Online/Reviewers' Appendix

The Census of Governments is conducted every five years, and provides detailed information on the finances of every governmental unit in the country. It is compiled from mail surveys as well as collaborative data-gathering efforts between the U.S. Census Bureau and state governments. Although it includes counties, municipalities, townships, special districts, and school districts, this analysis focuses on all municipalities above 25,000 in population, polities with broad enough responsibilities to make a study of their priorities valuable. School districts and special districts do not face issues of prioritization. Data from 1992, 1997, and 2002 were obtained through the Census Bureau's website. Data for 1973 city spending were obtained via the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research.

The nine spending categories studied here are core functions shared across many localities. To calculate the fraction of a locality's budget spent in a given area, the analysis combines current operating expenditures, construction, and other capital outlays. Certain measures of spending priorities combined multiple categories as designated by the Census of Governments. Criminal justice combines categories 04 (Correctional Institutions), 05 (Corrections Other), and 62 (Police Protection). Health spending combines categories 32 (Health Services–Other), 36 (Own Hospitals), and 38 (Other Hospitals). Sanitation combines 80 (Sewerage) and 81 (Solid Waste Management). Transit combines 87 (Water Transport and Terminals) with 94 (Transit Utilities).

Together, the nine categories studied here account for 68% of mean city spending excluding schools and welfare. Administration, the largest omitted category, accounts for another 10% of city spending. The remaining spending is split among a variety of small categories, including parking (60), inspections (66), and non-transit utilities (91-93). Spending on schooling-related and welfare-related categories has been removed from the denominator because responsibilities for schooling vary across localities and because most of the welfare money is governed by federal mandates.

In 1980, 1990, and 2000, the Herfindahl index is calculated using five mutually exclusive

groups: non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic African Americans, non-Hispanic Asian Americans, non-Hispanic Native Americans, and Hispanics. The Herfindahl index in 1970 is calculated using the three available groups: African Americans, non-Hispanic whites, and Hispanics. The omission of Native Americans and Asian Americans does not introduce substantial measurement error, as the 1970 Herfindahl index is correlated with the 1980 measures at 0.91.
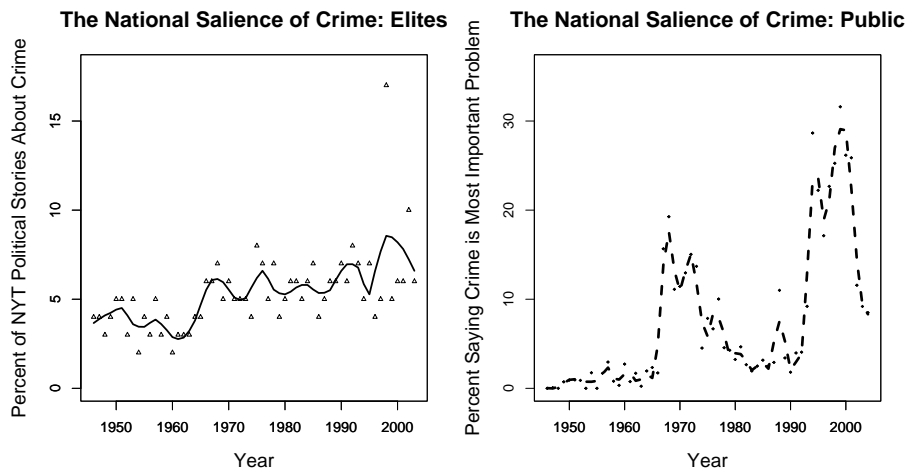
The National Salience of Crime: Elites

The National Salience of Crime: Public

Figure 1: Crime's salience among political elites, measured by *New York Times* articles, rose in the 1960s and has continued to ratchet upwards. Among the public, we see more punctuated increases in the salience of crime, with the first in the mid-1960s.

Variable	β	SE
Intercept	0.154	0.054
Herf 1970	-0.069	0.021
Δ Herf 70-00	-0.074	0.019
Mean Inc 70*	2.271	1.475
Δ Mean Inc 70-00*	-0.381	0.351
Over 65 70	0.091	0.082
Δ Over 65 70-00	-0.023	0.092
Lg. Pop 70	-0.007	0.003
Δ Lg. Pop 70-00	-0.009	0.006
% Poor 70	0.283	0.116
Δ % Poor 70-00	0.049	0.095
Gini 70	-0.238	0.120
Δ Gini 70-00	-0.126	0.144
State Rev per Cap 70	0.494	0.104
Δ State Rev per Cap 70-00	-0.059	0.006

Table 1: This table provides the results from a multilevel model of the changing share of spending devoted to fighting crime. The standard deviation of the errors is .062 at the individual level and .012 at the state level, meaning that the intra-class correlation is 0.04. This indicates that most of the variation remains at the city level. The coefficients denoted with an asterisk were multiplied by 10^7 to put them on the same order of magnitude.