron 2009; Heimer 1997; McNulty and Bellair 2003; but for null results see Ball-Rokeach 1973; Zavala and Spohn 2013). Particularly, beliefs more specifically related to the code of the street, in that they promote violence as a means of gaining respect or protecting oneself, have been found to be related to aggressive or violent behavior (Berg et al. 2012; Felson et al. 1994; Matsuda et al. 2013; Ousey and Wilcox 2005; Stewart and Simons 2006; 2010).

Scholars have recently also begun to theorize about the relationship between adoption of code-related values and *victimization*, and to quantitatively examine these theories. According to McNeeley and Wilcox (2015b), the code of the street may influence victimization either positively or negatively by affecting target congruence (see Finkelhor and Asdigian 1996). First, the code of the street may decrease target vulnerability, *reducing* the risk of victimization. Qualitative research on this topic indicates that individuals who adhere to street codes commonly believe that following the code is protective, as it prevents them from being labeled as weak and therefore an easy target (Anderson 1999; Brookman et al. 2011; Garot 2007; Jacobs and Wright 2006). Indeed, ethnographic work studying youth in South Africa demonstrates the ability of the code of the street to protect adolescents from victimization when it is strategically situationally applied within the communities in which it is expected (Lindegaard et al. 2013). Similarly, Baron, Kennedy, and Forde's (2001) study of male street youth indicated that respondents who held the strongest views favorable toward violence also reported the least victimization.

In contrast, several quantitative studies show that such beliefs can actually *increase* the risk of violent victimization (Berg et al. 2012; McNeeley and Wilcox 2015a; 2015b; Schreck et al. 2012; Stewart, Schreck, and Simons 2006). It has been posited that the code of the street increases risk

through victim precipitation; the expression of violent values increases target antagonism and provokes attacks by others (see Stewart et al. 2006). Some forms of property crime victimization, namely burglary and vandalism, have also been found to be positively related to belief in the code of the street (McNeeley and Wilcox 2015b).

Opportunity theories

Lifestyle-routine activities theory explains that crime events arise as a function of criminal opportunity due to differences in routine behavior. Lifestyle-exposure theory, proposed by Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo (1978), assumes that demographic characteristics are related to individuals' behavior patterns, which differentially affect the likelihood that an individual (or potential victim) will be in close proximity to offenders. Similarly, routine activity theory (Cohen and Felson 1979) is based on the assumption that regular patterns of behavior lead to criminal events because they affect the extent to which motivated offenders encounter suitable targets in the absence of capable guardians. Although these theories are not identical, they overlap enough to treat them as one perspective (see Maxfield 1987 for a brief discussion of the consistencies and differences). The combined perspective offers explanations for victimization as well as for delinquency.

With regard to *delinquency*, it has been theorized that certain routine activities place individuals in situations with greater opportunity to commit crime. In particular, according to Osgood et al. (1996), situations are more conducive to adolescent deviancy when peers are present, when the activity is unstructured, and when no authority figures are present to provide offender handling (see Felson 1986). Empirical studies have associated a variety of delinquency types and substance use to individual involvement in unstructured socializing (e.g., Bernburg and Thorlindsson 2001; Haynie and Osgood 2005; Osgood and Anderson 2004; Wikström et al. 2012a, for a literature review, see Hoeben 2016). Additionally, individuals are at higher risk of delinquency if they spend much time in public settings (Bernasco et al. 2013; Weerman et al. 2015). Hoeben and Weerman (2014) examined the extent to which unstructured socializing led to delinquency in different types of functional spaces. Their results showed that unstructured socializing in semi-public or public spaces was more strongly associated with delinquency than were activities that took place in private settings.

With regard to *victimization*, individual-level applications of lifestyle-routine activities theory (see Cohen, Kluegel, and Land 1981; Miethe, Stafford, and Long 1987) state that one's daily behavior affects proximity and exposure to potential offenders, target attractiveness, and guardianship, all of which influence the risk of victimization. This theory has received extensive empirical support (for recent reviews of the literature linking routine activities to individual victimization, see McNeeley 2015 and Spano and Freilich 2009). Of particular interest for the current study is that individual involvement in *activities that occur in public* can increase exposure and proximity to potential offenders, increasing the risk of victimization. Several empirical studies show that violent victimization is more likely for those who spend more nights out (e.g., Miethe et al. 1987; Miethe and Meier 1990; Sampson and Lauritsen 1990). Particular types of leisure activities—especially unstructured activities such as partying, going to bars, going to places that teenagers frequent, taking public transportation, and driving or walking—are more risky than others (Fisher et al. 1998; Kennedy and Forde 1990; Miethe and McDowall 1993; Mustaine and Tewksbury 1998; but for null results see Henson et al. 2010). Also, there is evidence that adolescents' risk of victimization is higher when they frequently visit public places (Felson et al. 2013).

A recent perspective on the co-occurrence of situational and individual influences on criminal behavior is situational action theory (Wikström 2004; 2014; Wikström et al. 2012a). The theory maintains that individuals' moral values and self-control (in sum, their "criminal propensity") interact with criminal opportunities provided by the environments to which they are exposed. In line with this perspective, previous empirical research suggests that individual characteristics such as deviant attitudes interact with risky lifestyles. These studies find that delinquency is most likely to be

committed by individuals with higher criminal propensity who frequently engage in risky activities such as unstructured socializing with deviant peers (e.g., Svensson and Pauwels 2010; Wikström and Butterworth 2006; Wikström and Svensson 2008; Wikström et al. 2012a). The current study extends this theoretical perspective and empirical line of research by integrating it with the code of the street (Anderson, 1999) and thus a specific type of attitude: belief in the street code.

Integrating the code of the street with lifestyle-routine activities theory: Implications for violent delinquency and victimization

Violent delinquency

An important aspect of Anderson's discussion is the distinction between the internalization of code-related values and the use of such values as situational tools. Anderson explains that some residents of disadvantaged communities are socialized into the code by their parents and thus come to internalize the tenets provided by the code. These "street" individuals use the code to form a social identity, making them more likely to behave in accordance with the street code with less regard to situational influences. In contrast, most individuals are "decent"—they accept mainstream values. These individuals can be aware of the importance of the street code and may engage in code-switching in situations when they perceive it to be necessary to gain respect or avoid violence. Thus, especially among "decent" youth, the enactment of the code of the street can be expected to be dependent on the situation.

The code of the street may be especially relevant for behavior in unstructured activities, such as hanging out or partying. Structured activities, compared to unstructured activities, are more likely to occur in the presence of adult authority figures and less likely to occur in the presence of deviant peers (e.g., Mahoney and Stattin 2000). Moreover, the interactions that take place in structured activities are more likely to be shaped by social norms and group hierarchy (e.g., Eder and Parker 1987). Therefore, confrontations may be less likely to occur during structured activities than during unstructured activities. And if confrontations arise, youths may be better able to use prosocial methods to manage these confrontations. Thus, it can be expected that adolescents who spend more time in *unstructured* activities will encounter more incidents in which they turn to the code of the street's emphasis on violence to solve problems.

In addition, Anderson (1999) described certain public places—such as schools, parks, and street corners—as *staging areas* in which people enact the code in order to promote their street persona. Because code-related behavior is encouraged and even expected in these areas, public locations may be important for the enactment of the code of the street. "Street" youth, who truly believe in the tenets found in the code, place tremendous value on using the code to gain respect from peers. Therefore, they may interpret greater incentives to behave according to the code while in public areas in the presence of peers. "Decent" youth may also be more likely to act according to the code in public locations. In fact, they will probably *only* behave according to the code of the street while in public, as they see such behavior as necessary for self-protection. Social pressure arising from dangerous situations involving other members of the violent subculture is thought to be a major reason for "decent" youth to engage in violence. Violent delinquency is therefore less likely among "decent" individuals who spend little time in public locations.

Thus, when engaged in public unstructured activities with peers, both "decent" and "street" individuals may experience greater social pressure to behave in accordance with the code. It is therefore expected that both groups will be more likely to engage in violent delinquency when their lifestyles take them frequently into settings of public unstructured socializing.

Hypothesis 1: Public unstructured socializing strengthens the effect of code-related values on violent delinquency.

Violent victimization

According to previous research on the code of the street and victimization, the enactment of the behavior promoted by the code may be likely to antagonize potential offenders and thus lead to increased risk of violent victimization, even among non-offenders (see, e.g., Stewart et al. 2006; McNeeley and Wilcox 2015b).¹ Therefore, if reliance on the code is more likely when youths engage in unstructured activities and spend time in public, as argued in the section above, then this lifestyle may put code followers at additional risk for victimization by increasing disrespectful code-related behavior, thereby potentially increasing target antagonism and provoking attacks from others. In addition, it has been argued that violent victimization among code-followers is especially likely in public places where many witnesses are present, because potential offenders are more likely to perceive social pressure to engage in violence in response to insults in these situations (see Jacobs and Wright 2006; McNeeley and Wilcox 2015a).

Indeed, McNeeley and Wilcox (2015a) hypothesized that the effect of code-related values on violent victimization would be stronger among those with public lifestyles than among those who spend less time in public. The results of their study among adults in Seattle, Washington, USA showed that, as hypothesized, the effect of holding beliefs related to the street code on assault victimization was generally greater for individuals who frequently engaged in activities outside their homes (McNeeley and Wilcox 2015a). Based on these findings, we hypothesize that beliefs similar to the code of the street will increase risk for violent victimization, and that this increased risk will become more pronounced as involvement in public unstructured socializing increases.

Hypothesis 2: Public unstructured socializing strengthens the effect of code-related values on violent victimization.

McNeeley and Wilcox were unable to specify the types of *activities* or *locations* that made up respondents' routine activities. Such information may be important in specifying the relationship between lifestyle and street codes: it is yet unknown what lifestyles moderate the effects of code-related values on the risk for violent victimization. In the current study, we use space–time budget data to examine possible moderation of the street codes–victimization relationship by one specific type of activity: public unstructured socializing.

Research methods

Data

The Study of Peers, Activities and Neighborhoods (SPAN), conducted by the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR), took place in the third largest city of the Netherlands, The Hague. The Hague has approximately half a million inhabitants and is spread over about 98 km². The city is considered as highly urban, according to Statistics Netherlands.

Forty secondary schools in The Hague were approached for the data collection and 10 of them agreed to participate.² In each of the 10 schools, all first (age 12 to 13) and fourth (age 15 to 16) graders were approached to join the study (942 students in total). In the school year 2008–2009, 843 of them participated. Two years later, in the school year 2010–2011, 615 of these 843 students participated in the second wave.³ The time-lag between the two waves varies between 1.6 and 2.6 years for almost all respondents (99.4%); both waves of data collection covered several months.

¹However, some scholars argue that enactment of the code leads to less victimization, especially among individuals who engage in code-switching (e.g., Lindegaard et al. 2013).

²An important reason for not participating was that schools were already enrolled in other research projects and did not want to disturb their lessons any further (Bernasco et al. 2013).

³Attrition was mainly due to a lack of time or willingness to participate again. The drop-outs were, compared to the participants, older and more often involved in unstructured socializing, but not significantly different in their self-reported delinquency (for more results of the drop-out analyses, see Hoeben and Weerman 2014).

Given the longitudinal character of our models, we only incorporated the respondents who participated fully in both waves of the data collection. The sample size was 610⁴ and consisted of 52.6% boys and 47.4% girls. Respondents were on average 14.4 years old in the first wave of the data collection and 16.5 years old in the second wave. A relatively large portion of the respondents followed lower forms of secondary education. Most of the respondents had a highly urbanized background: at the time of the first interview, 93.6% lived in neighborhoods that were classified by Statistics Netherlands as “strongly urban” (1,500 to 2,500 addresses per km²) or “very strongly urban” ($\geq 2,500$ addresses per km²). Although most of the respondents were from native Dutch descent, a relatively large portion had an ethnic minority background (44.6%). More information on the SPAN sample and data collection can be found in Bernasco et al. (2013) and Weerman et al. (2015).

The measurement instruments used in the SPAN project, a questionnaire and a space-time budget interview, were similar to the ones used in the Peterborough Adolescent and Young Adult Development Study by Wikström et al. (2012a), although the instruments were translated to Dutch. The SPAN questionnaire was extended with additional measures such as the measures for parental monitoring and perceived peer reinforcement. The questionnaires were completed by the respondents themselves, under supervision of a research assistant. Research assistants supervised four respondents simultaneously. This intensive procedure resulted in low rates of item nonresponse, with a maximum of 2%.

Dependent variables

Violent delinquency was measured in the questionnaire by asking respondents about their involvement in three types of violence in the preceding school year: (1) threatening someone; (2) kicking or hitting someone on the street; (3) injuring someone by kicking or hitting. The respondents were asked how often they had been involved in these behaviors: never (value 0); once; twice; three-five times; six-ten times; more than ten times (value 5). The violent delinquency measure is a sum of respondents' frequency scores across the three items. The measure is highly skewed (361 respondents scored zero in the first wave and 406 respondents scored zero in the second wave) and is treated as a count variable with a negative binomial distribution.

Violent victimization was measured with two items from the questionnaire asking respondents whether they had experienced the following in the past school year: (1) threatened with hitting, kicking, a pistol, knife or something similar, without actually being attacked or assaulted; (2) attacked or assaulted by hitting, kicking, or because somebody used a pistol, knife, piece of wood or something similar against them. Answer categories were: no (value 0), once (1), and more than once (2). The violent victimization measure was constructed by summing the frequency scores across the two items. The measure is highly skewed (478 respondents scored zero) and therefore is treated as a count variable with a negative binomial distribution. The measure is only available for the second wave of the data collection. For descriptive statistics of these and other variables, see [Table 1](#).

Key independent variables

Although the SPAN data collection was not originally developed to measure the code of the street, it incorporated items that were theoretically close to Anderson's concept of street code beliefs. Based on theoretical considerations, principal component analyses (eigenvalues greater than one-criterion; direct oblimin rotation), and reliability analyses, one construct was created that expresses respondents' attitudes regarding *conflict positioning*—whether respondents justify violent behavior rather than pulling back in response to verbal provocation—which is an important component of the code described by Anderson (1999). This construct incorporates two items: “How bad do you think it is when someone of your age hits a peer because he makes a nasty remark?” (answer categories: very

⁴Five respondents were excluded because information on key variables was missing.

Table 1. Descriptives and Spearman's correlations ($N = 610$).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1.Violent delinquency T2	.297**															
2.Violent victimization T2	.431**	.109**														
3.Violent delinquency T1	.283**	.115**	.360**													
4.Conflict positioning T1	.234**	.063	.227**	.203**												
5.Public unstruct. soc. T1	.078+	.146**	.121**	.406**	.176**											
6.Att.tow rule breaking T1	.174**	.130**	.293**	.399**	.235**	.574**										
7.Att. offending T1	.074+	.139**	.130**	.433**	.213**	.581**	.460**									
8.Att. substance use T1	-.216**	-.126**	-.267**	-.357**	-.276**	-.368**	-.387**	-.383**								
9.Parental monitoring T1	-.338**	-.117**	-.374**	-.360**	-.248**	-.199**	-.292**	-.195**	.239**							
10.Self-control T1	.276**	.191**	.397**	.417**	.337**	.353**	.381**	.538**	-.388**	-.394**						
11.Peer delinquency T1	-.061	-.156**	-.218**	-.302**	-.159**	-.334**	-.356**	-.338**	.260**	.273**	-.291**					
12.Bond with school T1	-.026	-.061	-.126**	-.145**	-.101*	-.231**	-.214**	-.226**	.194**	.100*	-.185**	.313**				
13.School control T1	-.218**	-.163**	-.240**	-.279**	-.071	-.148**	-.160**	-.041	.260**	.219**	-.165**	.128**	-.011			
14.Gender (0 = boy)	.027	.110**	.019	.199**	.134**	.232**	.139**	.518**	-.268**	-.049	.462**	-.166**	-.230**	-.002		
15.Age T1	.141**	-.109**	.134**	-.033	.051	-.242**	-.033	-.219**	.081*	-.064	.026	.111**	.021	.047	-.039	
16.Ethnicity (0 = native)	1.207	.366	1.633	3.053	4.432	17.534	7.307	6.251	17.178	29.630	8.820	25.990	17.210	.470	14.402	.446
Mean	2.477	.834	2.925	1.667	4.975	4.555	2.659	3.017	4.094	6.265	3.331	3.248	2.367	.500	1.626	.497
SD	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	7.000	5.000	3.000	5.000	10.000	6.000	14.000	5.000	.000	11.330	.000
Min	15.000	4.000	15.000	5.667	39.000	28.000	20.000	12.000	25.000	45.000	23.000	33.000	20.000	1.000	17.920	1.000
Max	.794	.679	.790	.634	—	.848	.816	.865	.759	.744	.818	.633	.672	—	—	—
Alpha																

+ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed).

bad, bad, a little bad, not bad at all), and “Would you feel guilty if you had hit someone who insulted you?” (answer categories: no, not at all; yes, a little; yes, very much; reverse coded). Alphas were .634 (T1) and .622 (T2). The measure ranges from 0 to 5.67, with higher scores indicating attitudes favorable toward active conflict positioning.

Involvement in public unstructured socializing was measured using data from the space–time budget interviews. In these one-on-one interviews, respondents were asked about their whereabouts, hourly activities and people present during four days preceding the interview: one Friday, one Saturday and the two most recent week days. The space–time budget interview is similar to a time diary method with a fixed time unit of an hour, except that the interview is extended with questions about the geographical location of the activity and criminologically relevant items such as crime involvement and substance use. For more information on the method, see Wikström et al. (2012a) and Wikström, Treiber, and Hardie (2012b). For results from validity analyses for the SPAN data and information on how the method was applied in the SPAN data collection, see Hoeben et al. (2014).

To measure “involvement in public unstructured socializing,” we summed all hours (in the four space–time budget days⁵) per person that were spent in the presence of one or more peers, in the absence of adult family members or other significant adults (e.g., teacher, coach, parents of friends), in a public setting, and in unstructured activity. Under “public settings,” we qualify all locations that are non-private (private locations are the respondent’s home, second home if applicable, and friends’ homes). See Appendix A for a list of all locations that were included as public locations and for a list of activities that were defined as “unstructured.”

Control variables

Several control variables were included in the models: gender, age, ethnicity, parental monitoring, self-control, peer delinquency, perceived school control, and bond with school. Two are dummy variables: *gender* (boy is 0, girl is 1) and *ethnicity* (native Dutch descent⁶ is 0, ethnic minority is 1). *Parental monitoring* (see Kerr and Stattin 2003) included five items asking to what extent the respondent agrees with several statements, for example: “I can just go out at night (after 7 pm), without having to tell my parents” and “If I go out, my parents expect me to tell where I go, with whom and what I’m going to do.” Answer categories were: YES!, yes, yes or no, no, NO!, and “Not applicable, I do not live with my parents any more” (the latter was coded as missing). The *self-control* construct (see Grasmick et al. 1993) includes 10 items, such as “I often do things without thinking of the consequences” and “I always say what I think.” Answer categories were: YES!, yes, yes or no, no, NO! *Peer delinquency* was measured by asking the respondents how often their friends had been involved in several delinquent behaviors in the past year: skipping school without excuse, getting drunk, using drugs, stealing something from others or from shops, destroying things, and beating up or getting into fights with others. Answer categories were varied from “(almost) never” (1) to “very often/each week” (4). The construct for *perceived school control* incorporated four items asking, for example, “Do teachers or students intervene if someone is being beat up at the schoolyard?” or “Does the school intervene if students play truant?” Answer categories were YES!, yes, yes or no, no, NO! *Bond with school* is a combination of seven items stating, for example, “I enjoy going to school” and “If you could leave school tomorrow, would you do it?” Answer categories varied for the items, but for most items were: YES!, yes, yes or no, no, NO!

Furthermore, we were interested in the extent to which justification of active conflict positioning specifically is predictive of violent delinquency and victimization *over and above* the effect of a more general tolerance toward rule breaking or unlawful behavior. We therefore included additional

⁵Non-typical space-time budget days, when the respondent was ill or had a day off at school, were excluded prior to construction of the variable, to represent normal routines as much as possible. The individual sum scores were corrected for the exclusion of these non-typical days.

⁶We followed the definition of Statistics Netherlands, stating that a person is from native Dutch descent if both of his or her parents are born in the Netherlands.

control variables that represent respondents' attitudes toward offending (five items), rule breaking (seven items), and substance use (three items). Respondents were asked "how bad do you think it is when someone your age" is involved in certain acts. The attitudes-constructs were developed for the PADS+ study (Wikström et al. 2012a) and are based on similar constructs used in the Pittsburgh Youth Study (Loeber et al. 1998) and the National Youth Survey (Elliott, Huizinga, and Ageton 1985). All non-dichotomous control variables were grand-mean centered prior to analysis.

Analytical strategy

The longitudinal nature of the SPAN data enabled estimation of lagged effects of attitudes regarding conflict positioning and involvement in public unstructured socializing at wave 1 (T1) on violent delinquency and violent victimization at wave 2 (T2), while controlling for prior violent delinquency and other control variables measured at T1.⁷ Because victimization was only measured in the second wave of the data collection, we were unable to control for prior victimization. Based on previous research on the strong relationship between delinquency and victimization (e.g., Averdijk and Bernasco 2015; Sampson and Lauritsen 1990), we controlled for prior violent delinquency in these analyses. All models were run with both delinquency and victimization as dependent variables. As the dependent variables are highly skewed, we estimated negative binomial models in STATA.

As interaction terms are notoriously difficult to estimate in negative binomial models (for a discussion, see Svensson and Oberwittler 2010), the analyses were conducted in two steps. First, we estimated the relationship between conflict positioning and the dependent variables for different groups of respondents, who were categorized by the frequency of their involvement in public unstructured socializing. We distinguished four groups based on lifestyle: (1) the respondents with no involvement in public unstructured socializing in the four space-time budget days (0 hours), (2) the respondents with lower than average involvement in public unstructured socializing (1–3 hours), (3) the respondents with average involvement in public unstructured socializing (3.0–6.2 hours: median through third quartile), and (4) the respondents with above-average involvement in public unstructured socializing (more than 6.2 hours, which marks the third quartile). Second, we applied the approach that was suggested by Hilbe (2011), in which interaction terms are estimated for each value of both variables that are included in the interaction term.

Findings

Violent delinquency

The results of the models predicting violent delinquency are presented in Table 2. For our total sample (Model 0), justification of active conflict positioning (fight rather than flight) was associated with an increased risk for violent delinquency (B: .187, $p < .01$, IRR: 1.205). A one-unit higher score on the conflict positioning construct was associated with a 20.5% higher score in violent delinquency two years later, even when controlling for prior involvement in violent delinquency. The effect of active conflict positioning justifications appears to exist over and above the effects of general tolerance toward rule breaking, offending, and substance use.

If we then turn to the separate groups of respondents, based on their involvement in public unstructured socializing (Models 1 to 4 in Table 2), it appears that the relationship between belief in conflict positioning and violent delinquency was only significantly different from zero for the group of respondents with above-average involvement in public unstructured socializing (B: .299, $p < .01$, IRR: 1.349), which refers to approximately six hours or more per week (assuming that the four space-time budget days are representative for an average week).

⁷Because it could be argued that delinquent behavior or victimization may influence belief in the code of the street, we conduct a lagged model using independent variables at Time 1 to predict the outcome measures at Time 2.



Table 2. Negative binomial models for violent delinquency (T2) regressed on public unstructured socializing, conflict positioning, and control variables (T1).

	Model 0:			Model 1:			Model 2:			Model 3:			Model 4:		
	B	SE	IRR	B	SE	IRR	B	SE	IRR	B	SE	IRR	B	SE	IRR
Public unstruct. soc.	.005	.020	1.005	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Conflict positioning	.187**	.068	1.205**	-.021	.206	.979	.158	.155	1.171	.036	.137	1.037	.299**	.104	1.349**
Att. rule breaking	-.032	.025	.969	-.092	.080	.912	-.112+	.061	.894+	.092+	.052	1.097+	-.058	.039	.944
Att. offending	.047	.037	1.048	.159	.165	1.172	.190*	.088	1.210*	-.005	.075	.995	.064	.050	1.066
Att. substance use	.017	.044	1.017	-.105	.129	.900	.069	.083	1.072	.027	.099	1.027	-.034	.058	.967
Prior violent delinquency	.136**	.033	1.145**	.637**	.185	1.890**	.217**	.082	1.243**	.136*	.056	1.146*	.125**	.044	1.133**
Parental monitoring	-.041+	.025	.959+	.027	.086	1.027	-.034	.059	.966	.005	.050	1.005	-.054	.036	.947
Self-control	-.055**	.016	.947**	-.100	.050	.905	-.044	.037	.957	-.009	.036	.991	-.040+	.024	.961+
Peer delinquency	.002	.035	1.002	.238+	.125	1.269+	.083	.084	1.086	-.002	.068	.998	-.087+	.051	.917+
Bond with school	.055+	.032	1.056+	.130	.109	1.138	.060	.066	1.062	.076	.069	1.079	.068	.049	1.071
School control	-.008	.036	.992	-.047	.109	.954	.083	.078	1.086	-.072	.084	.931	.012	.063	1.012
Gender (0 = boy)	-.631**	.177	.532**	-.1589*	.613	.204*	-.722*	.351	.486*	-.390	.358	.677	-.192	.306	.825
Age	-.044	.066	.957	.244	.199	1.277	-.005	.137	.995	.009	.163	1.009	-.072	.094	.930
Ethnicity (0 = native)	.395*	.178	1.485*	-.241	.606	.786	-.581	.400	.560	1.470**	.405	4.347**	-.064	.267	.938
Intercept	-.980**	.257	.375**	-.484	.664	.616	-.949+	.566	.387	-.1092*	.510	.335	-.983*	.442	.374*
Log likelihood					-122.676										
n					140										
					610										
					188										
					152										

+p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01 (two-tailed).

Note. All control variables were grand-mean centered prior to analyses.

In Table 3, all interaction terms are presented for separate values of the interacting variables, as suggested by Hilbe (2011: Appendix A in his book). In our study, this means that we calculated the interaction terms for all values of the conflict positioning construct (the main independent variable) and for involvement in public unstructured socializing (the moderator). The findings indicate, for example, that adolescents with average levels of justification of active conflict positioning (score 3) who spent an average amount of time in public unstructured socializing reported 38% more violent delinquency than adolescents who spent zero hours in public unstructured socializing and have the same levels of justification for conflict positioning (B:.324, $p > .10$, IRR: 1.383). However, the standard error is large (.253) and the exponentiated interaction term does not differ significantly from one. In other words: we do not find evidence for the presence of an interaction effect on violent delinquency for these scores on conflict positioning justification and involvement in public unstructured socializing. We do, however, find a significant interaction effect for respondents with low levels of justifications for active conflict positioning (score 0) and with above-average involvement in public unstructured socializing: their risk of violent delinquency is almost 100% higher than that of respondents who are not involved in public unstructured socializing (B:.691, $p < .10$, IRR: 1.996). This finding suggests that, for predicting violent delinquency, exposure to certain settings (i.e., public unstructured socializing) may be more important than individuals' attitudes regarding conflict positioning (whether or not they justify fight instead of flight).

Table 3 shows a pattern that suggests a nonlinear relationship between justification of active conflict positioning and violent delinquency at average and above-average levels of public unstructured socializing. These nonlinear relationships are visualized in Figure 1. Note that we only describe general patterns and that most of the exponentiated interaction effects do not differ significantly from one. As can be seen in Figure 1, in general, more frequent involvement in public unstructured

Table 3. Hilbe interaction terms for violent delinquency (T2) predicted by conflict positioning*public unstructured socializing (T1).

	Conflict positioning						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Involvement in public unstructured socializing	IRR	IRR	IRR	IRR	IRR	IRR	IRR
No involvement, 0 hours (ref)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Low involvement, 1–3 hours	0.745	0.759	0.773	0.788	0.803	0.819	0.834
Average involvement, 3–6 hours	1.800	1.649	1.510	1.383	1.266	1.160	1.062
High involvement, 6–39 hours	1.996+	1.719	1.481	1.276	1.100	0.947	0.816

+ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed).

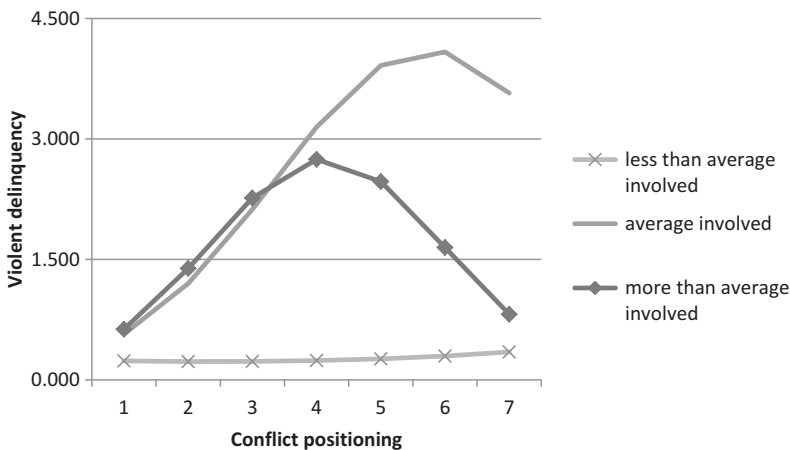


Figure 1. Effect of justification of active conflict positioning on violent delinquency at different levels of involvement in public unstructured socializing.

socializing, as well as justification for active conflict positioning (fight instead of flight) strengthen each other's effect on violent delinquency. However, very high levels of active conflict positioning (justification of fighting) are associated with *less* reported violent delinquency. This is only found for respondents who are occasionally engaged in public unstructured socializing. Respondents who are rarely involved in public unstructured socializing do not seem to engage in violent delinquency, regardless of their attitudes toward active conflict positioning. Also, it seems that justifications of active conflict positioning are more relevant in predicting violent delinquency for individuals who are occasionally (averagely) involved in public unstructured socializing, compared to for individuals who are very regularly (more than averagely) involved in public unstructured socializing.

Violent victimization

Table 4 presents the results for violent victimization. The results indicate that, for the sample of Dutch adolescents that was used in the present study, active conflict positioning justifications were not related to violent victimization. We did not find relationships across the complete sample (Model 0) or for the subsamples based on involvement in public unstructured socializing (Models 1–4). Neither did the results provide strong support for relationships between violent victimization and other attitude measures: we only found an association between violent victimization and attitudes toward rule breaking for the group of adolescents with moderate involvement in public unstructured socializing (B: .114, $p < .05$, IRR: 1.121).

Prior violent delinquency appeared to be predictive of violent victimization for the entire sample (B: .072, $p < .05$, IRR: 1.075). However, when examining the results for the separate groups (Models 1–4), the relationship only appeared to exist for adolescents with less-than-average involvement in public unstructured socializing.

These null findings were confirmed when applying Hilbe's approach (see Table 5). The findings in Table 5 indicate that there was no interaction between involvement in public unstructured socializing and justification of active conflict positioning in their effect on violent victimization.

Robustness checks

Two robustness checks were conducted. First, all models were recalculated with dependent variables that expressed *general* delinquency and *general* victimization. These outcome variables did not specifically refer to violence, but also incorporated items on, for example, property crime and vandalism. Second, all models were recalculated with an alternative measure for public unstructured socializing that was operationalized with a stricter definition of "public locations." The results of these additional analyses are presented in supplementary online material.

The findings for the analyses on *general delinquency* indicate that, compared to the findings for violent delinquency, general delinquency was more strongly related to involvement in public unstructured socializing (Model 0, Table S5 in supplementary material) and less strongly related to justification of active conflict positioning (Model 0, Table S5 in supplementary material). In line with our findings for violent delinquency, we found that the relationship between justification of active conflict positioning and general delinquency was only significantly different from zero for the group of respondents with above-average involvement in public unstructured socializing (Model 4, Table S5 in supplementary material). However, after applying Hilbe's approach to general delinquency (results presented in Table S6 in the supplementary material), we found interaction effects that were not visible for violent delinquency. We found significant positive interaction effects between involvement in public unstructured socializing and justification of active conflict positioning on general delinquency for the group of respondents with above-average involvement in public unstructured socializing, for almost all values for of the conflict positioning construct (except score "0"). This can possibly be explained by our finding that public unstructured socializing is more strongly related to general delinquency than to violent delinquency. Also, we found that involvement in public unstructured socializing and justification of

Table 5. Hilbe interaction terms for violent victimization (T2) predicted by conflict positioning*public unstructured socializing (T1).

	Conflict positioning						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Involvement in public unstructured socializing	IRR	IRR	IRR	IRR	IRR	IRR	IRR
No involvement, 0 hours (ref)							
Low involvement, 1–3 hours	1.274	1.102	0.953	0.824	0.713	0.617	0.534
Average involvement, 3–6 hours	1.448	1.259	1.094	0.951	0.827	0.719	0.625
High involvement, 6–39 hours	1.876	1.487	1.179	0.935	0.742	0.588	0.466

+p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01 (two-tailed).

active conflict positioning were consistently positively associated with general delinquency, whereas we found *negative* associations with violent delinquency for high levels of justification of active conflict positioning. The patterns for *general victimization* were very similar to those of violent victimization, but there still were a few differences. Importantly, we found a few (modest) significant, positive interaction terms for general victimization that did not appear to be present for violent victimization. These interaction terms indicate that respondents with low levels of justification of active conflict positioning (scores 0, 1, and 2) with above-average involvement in public unstructured socializing have a higher chance of becoming victimized than respondents who are never involved in public unstructured socializing (Table S8 in supplementary material).

The analyses with the *strict measure for public unstructured socializing* showed substantially similar findings compared to those from the analyses with the original measure. One difference was that the analyses with the stricter measure for public unstructured socializing and the corresponding new groups of respondents (based on their involvement in public unstructured socializing) showed no significant effect of attitudes toward active conflict positioning on violent delinquency for the group of respondents with above-average involvement in public unstructured socializing (Model 4 in Table S12 in the supplementary material), whereas we found such an effect in the previous analyses (both for the main analyses as presented in Table 2, as for the additional analyses with a measure for general delinquency). Nevertheless, the interaction terms that were calculated with Hilbe's approach with the stricter measure (Table S13 in the supplementary material) showed similar patterns as the interaction terms calculated with the original measure for public unstructured socializing, only more strongly positive. With the stricter operationalization, we found that adolescents with low levels of justification of active conflict positioning and above-average involvement in public unstructured socializing had an increased chance of reporting violent delinquency, compared to adolescents who were never involved in public unstructured socializing (Table S13 in the supplementary material). For *violent victimization*, no substantial differences were found when applying the stricter measure for public unstructured socializing.

Discussion

The current study used survey and space–time budget data from adolescents in the Netherlands to examine whether justifications related to the code of the street (active conflict positioning, or fight instead of flight) and involvement in public unstructured socializing interact to affect violent delinquency and victimization. We found positive effects of attitudes favorable of active conflict positioning on violent delinquency. In addition, active conflict positioning justifications were more strongly related to violent delinquency than were measures based on other common theories (e.g., measures of self-control, peer associations, school bonding and school control). Further, the effects of justifications of active conflict positioning on violent delinquency were stronger among those who more frequently engaged in public unstructured socializing. In contrast, we found neither a significant relationship between such active conflict positioning justifications and violent victimization, nor a significant interaction with public unstructured socializing when predicting violent victimization.

Theoretical implications

The current study makes several contributions to the literature on the code of the street. First, consistent with previous research highlighting interactions between individual factors and lifestyle to predict delinquency (e.g., Svensson and Pauwels 2010; Wikström and Butterworth 2006; Wikström and Svensson 2008; Wikström et al. 2012a), our results suggest that the effect of attitudes similar to those found in the street code may be conditional upon lifestyle in predicting violent delinquency. Specifically, the current study found that justification of active conflict positioning (fight instead of flight) more strongly contributed to violent delinquency when individuals were regularly involved in public unstructured socializing. This finding may have important implications for understanding the relationship between the street code and violent delinquency. While Anderson seemed to acknowledge the importance of situations for the expression of the street code—for example, by introducing the idea of “staging areas”—previous quantitative work on the code of the street’s effect on violent delinquency has assumed that values provided by the code have uniform effects on individual behavior. Our findings suggest a more nuanced relationship between the adoption of street code beliefs and violence, because it matters whether individuals are exposed to certain situations (specifically, their violent behavior is affected by their involvement in public unstructured socializing). Thus, the extent to which individuals justify active conflict positioning affects their behavior, but only if they are exposed to opportunities to engage in such behavior. This finding is consistent with routine activity theory (Cohen and Felson 1979).

Second, the current study is the first to our knowledge to quantitatively examine the effect of values similar to the code of the street on violent delinquency and victimization in a European context. We found that values related to the code of the street—specifically, justification of active conflict positioning—were related to violent delinquency among Dutch youth. These results speak to the theory’s applicability to areas beyond the Philadelphia neighborhoods on which it was based and the samples from the United States on which it has been tested. The current study also specifically demonstrates the utility of the theory in explaining violence in international contexts without the degree of neighborhood disadvantage present in many major U.S. cities.

However, our findings regarding the relationship between justification of conflict positioning and violent *victimization* do not replicate those of earlier studies conducted in the United States (e.g., Berg et al. 2012; McNeeley and Wilcox 2015a; 2015b; Schreck et al. 2012; Stewart et al. 2006); therefore, it is possible that some aspects of the theory are not as applicable to European contexts as they are to American communities. On the other hand, there is debate about the precise relationship between the code of the street and victimization. While many studies have shown that enactment of the code may antagonize potential offenders and thereby increase risk of victimization (e.g., Berg et al. 2012; McNeeley and Wilcox 2015a; 2015b; Schreck et al. 2012; Stewart et al. 2006), others have argued that the code works to protect individuals from violence (see, e.g., Baron et al. 2001; Lindegaard et al. 2013). The key may be that the relationship depends less on attitudes or justifications and more on behavioral flexibility, also referred to as “code-switching” or “flexible cultural repertoires.” Anderson (1999) suggests that the code may protect against victimization for those individuals who can adjust their behavior when necessary (see also Lindegaard et al. 2013). With the data used for the current study, we were unable to distinguish such subtle situational adaptation from internalized justifications of active conflict positioning. This may explain why we did not find a relationship between our conflict positioning construct and violent victimization.

Third, we expand on previous work on the code of the street by examining the relationship between code-related justifications and violence while controlling for general anti-social attitudes. Previous studies have found that holding values favorable of violent responses to disrespect, similar to those found in the code of the street, increases violent delinquency among youth (e.g., Schreck et al. 2012; Stewart and Simons 2006); however, these studies did not control for more general anti-social attitudes. The current study provides evidence that adolescents who sometimes approve of violent

behavior in response to disrespect (in the form of an insult or nasty remark) have an increased chance of becoming violent. This association appears to exist over and above the effects of other attitudes toward rule breaking behaviors. Thus, our findings provide additional support for the existing literature on the relationship between the code of the street and violent delinquency, as well as for the broader literature on the association between anti-social attitudes and delinquent behavior.

Fourth, in an attempt to replicate the study of McNeeley and Wilcox (2015a), we tested for interactions between justification of active conflict positioning and lifestyle in predicting violent victimization. However, we found no evidence for such interactions, whereas the findings of McNeeley and Wilcox (2015a) showed that victimization was most likely for individuals who believe in the code and engage in public activities. A potential explanation for these different results is that McNeeley and Wilcox (2015a) used an adult sample, while we used an adolescent sample. Also, perhaps more importantly, the space-time budget data used in the current study enabled us to operationalize public unstructured socializing in much more detail than McNeeley and Wilcox's (2015a) more general measures of activities away from home. Future research should further address the inconsistency of these findings.

Fifth, our supplementary analyses predicting general delinquency and victimization showed somewhat weaker effects of active conflict positioning justifications than did the main analyses predicting violent delinquency and victimization; therefore, scholars interested in the code of the street may benefit from focusing on violent-specific outcomes.

Finally, although it was not the main focus of our study, the results seem to indicate a *nonlinear* relationship between justifications similar to the code of the street, public unstructured socializing, and violence. We found positive interactions with involvement in public unstructured socializing for lower levels of justification of active conflict positioning, but negative interactions at higher levels of justification of active conflict positioning. This pattern may suggest a reduced need for violence when belief in the code is very high: individuals who are highly embedded in the street culture may have already demonstrated their dangerousness to a degree where others are unlikely to behave disrespectfully, making violence to discourage such challenges no longer necessary. Future studies should further address this potential nonlinearity in regards to victimization: a nonlinear relationship would potentially account for the apparent inconsistency in the existing literature regarding the effect of street code beliefs on victimization (see McNeeley and Wilcox 2015a).

The current study not only contributes to the literature on the code of the street, but also to the *lifestyle-routine activities literature*. First, there is little work on whether unstructured leisure activities increase risk for victimization above and beyond the effect of delinquency. Lauritsen, Laub, and Sampson (1992) suggested that activities may only matter for victimization insofar as they contribute to delinquency, due to the large victim-offender overlap. Indeed, Henson et al. (2010) found no effect of lifestyle on minor or serious violent victimization, net of delinquency. The findings of the current study are consistent with this argument and previous work; we did not find effects of involvement in public unstructured socializing on violent victimization when controlling for violent delinquency.

Second, the findings of the current study demonstrate an importance of lifestyles beyond directly creating opportunity for crime events; routine activities may also contribute to delinquency and victimization by influencing the strength of the criminogenic effects of individual factors such as attitudes toward delinquency. In particular, we argue that, due to a lack of formal guidelines to shape interactions with others, public unstructured socializing creates opportunity for the expression of violent attitudes held by street code followers. While we cannot test this directly with the data used, our results support this argument by demonstrating stronger effects of justification of conflict positioning on violent delinquency among individuals who spend more time engaged in public unstructured socializing. Future studies should further examine what matters more for violent delinquent outcomes: attitudes or exposure to opportunities.

Limitations

The space–time budget information and longitudinal nature of the SPAN data make the data well-suited for studying interactions between involvement in public unstructured socializing and street code related justifications of violence. Nevertheless, there are limitations to the data that must be acknowledged. First, because the data were not collected for the purpose of studying the code of the street, our measurement of attitudes toward conflict positioning is not ideal. The difference between our measure and those used in previous studies may explain our failure to replicate the findings of previous studies—especially those regarding the effect of the code on violent victimization. For future studies, we propose the use of another measure, such as the scale used in the Family and Community Health Study (FACHS) (e.g., Stewart and Simons 2006).

Moreover, the conflict positioning measure is operationalized as an internalized attitude or justification, but this measurement does not account for “code-switching,” or situational adaptation of the code. Regarding this “situational adoption” of beliefs, Anderson discusses the use of street values by “decent” youths who do not truly believe in the code; these teenagers behave according to the code only when necessary for self-protection. Unfortunately, the results of the current study cannot differentiate between the effects of truly internalizing the code and adopting the code situationally. We would therefore like to encourage scholars who are interested in the code of the street to explore measurement methods that incorporate code-switching.

Second, issues with the availability of victimization measures also create limitations to the study. Two items (assault and threat of assault) were available in the data to measure violent victimization. It is possible that the results may have been different if additional violent victimization items had been used. Relatedly, although we longitudinally examine the relationships between justification of active conflict positioning and victimization, measures of victimization were only collected in the second wave of the survey. Therefore, we were unable to control for prior victimization in the analyses. We thus cannot rule out reciprocal effects between victimization and justifications for active conflict positioning.

Conclusion

Despite these limitations, the current study provides important information about the interrelationships between values in line with the code of the street, routine activities, and violence. It provides support for the hypothesis that justification of active conflict positioning (the “fight” instead of “flight” modus) increases violent delinquency. Our use of a European sample implies that the code of the street theory is broadly generalizable, although previous findings for violent victimization were not replicated. We also found that the effects of justifications of conflict positioning on violent delinquency are conditional upon lifestyle. The strongest effects of the conflict positioning justifications on violent delinquency were observed for individuals who were more often involved in unstructured socializing in public locations.

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Appendix A

Table A1. Locations defined as “public” for the operationalization of “public unstructured socializing” with space–time budget data. Additional analyses were conducted with a more strict definition of “public.” The included locations according to this strict definition are marked with asterisks.

*Streets, squares, and places (general code)	*Shops/shopping arcades/shopping centers (general code)	Workplace (general code)
*Streets/street corner	*The Hague shopping center (city center)	Workplace: Babysit
*Square	*Shopping center elsewhere	Workplace: Building site
*Boulevard	*Market	Workplace: Nursing home
*Bus station/stop	Megastores The Hague	Workplace: Children’s playgroup/nursery
*Car park	School (general code)	Workplace: Office
*Industrial estate	Classroom	Workplace: Hairdresser/beauty salon
*Cross field (bike/moped)	Other place in school buildings (e.g., corridors, dinner hall)	Workplace: Shop
*Street football ground	Outdoors school grounds (e.g., school field, including during sports lesson)	Workplace: Pub
*Street basketball ground	Homework institute	Workplace: Restaurant/café
*Playing field	Other school or outdoor school grounds of other school	Other workplaces
*Lawn	Canteen of a society	Workplace: Garage
*Playground	Sport (general code)	Workplace: Factory
*Parks	Football ground	Workplace: Agriculture/greenhouses
*Beach	Rugby ground	Workplace: Snack bar
*Lake	Cricket ground	Workplace: Petrol station
*Forests	Athletics ground	Workplace: Takeaway
*Sea	Snooker club	Entertainment (general code)
*Dunes	Golf course	Games arcades (e.g., laser games, go-kart)
*Moving around (general code)	Sports centre: volleyball, handball, basketball	Theater
*Moving around: by foot	Hockey pitch	Cinema
*Moving around: by bike	Tennis courts	Pub/bar
*Moving around: by moped/motorcycle/scooter	Gymnastic club	Disco/club
*Moving around: by car	Fitness center (fitness and aerobic)	Restaurant/café
Moving around: by bus	Other sport or leisure club	Theme park/fairground
Moving around: by train	Riding school	Youth club/community center
Moving around: by underground	Church/mosque/religious center	Library
Moving around: by airplane	Festival grounds/party hall	Coffeeshop (café where one can buy soft drugs)
Petrol station/garage	Indoor swimming pool	Takeaway (e.g., McDonalds/Burger King/KFC)
Supermarket/store	Museum	Videotheque
Snack bar	Billiard or snooker club	Indoor ski track
*Railway station	School of music	Ice rink
Airport	Hotel	Outdoor swimming pool
Dancing school	Caravan site/holiday apartment	Swimming pool
Hospital	Other (e.g., parent’s office)	Bowling alley
Doctor	Psychologist/therapist/psychiatrist	*Skate park
Dentist	Hairdresser	Beauty salon

Table A2. Activities defined as “unstructured” for the operationalization of “public unstructured socializing” with space–time budget data.

Shopping for fun	Media consumption general
Hanging around (doing nothing, not necessarily alone, but no socializing; e.g., waiting in line)	Combination of socializing (e.g., by Instant Messaging, face to face communication and texting)
Transport (going from A to B, including biking and walking around with friends)	Watching a movie (on television, DVD, or in the cinema)
Walking or biking around without a goal	Reading comics
Roller blading, skating, ice skating, skate boarding	Reading a magazine
Biking BMX (for hobby, not transport)	Reading the newspaper
Internet (surfing)	Reading a book (not for homework)
Moped/scooter/quad (for hobby, not transport)	Listening to music/radio
Playing outside on a playground, on the horizontal bar etc.	Socializing (not organized)
Other hobbies or games (e.g., playing with toys, dancing in the room, romping around)	Talking (face to face), socializing
Talking over the phone	Birthday party
Communication by e-mail or Instant Messaging	Socializing and having a drink
Texting	Watching television
Party, including house parties	Pay a visit
Going out (e.g., in a pub or club)	
