

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I was thinking of self-preservation, the self-preservation symbol.

Mr. CAPLOVITZ. It remains to be seen whether the deterrent theory really applies to crime in our society at large. Criminologists spend a great deal of time worrying about the functions of punishment. Does punishment really lead to the deterrent of crime? We are really not sure.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I am not thinking of the punishment deterrent but thinking of self-preservation. If I were one of these merchants, would I be thinking that I would make the most I can in a hurry and get out? Would I be oblivious to the fact that there might be an end to this kind of an operation someday? Would I be concerned about my physical well-being if the situation turned into a conflagration, that I might be one of the first to start burning?

Mr. CAPLOVITZ. Responding as a social researcher, Mr. Chairman, you are suggesting to me a new topic for research. I would be very curious to know what the merchants in Harlem think about riots, and I would be very curious to know whether they themselves make any connection between their merchandising practices and the riots, and if they do, has this had some impact upon their merchandising practices?

I have a hunch that a number of these merchants find themselves caught up in a competitive situation, and that if they do not engage in these practices they go under. If they do not have those bait ads in their windows, they are not going to get the customers off the street. If they do not use high pressure tactics, they are not going to make their sales—the merchant next door will make the sales. So, how to break down their competitive situation and get the merchants themselves to come to some agreement that they should change their practices is a good question. But I would be curious to know whether the merchants feel that there is a connection between riots and their practices, and if so, are they prepared as a group to change their practices.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I would doubt they have any, independent judgment. I think they might rely on some members of the academic community who would suggest in a published paper that there is a connection; then they might react to that sort of thing.

Going back to another point, I think you said the merchants had great persuasive powers over their customers and you said they called them by their first name and they get very friendly.

They call them by their first name in Scarsdale, too, but they do not have the same powers over their customers. What is the difference?

Mr. CAPLOVITZ. In my book, I point out that many of these low-income consumers have more traditionalistic backgrounds than the typical urban dweller. They come from small towns in the South, many of them in the New York area come from Puerto Rico, and in many ways they find themselves intimidated by the large, bureaucratic style of operation of our large cities, a style of operation which has as one of its characteristics impersonality, and the neighborhood merchant seems to understand this. They make a great point of personalizing the relationship, of trying very quickly to establish a first-name basis, of saying to their customers "Call me 'Joe'," and this kind of informality is appreciated, I suspect, by those consumers who come from more tra-