

**Reducing Disorder, Fear, and Crime in Public Housing:
An Evaluation of a Drug Crime Elimination Program
in Spokane, Washington:
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Against the backdrop of strong support for locally-based, collaborative partnerships that address disorder, crime, and fear of crime at the community level, and amid growing frustration among public housing residents that their neighborhood streets had been "taken over" by the disorderly and criminal, Project ROAR (Reclaiming Our Area Residences) was established at the Parsons' Public Housing Building in Spokane, Washington in January, 1994. Project ROAR is a public housing drug-crime elimination program sponsored by the Spokane Police Department and the Spokane Housing Authority. The program reflects a public-private, inter-agency collaboration that seeks to empower public housing tenants in an effort to produce a safer neighborhood. The program targets a poor neighborhood in the central business district with a large elderly and transient population that is experiencing high rates of drug dealing and related crime and disorder problems, especially after the introduction of crack-cocaine into the area in the late 1980s.

Key elements of the program as originally conceived included the following: (1) opening a "Cop Shop" within the public housing area, (2) assigning neighborhood resource officers (community policing officers) to the target area; (3) coordinating efforts with the city's Crime Prevention Center, located in the public housing unit; (4) hiring a resident resource coordinator; (5) creating an "adopt the tenants program" with local

businesses; and (6) addressing physical target hardening and neighborhood improvements.

Project ROAR builds upon the ideas of past and present community-based crime prevention and reduction efforts, and provides insight into the effectiveness of such programs as they relate to the mobilization of public housing residents and the extent to which they can create positive changes in perceptions of safety, neighborhood disorder, and crime rates.

Methods and Research Questions

This study reflects a process and short-term impact evaluation of Project ROAR. Multiple sources of data were used to assess the implementation and effects of Project ROAR, including (1) interviews with the Parsons' public housing residents, (2) surveys of City residents, (3) a physical inventory of neighborhoods, (4) offenses known, arrest, and calls for police service data, (5) direct observations of all program meetings and activities, (6) a focus group session with Project ROAR participants, and (7) interviews with residents of the broader neighborhood and comparison neighborhood.

The following research questions guided the process and outcome evaluation of Project ROAR: (1) To what extent does Project ROAR as implemented reflect Project ROAR as originally conceived? (2) To what extent is Project ROAR a "comprehensive" community crime prevention program? (3) What effects might a collaborative anti-crime program have on residents' perceptions of the quality of their neighborhood life, including perceptions of neighborhood inhabitants, satisfaction with their neighborhood, fear of crime, and neighborhood physical and social disorder? (4) What effects might a collaborative anti-crime program have on objective measures of physical and social

disorder? (5) What effects might a collaborative, anti-crime program have on levels of neighborhood crime? and (6) What effects might a collaborative, anti-crime program have on subjective perceptions of the level and quality of policing services?

The design used to address the above research questions approximated a pre-post, quasi-experimental design with a specifically matched comparison site. The constructed comparison site is similar to the project area which surrounds the Parsons' building with regard to individual and neighborhood characteristics, and was used to develop comparisons with regard to official crime statistics, objective measures of social and physical disorder, and survey research regarding perceptions of the quality of neighborhood life and the level of police services.¹ For survey data and official crime statistics, trends for the City of Spokane also were compared to the project area.

Key Findings: Process Evaluation

Project ROAR: A Comprehensive Community Crime Prevention Program

According to Popkin et al. (1995) and Hammett et al. (1994), the most successful community anti-crime programs to date have been "comprehensive" efforts which have included *law enforcement activities* (both traditional suppression tactics as well as more innovative community policing initiatives), *community involvement* (including a variety of resident activities which might increase informal social control), and *situational crime prevention efforts* (such as physical design features which denote defensible space, increased surveillance activities, and target hardening efforts).

Here, findings from direct observations indicate that Project ROAR *is*, indeed, a comprehensive anti-crime program which seeks to improve the quality of life in the downtown urban core of the City of Spokane. With only a few notable exceptions, both

direct observation and focus group data attest to the fact that Project ROAR "as implemented" not only represents Project ROAR "as originally conceived" but also has gone well beyond its originally defined scope.

Observational data indicate that a total of 90 Project ROAR problem-solving meetings took place during the data collection period (just under four per month). These meetings included monthly Parsons' resident association meetings, Neighborhood Improvement Committee meetings, Neighborhood Business Owners' Association meetings, C.O.P.S. Shop committee meetings, and other special meetings under the rubric of Project ROAR. Interviews with key informants indicated that meetings of this type were very rare in the years prior to implementation of Project ROAR. In addition, observational and focus group data indicate that social activities for the Parsons' residents significantly increased during the implementation phase of Project ROAR and led to significant inroads in community building among the public housing residents.

In fact, observational data indicate that a total of 216 formally organized social activities took place at the Parsons' building during the evaluation period (an average of nine per month). And although only nine social activities took place during the first six months of the implementation of Project ROAR (January, 1994 to June, 1994), 207 social activities occurred during the remainder of the research period (July, 1994 to December, 1995). These activities included dinners and potlucks; special parties, resident lunch get-togethers, bingo parties, movie nights, Christian services and music, special outings, and rummage sales. Once again, key participants reported such social activities were virtually non-existent during the years preceding Project ROAR (estimated at two or three per year).

Finally, observations suggest that the police, particularly in the role of Neighborhood Resource Officers (NRO), can play a key catalyst role by bringing together disparate neighborhood interests for problem-solving local crime and disorder problems and for community development.

Key Findings: Outcome Evaluation

Multiple sources of data were used to assess the impact of Project ROAR with regard to attitudes and perceptions of public housing residents regarding the quality of their neighborhood life, and their perceptions of police services; felony drug arrests and reported crime in the West First neighborhood; and objective measures of neighborhood physical and social disorder.

Survey Research: Effects of Project ROAR on Perceptions & Attitudes of Residents

Familiarity and Involvement with Project ROAR Activities

Survey research indicates that respondents' familiarity with Project ROAR gradually increased over all waves of interviews, from 86 percent in April, 1994, to 100 percent in November, 1995. In addition, slightly more than 40 percent of the public housing respondents reported personal involvement with Project ROAR in December, 1994, slightly more than 60 percent reported personal involvement with Project ROAR in May, 1995, and approximately 32 percent of the residents reported involvement with Project ROAR in November, 1995. And while there is a marked decrease in resident participation in Project ROAR activities by the end of 1995, this decrease coincides with the greater involvement of the broader neighborhood in Project ROAR undertakings.

Perceptions of One Another, and Neighborhood Satisfaction

By November, 1995 (the last wave of four waves of the resident survey), the overwhelming majority of Parsons' respondents believed that the Parsons building and the greater West First neighborhood consisted of a mix of people, some of whom help one another, others of whom go their own way. This finding is a significant departure from earlier waves of the survey where many more Parsons' residents felt that their neighbors within the building and other neighborhood residents simply "go their own way."

In addition, by November, 1995, over 90 percent of the Parsons' respondents were satisfied--at some level--with their neighborhood, up from 38 percent in April, 1994. When compared to a citywide sample of Spokane residents, this marked increase in Parsons' residents' satisfaction with their neighborhood, approximated the level of satisfaction of citywide residents as a whole both in the spring, 1994 and 1995.

Physical and Social Changes in the Neighborhood

Many residents reported having noticed positive physical and social neighborhood changes in the West First area from April, 1994, to November, 1995. Parsons' residents acknowledged the accomplishments of Project ROAR as contributing to their more favorable perception of the physical environment, including improvements in lighting, the brightening of area railroad viaducts, the opening of new businesses, improvements to building facades, the greater visibility of police officers, and the opening of the neighborhood community policing substation, among others. When this question was ask

of the citywide sample of Spokane residents in the spring of 1995, proportionally fewer residents reported noticing positive physical changes in their neighborhood.

Parsons' residents also reported several "improvements" in their social environment from April, 1994, to November, 1995, including fewer occurrences of prostitution, drug dealing, and loitering in the West First area, as well as less noise, fewer panhandlers, friendlier people, and greater community involvement, among others. When this question was asked of the citywide sample of residents in the spring of 1995, proportionally fewer residents reported positive social changes in their neighborhood.

Perceptions of Safety

Historically, residents of Spokane's West First neighborhood (including the Parsons' residents) have exhibited higher levels of fear of crime than residents in other Spokane neighborhoods. However, by November, 1995, 82 percent of the Parsons' residents reported feeling safe while walking alone in their neighborhood during the day (a 41 percent increase when compared to the April, 1994 interview). Findings from the November, 1995 Parsons' interviews approximate the level of safety reported by the citywide sample of Spokane residents both in the spring of 1994 and 1995.

In addition, all of the Parsons' respondents in November, 1995, reported feeling safe while in the Parsons' building itself. This represents a 28 percent increase in those feeling safe from the initial interviews in April, 1994. And while only 14 percent of the residents in November, 1995, reported feeling safe while walking in the West First area at night, these data represent a 7 percent increase from April, 1994. Similarly, those who reported feeling unsafe walking in the neighborhood alone at night decreased by 24

percent from April, 1994 to November, 1995, many of whom at the last wave of the survey reported feeling “neither safe nor unsafe.”

Views Toward the Police Department

When asked whether their opinion of the police department had changed as a result of their involvement with Project ROAR, more than one-quarter of the residents in December, 1994, and more than one-half of the residents in November, 1995 said that their opinion of the Spokane Police Department, indeed, had changed for the better.

With regard to the level of police services in the West First neighborhood, Parsons' residents' perceptions also substantially changed in the positive direction from April, 1994 to November, 1995. Seventy-one percent of the respondents in November, 1995 reported that the level of police services was "about right," an increase of almost one-third from April, 1994. And when comparing these findings to those of the citywide sample of Spokane residents in 1995, substantial differences were found: just over one-third of the citywide sample of residents reported that the level of police department service was “about right.”

High levels of police officer recognition were reported by Parsons' residents across all three waves of interviews, especially when compared to the results of the citywide sample. Not surprisingly then, the great majority of Parsons' residents across three waves of interviews reported an increased presence during the six month period prior to each interview. By the November, 1995 interview, 96 percent of the Parsons' respondents had reported an increase in police presence in their neighborhood.

And consistent with the above findings, the number of Parsons' residents who felt that there were about the right number of police officers working in the area increased from 41 percent to 50 percent from April, 1994, to November, 1995. Those who felt that there were too few police officers in the neighborhood decreased from 48 percent in April, 1994, to 39 percent in November, 1995. When compared to the citywide sample of residents, substantially fewer Parsons' residents in November, 1995, than citywide residents in the spring of 1995 felt that there were too few police officers in the neighborhood (39 percent vs. 55 percent, respectively).

Official Statistics: Felony Drug Arrests, Reported Crimes, and Calls for Service

Monthly felony drug arrests in the project area almost tripled when comparing 1992 and 1993 (pre-intervention years) with 1994 and 1995 (the years corresponding to the implementation of Project ROAR). Most of the project area arrests, upon closer examination of the data, were felony crack cocaine arrests. Similar, yet not as profound, changes in felony drug arrests were found in the comparison area and for the city as a whole when comparing pre-implementation data with post-implementation data. However, while the number of drug arrests between 1994 and 1995 continued to increase in both the comparison area and for the city as a whole, a substantial decrease occurred for this same period in the project area, suggesting a positive program effect.

Increases in the number of reported crimes per month were found in the comparison area and for the city when comparing the twenty-four month period prior to the implementation of Project ROAR with the twenty-four month period corresponding to program implementation, but a small decrease in monthly reported crimes was found in the project area. The contrast between the ROAR area and the comparison area in the

trend in reported crime was not statistically significant. The comparison of the ROAR area to city trends, however, was statistically significant. However, similar to the felony drug arrest data, when comparing the years 1994 and 1995, reports of burglaries and robberies in the comparison area continued to increase, remained approximately the same for the city, but substantially decreased in the project area (4.1 versus 2.3 reports per month).

Finally, comparing total calls for police service (CFS) in 1994 and 1995 showed that CFS declined 10 percent in the project area, increased 10 percent in the comparison area, and increased over 5 percent citywide.

Objective Measures of Social and Physical Disorder

Observed levels of social disorder during both the 1994 and 1995 waves of the disorder inventory, both in the project and comparison area, were minimal and did not significantly change in either area. However, there was some--albeit little--change in signs of physical disorder from 1994 to 1995 both in the project and comparison areas. There were fewer abandoned buildings in the project area in 1995, yet more abandoned buildings in the comparison area in 1995. And, while there were small increases in the number of broken windows and broken lights in the project area in 1995, more significant increases were found for these same indicators in the comparison area in 1995.

The physical inventory also revealed that there was a fairly significant increase in the number of BlockWatch signs posted in the project area and in the number of security cameras in the area with no comparable increase in the comparison area. However,

significant increases in graffiti were found from 1994 to 1995, both in the project and comparison area, and the number of barriers, such as fences and security alarms increased both in the project and comparison areas from 1994 to 1995.

Discussion and Project Implications

Similar to what Popkin, Hammett, and their colleagues found in their evaluations, the data here suggest that Project ROAR as implemented can be considered comprehensive in scope, consisting of law enforcement activities, community involvement, and situational crime prevention activities. A more extensive analysis of the implementation of Project ROAR can be found in the final project report.

Three sources of data used to assess the impact of Project ROAR suggest that the program has resulted in changes in the positive direction with regard to public housing residents' perceptions of the overall quality of their neighborhood life, and substantial positive changes in their perceptions of police services. Indeed, the magnitude of shifts in perceptions of Parsons' residents was often quite striking. Further, the consistency in the reports across several dimensions of citizens' perceptions suggest that the program truly did have a positive impact on the quality of life of the residents of this public housing facility. These included the belief that positive physical and social changes had occurred in the neighborhood, that street walking prostitution and open drug sales had declined, and that residents felt considerably safer in the building and the neighborhood. Similarly, there was significant improvement in the resident's perception of the police. These changes translated into a dramatic increase in the number of residents expressing satisfaction with the neighborhood (38 percent to 93 percent) and a corresponding decrease in residents reporting dissatisfaction with the neighborhood (62 percent to 7

percent). Clearly, at the level of perceptions, all indications are that Project ROAR had a profound positive impact.²

---Exhibit 1 here---

However, the official crime data are less clear. Overall, there was a slight decline in robbery and burglary during the project period. At the same time, the comparison area and the city as a whole experienced increases. The most positive trend in the crime data was the decline from 1994 to 1995. This suggests that as the project has grown and had more of an impact on the neighborhood, that the crime control effects are becoming more apparent. This issue will receive continued attention in the extension of the study.

The social and physical inventory data show little change in the physical and social environment during that same period. To some extent, however, particularly in terms of social disorder, we believe this reflects our measurement strategy, which is discussed in detail in the final report.

While the physical inventory data suggest some positive program effects, especially with regard to fewer abandoned buildings, target hardening and signs of guardianship in the project area, one caveat should be mentioned here. The evaluation team had the impression that small changes, changes that were not likely to have had much impact on the quantitative data captured in the physical inventory, could have a significant effect on resident impressions of their environment and on police intervention. For example, although the number of unbroken lights in the project area did not significantly change between 1994 and 1995, residents continually spoke of their appreciation of increased lighting in the parking lot behind the Parsons' building that had previously been dark and where much loitering had occurred in the evening hours.

Similarly, police officers spoke of their appreciation of the cooperation of the business owner in the area to allow the fencing off of the alleyways as a way of hindering the movement of drug dealers and patrons. The strategic placement of these barriers may be more meaningful than the increase from .95 barriers per block to 1.7 barriers per block as found in the data from physical inventory. In addition, survey data and informal observations by the research team attest to the fact that numerous improvements to the physical environment were undertaken and completed through Project ROAR efforts, including improvements to the facades of buildings, and improvements to sidewalks, among others. These improvements simply were not captured in the quantitative data gleaned from the physical environment inventory, and suggest that sweeping and dramatic changes in the physical environment may not be necessary precursors to sweeping, dramatic, and positive changes in perceptions of residents..

The results of this study suggest that innovative and collaborative efforts at reducing fear, crime and disorder in an around public housing facilities hold promise for improving the quality of life for residents living in smaller public housing sites. These findings are particularly relevant in light of the move away from the construction of large, highrise public housing facilities for the nation's poor.

Despite its limitations, the results of this research are encouraging, especially as they pertain to the ability of a number of diverse groups, including public housing residents and the police, to work collaboratively on effecting positive change both in the social and physical environment in an area which, by its very nature, is at high-risk for failure for such efforts (Skogan, 1990). However, future research endeavors will require an assessment of the extent of crime displacement versus diffusion of benefits.

Additionally, cross-site or meta analyses are needed to specify the factors within a comprehensive program such as this which tend to result in change (Hope, 1995).

While some might suggest that the outcome evaluation findings are of no surprise in light of the changes that occurred in the project area during the two year evaluation period, Project ROAR has succeeded where many other community crime prevention programs have failed. Garofalo and McLeod (1986) note that poorer members of the community, including public housing residents, tend to be the most difficult to mobilize, even though they typically are the ones most in need of effective responses to crime and disorder problems. But here more the 60 percent of Parsons' public housing respondents in May, 1995, reported that they were involved to some degree with the efforts of Project ROAR. Although the level of involvement among Parsons' residents had decreased by the last set of interviews in November, 1995, this likely is due to the fact that the program actively broadened to include other neighborhood residents who were not included as research subjects. Further, participation in Project ROAR-initiated social activities remained high, even by the close of the evaluation period.

Through the Spokane Police Department's community policing initiatives, area residents in collaboration with the police in March, 1995, succeeded in opening a neighborhood community policing substation within the confines of the Parsons' public housing building, signifying a broader neighborhood outreach effort. The effects of the expanded program on Parsons' residents, other neighborhood residents, and on crime and disorder in this downtown area warrant further investigation.

NOTES

¹ Because of the low response rate for the comparison area, results for survey research are reported for project area residents, with some comparisons made to citywide survey data.

² Nearly all of the comparisons of Parsons residents' perceptions measured at the outset of the study and compared to perceptions measured at the end of the study yielded statistically significant findings.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

While federal involvement in crime control dates back to the late eighteenth century and significantly increased in the early twentieth century during the progressive era (Walker, 1980), it was not until the mid 1960s that an official "war" to fight crime was declared, indicating that crime and its related effects were growing national problems. Throughout the last thirty years, however, the nature of the "wars on crime" has taken many forms, not only in response to the changing political culture (Rosenbaum, 1986), but also as a result of increasing crime, fear of crime, and physical and social disorder in the most economically disadvantaged neighborhoods of American cities--the problems to which the wars on crime ideally were heralded to "remedy."

As Rosenbaum (1986:11) contends, "there has been a steady and growing recognition that the police and the citizenry are on the front line of this battle and must do more than just react to the problem after the fact." In fact, what criminal justice scholars, policy-makers and lay persons have come to realize is that effective crime control entails much more than a government response to offenders after a crime has been committed. Multi-level, collaborative partnerships between citizens and the formal system of justice at the neighborhood level--much like the program which is the subject of this study--have been touted as offering the greatest potential for reducing crime, fear of crime, and social

and physical disorder, and enhancing the overall quality of life for those who find themselves not only "talking" about crime, but also as victims of crime and its effects.

Although newspaper and magazine headlines continue to herald these collaborative partnerships as "successful" at either reducing crime, fear of crime, or neighborhood disorder problems, Rosenbaum (1986, 1988) and Lurigio and Rosenbaum (1986) have called into question many of the empirical research studies designed to systematically evaluate these programs. As such, "better" research has been called for in an effort to determine if community-police crime prevention efforts can have any lasting impacts on crime, fear and disorder, especially as they are experienced in poor neighborhoods.

In a similar vein, Yin (1979) contends that construct validity problems widely occur in community anti-crime evaluations due to a general lack of documentation in most evaluations describing the theoretical development and implementation of the particular program at hand. As such, the "black box" problem is relevant here; without knowing the elements of the treatment, it is difficult to make inferences regarding program effects (Rossi and Freeman, 1989). The present study is intended to shed light on the nature and effectiveness of collaborative problem-solving as demonstrated by the residents of a public housing project in collaboration with other neighborhood residents and business owners, the police, and the city itself in an economically disadvantaged inner-city neighborhood in Spokane, Washington.

SAMPLE OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Crime in and Around Public Housing

Public housing projects vary in size, structure and location. While the popular conception of a "public housing" facility is a large, high-rise building with hundreds--even thousands--of individual units located in the inner-city core, almost half of all public housing facilities in the U.S. encompass row houses, low rise apartments, or single family homes (Holzman, 1996:366). Furthermore, only 2 percent of public housing facilities in the United States have more than 500 units, and less than one percent have more than 1,000 units (Holzman, 1996:365-366).

Despite the fact that most public housing does not mirror our mental image of these dwellings, the vast majority of empirical research dealing with crime in public housing has come from some of the largest public housing developments. And here, we see somewhat disturbing evidence that crime and disorder problems are prevalent in and around public housing. For example, Brill et al. (1977a, 1977b, 1976a, 1975) found higher rates of crime in large public housing units than in neighborhoods in their immediate vicinity when studying public housing units in Washington, DC, Baltimore, MD, Los Angeles, CA, and Boston, MA, respectively.

And in a more recent three city analysis of crime in public housing, Dunworth and Saiger (1994) studied offense rates in Washington, DC, Phoenix, AZ, and Los Angeles, CA from 1986 to 1989. In all three sites, drug and violent offense rates were "severe problems in housing developments" (Dunworth and Saiger (1994:vi). And while property offense rates did not show this same pattern, drug and violent offense rates in

each of the cities were greater in the public housing developments when compared both to the city as a whole and to surrounding neighborhoods. But to say that all public housing units are "crime infested" simply would be inaccurate. In fact, Dunworth and Saiger themselves assert that serious offenses appear to be more prevalent in some public housing facilities more so than in others. And when looking at some developments in Los Angeles and Washington, DC, the serious offense rate within the public housing facilities was lower than the serious offense rate for the cities as wholes (Dunworth and Saiger, 1994: ix).

Important contextual variables might lead to the variation between public housing sites when it comes to crime and disorder. These variables may include size of the public housing facility, resident make-up, location, and existing levels of physical disorder, among others. Indeed, Roncek et al. (1981) and Farley (1982)--in contrast to Dunworth and Saiger--found that levels of crime did not significantly vary when comparing public housing facilities to their surrounding neighborhoods.

While public housing facilities across the United States vary considerably in terms of size and resident composition (Holzman, 1996), particular attention has been given to public housing sites located in or near inner-city cores. Crime rates in these areas have increased during the late 1980s and early 1990s and are in sharp contrast to the decreases overall in national crime trends (Greene, 1997). Strategies to combat violent crime and disorder in and around public housing facilities have been numerous and diverse--from more traditional suppression activities primarily involving local law enforcement, to better screening and eviction policies initiated by some public housing authorities, to

community building often initiated by public housing residents. And in some locations, a combination of these strategies has been undertaken in an effort to reduce crime, disorder and fear (Popkin et al., 1995).

Recent efforts to improve the quality of life for law abiding public housing residents include Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), and community building through local community policing initiatives.¹ The foundations of CPTED rest with the work of Oscar Newman's (1972) work concerning defensible space, suggesting that offenders operate with some degree of rationality. Changing the physical environment to clearly demarcate public versus private space is one of many ways to send the real or symbolic message to the potential offender that residents care about their surroundings (Cisneros, 1995). Taylor and Harrell (1996: 3-5) suggest four broad approaches to make particular areas more resistant to crime and its related problems, including (1) addressing housing design or block layout; (2) altering land-use and circulation patterns; (3) erecting territorial markers; (4) and controlling physical deterioration.

Empirical research in this area is somewhat contradictory. For example, Cisneros (1995: 9) reports that defensible space strategies "have had considerable success in several smaller scale [public housing] developments, and they have made at least some dent in the crime problems of certain highrise developments." However, Keyes (1992) and Holzman et al. (1996) provide evidence suggesting that levels of community safety may not be enhanced with CPTED techniques. Others suggest that the implementation of

CPTED may simply displace crime and disorder problems to surrounding areas (Taylor and Harrell, 1996).

However, Lab (1988) notes that CPTED likely is most effective when used in combination with other strategies relevant to a particular neighborhood's problems, including community policing and community crime prevention programs which emphasize collaborative partnerships in an effort to problem solve and to build "sense of community" among residents. And while there are many obstacles to mobilizing residents, including apathy (see Grinc, 1994 for a review), effective community building appears to hold promise for reducing crime and disorder problems in and around public housing developments (Greene, 1997: 11-12). In fact, in an evaluation of HUD's Public Housing Drug Elimination Program, Abt Associates (1993) found that collaborative programs involving resident empowerment in collaboration with police and service agencies were important components to a successful drug-crime elimination program.

In the paragraphs that follow, we briefly review the history, theory, and evaluation evidence pertaining to community policing initiatives, community crime prevention programs, and collaborative programs involving residents, the police, and other service providers. We then provide a sketch of the site for the current study and the conceptualization of the collaborative effort to reduce crime and fear, and improve the quality of life for residents living in a public housing facility located in Spokane, Washington's inner-city core.

Community Policing

The community policing movement represents a philosophical shift in the operational mission of policing. Rather than simply enforcing laws, community policing is an attempt to recognize the importance of community mobilization and community partnership with police in addressing crime and its related correlates. As such, citizens are encouraged to come together in an effort to address a wide range of community problems, including crime and fear of crime--rather than relying solely on the police for such efforts. To this end, community policing is an attempt to address quality of life issues at the neighborhood level, and like other current reform movements in the public and private sector, emphasizes decentralized decision-making, problem-solving, and attention to customer needs in achieving these goals (Eck and Rosenbaum, 1994:4).

In practice, however, community policing takes many forms, including, but not limited to the following: increasing the accessibility of police officers to the public through foot patrols, bicycle patrols, and horse patrols; decentralizing police operations through the use of neighborhood substations; facilitating communication among neighborhood residents, and between residents and the police through community newsletters and door-to-door police officer visits; participating in community crime prevention efforts such as BlockWatch and Neighborhood Watch programs; implementing crime prevention programs that target at-risk youth; and assigning specifically designated officers as community problem solvers.

Although many community policing initiatives as implemented have been heralded as creative and necessary components in specific geographic areas, the scope

and diversity of community policing as currently implemented not always is supported. For example, the long list of programs and initiatives that fall under the general rubric of community policing has generated strong criticism from some members of the academic community who contend that the lack of a unitary concept of community policing hampers the generalizability of evaluation findings and promotes the use of "community policing" simply as a slogan for enhancing a police department's public image (cf. Greene and Taylor, 1988; Weatheritt, 1988; Klockars, 1988; Mastrofski, 1988). And as Bayley (1988:225) contends, "Community policing on the ground often seems less a program than a set of aspirations wrapped in a slogan."

Despite this criticism, however, community policing is emerging as the dominant paradigm in policing today. But as Rosenbaum and Lurigio (1994) and others contend, whether community policing efforts can be sustained over time depends upon overcoming difficulties in the organizational change process from the traditional paradigm of policing. What Rosenbaum and Lurigio (1994) and others suggest is that "true" community policing requires an organizational commitment to problem solving, customer satisfaction, and decentralized decision-making, which are reflected in changes in mission statements and organizational structure.²

As Eck and Rosenbaum (1994:3) note, the dominance of the community policing movement is reflected not only by the growing body of literature concerning the topic in the academic arena, but also by the resounding endorsement of community policing by all of the national police research organizations, provisions in the 1994 Federal Crime Bill for the hiring of community police officers, and by the proliferation of community

policing in practice. Several factors have combined to serve as the impetus for this reorientation of the police role.

First, the narrow focus on crime fighting in the more traditional model removed the police from many ties they had with the communities they served. This isolation resulted in police mistrust of poor members of racial minorities and vice versa. By the late 1960s, the police professionalism movement was being criticized at the national level for using unnecessarily aggressive law enforcement tactics which ultimately instigated widespread rioting in Newark, New Jersey and Los Angeles, California (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968).

Another factor which ultimately called into question the way in which police organizations do business under the traditional model concerned their relative ineffectiveness in controlling crime. By the 1960s, and at the height of the professional model, crime rates were at an all-time high; quite simply, the police were inefficient crime fighters even though this was considered their primary role (Skolnick and Bayley, 1986).

By the mid 1970s and early 1980s, academic research concerning police effectiveness called into question O.W. Wilson's theory of police organization, which until then was considered the "bible" of police operations. As Skolnick and Bayley (1986:4-5) summarize, these studies contradicted many long accepted beliefs of the traditional model of policing. For example, the notion that adding more police officers to patrol will reduce crime and raise clearance rates was shown to be flawed by the late 1970s (Clark and Heal, 1979).

In addition, Kelling et al. (1974) found that random motor patrols did not reduce crime or improve the chances of catching criminals. Random motor patrols also did not reassure citizens enough to affect their fear of crime or generate greater trust in the police. Regular foot patrols, by contrast, had the effect of at least reducing citizens' fear of crime.

Finally, other studies also have contradicted the underlying Wilsonian philosophy of police management during the professional era, including the following: two person cars are no more effective in reducing crime or catching criminals than one-person cars; saturation patrolling tends to displace crime to other areas; response makes little difference in the ability of police to catch criminals since citizens delay an average of four to five minutes before calling the police; and, as evidenced by high rates of crime which goes unsolved, criminal investigations are not very effective (Skolnick and Bayley, 1986:4-5).

The results of traditional police practices--the isolation from the public, the ineffectiveness of police as crime fighters, and research that has called into question Wilson's police management principles--led many police executives and academics to call for a new approach to policing.

The dramatic redirection of the police mission and the potential benefits of doing so were delineated in 1982 in the seminal article "Broken Windows" by James Q. Wilson and George Kelling. Based on their experiences with the Newark, New Jersey Police Department, Wilson and Kelling (1982) argue that policing should be neighborhood oriented, more officers should be deployed on foot, and that those officers should

concentrate less on catching criminals and more on enforcing informal neighborhood norms of behavior.

Essentially, Wilson and Kelling contend that an increased emphasis by police in maintaining order in communities by addressing physical and social incivilities can lead to decreases in the fear of crime and ultimately decreases in crime itself. Incivilities, according to Wilson and Kelling breed crime. Social incivilities such as street youths, vagrants, drug dealers and prostitutes, and physical incivilities such as abandoned lots, overgrown weeds, abandoned houses and broken windows lead to fear of crime, community disorganization, protective behaviors among residents such as buying guns, deadbolt locks, bars for windows, and ultimately, community withdrawal. In addition, when citizens stay inside their homes, not talking to neighbors out of fear, low informal social control results, making for an environment more conducive to crime. Clearing the streets of these incivilities, conversely, contributes to a greater perception of safety and a less crime-conducive environment.

Wilson and Kelling contend, at least theoretically, that cleaning neighborhood streets of incivilities also can reduce crime. Incivilities breed crime because street criminals believe their chances of being caught or identified are reduced if they operate in an area where they will go unnoticed or where potential victims already are intimidated by existing neighborhood conditions.

However, empirical tests of the "broken windows" hypothesis have been scant. Skogan (1990) in a six city analysis presents cross-sectional evidence that social and physical disorder may lead to increases in fear of crime. Disorder, coupled with fear,

tends to undermine neighborhood social control by increasing mobility, reducing residents' identification with and attachment to their neighborhood, reducing supervision and mutual obligation, and resulting in withdrawal from neighborhood life (Skogan, 1990). In addition, Skogan (1990) noted a feedback effect: disorder led to crime, which in turn resulted in higher levels of disorder and a reduced capacity for neighborhood control.

Evaluation studies of community policing efforts in the last two decades have been numerous and diverse, primarily due to the scope of community policing strategies and expected outcomes (Greene and Taylor, 1988). Much of the research to date has focused on the effectiveness of foot patrol in reducing crime and fear of crime, and improving police-citizen relations. For example, in Newark, New Jersey, order maintenance activities from foot patrols had a significant impact--in a positive direction--on citizens' perceptions of safety and satisfaction with the police, but did not affect crime rates or victimization rates (Kelling, 1981, 1986; Pate, 1986). In another widely cited (and early) foot patrol study, Trojanowicz (1982) and Trojanowicz and Banas (1985) found that foot patrol in Flint, Michigan led to decreases in crime rates, increases in perceptions of safety, and improved police-citizen relations over a three year evaluation period.

Although Spelman and Eck (1987) conclude that most foot patrol programs increase police-citizen contact, and may lead to a reduction of fear and an increase in satisfaction with the police, Brown and Wycoff (1987) found that increasing the frequency of non-threatening contacts between the police and the public through foot

patrols in Houston reduced citizen fear only for white homeowners. As such, Brown and Wycoff's (1987) findings raise questions about the generalizability of the effects of foot patrol among all resident groups.

Other evaluations of community policing initiatives have focused on the relationship between strategic problem solving efforts and fear of crime, crime rates, disorder, and satisfaction with the police. For example, Eck and Spelman (1987) found evidence that proactive problem solving approaches in concert with community members and relevant city agencies can lead to a reduction in the incidence of specific crimes. In addition, Toch and Grant (1991) found that a collaborative approach to problem-solving involving the police, residents, and representatives of various city agencies can stem neighborhood social and physical disorder.

Demonstrating community policing through collaborative problem solving efforts involving citizens in partnership with the police also was assessed in Newark and Houston (Skogan, 1990). In Newark, collaborative problem-solving to reduce disorder problems in an experimental area involved a variety of efforts to engage citizens in partnership with the police. These strategies included the opening of a community service center, establishing citizen contact patrols, and initiating a neighborhood police newsletter. The problem-solving effort also included an intensive enforcement approach targeted at disorder problems. Skogan (1990) found that both physical and social disorder declined, fear of crime decreased, neighborhood satisfaction increased, and satisfaction with the police increased. However, in another area of Newark in which only an intensive enforcement approach to problem-solving was used, social disorder

decreased, but physical disorder increased; fear of crime, neighborhood satisfaction, and satisfaction with the police remained unchanged.

In another problem solving approach in Houston, the community policing problem-solving effort included the opening of a storefront police-community station where police could meet with citizens and engage in problem-solving planning, creating a community organizing response team as a vehicle to mobilize citizens into neighborhood organizations that could work with the police in solving neighborhood problems, and initiating a citizen contact patrol in an effort to increase interaction and communication between the police and neighborhood residents. According to Skogan (1990) these projects led to decreases in physical and social disorder, decreases in fear of crime, and increases in satisfaction with one's neighborhood and with the police. However, similar to what Brown and Wycoff (1987) found, the most positive findings in terms of disorder, fear, and satisfaction tended to be confined to white residents and homeowners; there was little evidence of program effects for African-Americans, Hispanics, or renters (Skogan, 1990).

One of the central themes acknowledged by many community policing advocates--and, indeed supported by the available empirical research--concerns the notion of citizen involvement in the effort to reduce crime and fear of crime, and improve neighborhood conditions. According to Eck and Rosenbaum (1994:14), there are at least five ways that citizens (with the assistance of community police officers) can achieve these ends: (1) citizens can become active participants in reporting crimes and suspicious activity to police officials; (2) citizens can actively patrol areas and confront suspicious persons; (3)

citizens can reduce their chances of victimization by changing their behaviors; (4) citizens can gain resources through their legal and political powers;³ and (5) citizens can delegate the police as their official community representatives in matters of law enforcement (e.g., the use of aggressive patrol strategies that otherwise would not be acceptable in the area). The key, then, to successful community-based efforts to reduce crime and fear of crime, and to improve neighborhood conditions is the active involvement of the police in educating citizens about crime prevention and working collaboratively with citizens in solving neighborhood problems (Yin, 1986).

Community Crime Prevention

The community policing movement dovetails nicely with the proliferation of community crime prevention efforts and a renewed interest by criminologists in the relationship between community characteristics and crime, and in informal social control. There has been a long-standing interest in criminology with the variation across communities in rates of crime and delinquency. This variation and the relationship between characteristics of communities and crime formed the basis of the Chicago School of Criminology that has occupied a dominant role in the field of criminology from the 1920s through the middle part of the century (Shaw and McKay, 1942).

Shaw and McKay's (1942) studies found that official crime and delinquency rates were heavily concentrated in particular areas of the city. These areas typically were adjacent to the central business district and characterized by overcrowded and deteriorating living conditions. Shaw and McKay considered these areas to have

experienced a breakdown in traditional social controls, and over time, became areas where delinquent traditions flourished.

An important implication of Shaw and McKay's research was that an effective approach to crime control should focus on neighborhood conditions as opposed to an exclusive focus on individual offenders. This led Shaw to create the Chicago Area Project, a community-based effort to empower local residents to address the range of problems experienced in their neighborhoods (Schlossman and Sedlak, 1983).

Although the dominant paradigm in the field of criminology shifted toward the middle of the century to focus on individual characteristics in explaining crime causation, recent years have witnessed a renewed interest in the relationship between community characteristics and crime (Reiss and Tonry, 1986; Byrne and Sampson, 1986; Bursik and Grasmick, 1993).

Contemporaneously with these trends in the study of criminology, citizens in many communities across the country, fed up with the inability of the formal system of criminal justice to control and prevent crime and its related impacts, have joined forces in an effort prevent crime in their neighborhoods. Community crime prevention efforts typically seek to increase residents' sense of identification with their neighborhood, their sense of territoriality, and feelings of mutual responsibility and obligation. However, the activities that fall under the rubric of community crime prevention are numerous and diverse.

Two orientations within community crime prevention subsume most of the programs currently implemented: the opportunity reduction approach and the social

problems approach (Podolefsky and DuBow, 1981; Podolefsky, 1983). Activities falling under the opportunity reduction approach attempt to remove or reduce the opportunities available for committing crimes (Rosenbaum, 1988). Here, crime prevention activities include deterring potential offenders by altering the physical environment (Heinzelmann, 1983; Perkins et al., 1992, 1993; Cisneros, 1995), patrolling the streets, and by promoting individual or collective activities which may reduce the possibility of victimization, including target hardening efforts, and educational crime prevention programs such as BlockWatch or Neighborhood Watch. And, according to Lurigio and Rosenbaum (1986:22), efforts to develop closer and more meaningful working relationships between the police and neighborhood residents also serve to deter potential offenders and fall within the opportunity reduction model.

The social problems approach to community crime prevention seeks to identify and remedy underlying social conditions--the root causes--that lead to criminal activity (Podolefsky and DuBow, 1981). Under this approach, crime prevention efforts might take the form of providing opportunities for youth so that they can engage in constructive activities (Podolefsky and DuBow, 1981). According to Bennett and Lavrakas (1988), these activities may include police athletic leagues, drug prevention programs, and job training programs. In addition, other programs under the social problems approach attempt to get residents to enforce social norms (Greenberg et al., 1983), and increase interactions and develop sense of community (DuBow and Emmons, 1981). These programs appear to be particularly relevant in light of Wilson and Kelling's (1982) Broken Windows hypothesis.

Crime prevention efforts can be viewed from a historical perspective as well. For example, with the advent of "team policing" in the late 1960s, early crime prevention efforts are now viewed as more of a community relations gimmick by the police to try to improve their image than anything else. But by the mid 1970s, community crime prevention took two other forms--first in training individuals in protecting themselves and their property, then in the law enforcement promotion of collective community crime prevention measures such as BlockWatch and Neighborhood Watch (Rosenbaum, 1988:325). According to Lavrakas (1985) it was not until the late 1970s that the "community" began to play a major role in shaping and defining their own crime prevention initiatives.

By the 1970s, with urban crime rates and fear of crime on the rise, community organizing efforts to prevent crime (mainly burglaries and personal robberies) continued to increase (Smith and Davis, 1993). Several federally funded community anti-crime demonstrations projects were implemented in the early 1970s, and by the mid 1970s, the LEAA funded several national evaluations in an attempt to determine the effectiveness of specific programs such as citizen patrols and security surveys (Rosenbaum, 1986). Perhaps the greatest boost to community crime prevention activities in the 1970s occurred as a result of Congress' authorization of LEAA's Anti-Crime Program, which allocated \$30 million to community groups to become more involved in preventing crime, reducing fear and contributing to neighborhood revitalization (U.S. Department of Justice, 1978). Although this funding led to the design and implementation of many

community crime prevention programs, the effectiveness of such efforts remained in question.

Two key findings from evaluation research regarding community crime prevention programs suggest that media accounts of "successful" community anti-crime activities of the 1970s may have been overly generalized. Evaluations of crime prevention efforts of the 1970s led researchers to conclude that (1) collective community crime prevention activities are unlikely to develop in poor, high crime areas, and (2) that these efforts require the involvement of many residents in order to be successful (Smith and Davis, 1993:124).

What has been learned since the 1970s and early 1980s, however, is that crime prevention activities can be successfully implemented in poor, high crime areas (although this typically is more difficult in comparison to more well-to-do areas), and that the involvement of large segments of community residents--although desired--is not a necessary precursor to effective community crime prevention efforts. While there have been documented successes at reducing the incidence of some street crimes such as burglaries (Schneider, 1986), community crime prevention programs in some neighborhoods seek to discourage open-air drug dealing and prostitution, and also have witnessed some success (Smith and Davis, 1993).

According to Wilson and Kelling (1982) and Skogan (1990), the nature of many "victimless crimes" such as street-walking prostitution and drug dealing tend to contribute to the overall social disorder of particular communities. And as Smith and Davis (1993) contend, these crimes are markedly different in the nature of their

occurrence from street crimes such as burglaries and robberies, the latter two of which often target unknown persons or establishments in a neighborhood at random.

Prostitution and drug dealing, on the other hand, require some degree of visibility in rather stationary locations.

As such, the very nature of drug dealing makes both sellers and buyers easy targets to spot--even by small numbers of citizens who may wish to become involved in community anti-crime activities. In addition, there has been ample, yet non-scientific evidence that community anti-drug efforts have had some success in poorer, high crime neighborhoods due to growing frustration by residents that their neighborhoods have been taken over by the disorderly and criminal. Residents in these neighborhoods have begun to mobilize and work with the police to rebuild neighborhoods and fight drug activity (Smith and Davis, 1993).

Collaborative Efforts at Reducing Crime, Fear and Disorder

Although scholars in the early 1980s began to focus almost exclusively on effective community mobilization as the key variable for successful community anti-crime efforts and virtually discounted the role of the criminal justice system (Rosenbaum, 1988), there has been growing evidence that the police-citizen collaborative partnership may be the key to effective community crime prevention (Skogan, 1987; Lewis et al., 1988; Roehl and Cook, 1984; Yin, 1986). According to Popkin et al. (1995) and Hammett et al. (1994), the most successful community anti-crime programs to date have reflected "comprehensive" efforts which include law enforcement activities, community involvement, and situational crime prevention efforts.

Here, *law enforcement activities* might include traditional suppression tactics as well as more innovative police program that may fall under the rubric of community policing. *Community involvement* typically includes a variety of resident activities which can increase informal social control, an important independent variable which has been related to crime, fear of crime, and neighborhood level social and physical disorder (Skogan, 1990; Schuerman and Kobrin, 1986). Finally, *situational crime prevention activities* seek to limit the opportunities for committing criminal acts in specific locations (Clarke, 1992). As such, physical design features which denote defensible space, the increased use of surveillance opportunities, and target hardening efforts are included in this category of crime prevention.

However, one potential drawback to the effectiveness of community crime prevention efforts in any form has been the long-standing problem of community mobilization, especially when trying to involve residents who reside in the most economically disadvantaged neighborhoods of cities and towns (Greenberg et al., 1983; Taub et al., 1981). Ironically, it has been those neighborhoods most in need of effective community-based responses to crime and its related impacts that have been the most difficult to mobilize. In addition, crime prevention efforts which strictly involve citizens have been relatively ineffective at creating neighborhood-level change (Garofalo and McLeod, 1986).

Accordingly, as Lewis et al. (1988), Roehl and Cook (1984), and Yin (1986) contend, collaborative partnerships between communities and the formal system of justice offer the most potential for defining and administering community crime

prevention undertakings. With community policing now emerging as a dominant paradigm in policing throughout the United States, true collaboration between community residents and the police may prove to be one telling solution in the effort to prevent and control crime, and to stem the tide of neighborhood decay--in those neighborhoods most in need of such responses.

Although there is growing evidence that police-citizen, collaborative partnerships at the neighborhood level may be the key to effective community crime prevention, police partnerships with the poor, members of minority groups, and public housing residents in most cases is difficult to initiate and maintain. Long histories of police discrimination toward the poor and racial minorities have led many members of these groups to distrust the police (Skogan and Annan, 1993). And for public housing residents, collaborative partnerships with the police are particularly problematic: police officers often are suspicious and fearful of public housing residents, from whom they rarely receive cooperation in solving crimes, especially the very prevalent drug crimes in large public housing projects (Weisel, 1990). In addition, public housing residents typically are no different from residents of "ordinary poor and minority neighborhoods" (Skogan and Annan, 1993). As such, many public housing residents have the same negative attitudes regarding the police as other poor and minority groups. However, the ideas undergirding the community policing philosophy--collaborative problem-solving, mutual respect, and officer and citizen empowerment--may offer the best hope for breaking down the barriers between the police and members of those groups who

traditionally have questioned the motivations, authority, and professionalism of the formal agents of social control.

Project Roar

Against the backdrop of strong support for locally-based, collaborative approaches that address disorder, crime, and fear of crime at the community level, and amid growing frustration among the Parsons' public housing residents that their neighborhood streets had been "taken over" by the disorderly and criminal, Project ROAR (Reclaiming Our Area Residences) was established in Spokane, Washington in 1994. Although key organizing events concerning the project occurred in late 1993, Project ROAR officially was implemented with a media kick-off in January, 1994 at the fifty-two unit Parsons' Public Housing Building, located downtown in one of Spokane's most economically disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Project ROAR is a public housing drug-crime elimination program sponsored by the Spokane Police Department and the Spokane Housing Authority. The program reflects a public-private, inter-agency collaboration that seeks to empower public housing tenants in an effort to produce a safer neighborhood. The program targets a poor neighborhood in the central business district with a large elderly and transient population that had been experiencing high rates of drug dealing and related crime and disorder problems, especially after the introduction of crack-cocaine into the area in the late 1980s.

Key elements of the program as conceived include (1) opening a community-oriented policing substation within the public housing area, and assigning a neighborhood resource officer to the target area (2) collaborative problem-solving meetings among all

key stakeholders in the targeted neighborhood; (3) the development of a neighborhood improvement committee; (4) hiring a resident resource coordinator to act as a liaison between the public housing residents and other program participants; (5) coordinating crime prevention education programs with the city's Crime Prevention Center and BlockWatch; and (6) initiating physical target hardening and neighborhood physical improvements.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SETTING

THE PARSONS HOUSING COMPLEX

The Parsons Public Housing Complex is a single-building apartment complex located in downtown Spokane, Washington. The Parsons Building was built in 1920 and originally was considered one of Spokane's finest hotels. By the late 1970s, however, the hotel had been converted to low-income rental units and had fallen into disrepair.

In 1979, the Spokane Housing Authority applied to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for funding to develop public housing for elderly and disabled, low-income persons. HUD funding was subsequently used in 1980 to convert the Parsons Building into a public housing apartment. The renovation included converting 96 hotel rooms into 50 apartments.

The first public housing residents moved into the Parsons in the fall of 1982. Between its opening and its 10th year anniversary in 1992, over 300 elderly, disabled, and handicapped persons had lived in the Parsons. The apartments are approximately 450 to 600 square feet and include a kitchen, eating and living area, and single bedroom. Most of the apartments are occupied by single individuals, several may accommodate a couple at given periods. The number of residents in the 50 units generally is under 60.

In 1994, the first year of Project ROAR, the Parsons Building had 59 residents. Sixteen were 60 years of age or older and 43 were considered disabled. The residents

were 56 percent male, 44 percent female, and 88 percent white. The average yearly income was \$5,830.

The apartment complex is five stories. The rooftop includes a patio. In addition, the building includes a social room, laundry room, public restrooms and store rooms in the basement. The Parsons has been the home of the city's Crime Prevention Center and Block Watch offices. The Crime Prevention Center has a separate entrance on one side of the building. Prior to Project ROAR, the Crime Prevention Center was merely office space that crime prevention and Block Watch personnel worked out of. There had been no meaningful interaction between the Center and Parsons' residents. As a consequence of Project ROAR, however, this space was converted to a Neighborhood Police Mini-Station, known as TOPCOPS. The TOPCOPS facility is staffed by neighborhood volunteers, many of whom are Parsons' residents and provides office space for a Neighborhood Resource Officer, a neighborhood based Community Corrections Officer, and a neighborhood prosecutor.

In contrast to many other public housing complexes, the Parsons Building has relatively controlled access. There is one locked entrance that requires either a resident's key or someone must open the door from the inside. The entrance is comprised of large glass windows that provide occupants the ability to observe anyone requesting entrance. There are additional locked doors that provide an exit from the building but that can only be opened by someone from the inside. These doors do not allow for observation of the outside premises, however. The only additional entrance is directly into the Crime

Prevention Center. There is only access through a locked door from the Crime Prevention Center into the Apartment Complex.

The combination of the social characteristics of the Parsons Residents and the controlled access into and out of the Building makes the crime situation somewhat different in the Parsons in contrast to other public housing units that have been described in the literature (e.g., Dunworth and Saiger, 1994; Kotlowitz, 1991). There are no children residents in the Parsons, and very few couples. The residents are either elderly or characterized by some type of handicap or disability. Further, the Housing Authority screens residents with a criminal records check. As will be discussed subsequently, the main crime and disorder problems are not within the public housing unit but rather within the surrounding neighborhood. Indeed, many residents describe themselves as prisoners within the building, afraid to venture outside the secured premises.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD SETTING

The neighborhood in which the Parsons is located is zoned for commercial buildings, light industry, warehousing, and high density residences (Algeo, 1995). In the blocks immediate adjacent to the Parsons are several businesses, low-income residential hotels, social services agencies, bars, and restaurants. This is an older section of the City with many of the buildings in need of repair. A railroad line passes just behind the Parsons. The area includes a number of alleys, alcoves, and viaducts that are alleged locations for illegal activity.

Immediately across the street from the Parsons are two low-rent hotels that contrast sharply with the secure and clean Parsons. These two hotels were also built early in the 1900s but have suffered from years of neglect. Tours of the hotels revealed poorly kept apartments, lacking security, and dilapidated common bathrooms. Nighttime observation revealed constant traffic in and out of the hotels. The block also includes a bar, an adult entertainment arcade, and a social services program intended to provide a safe place for street children. As discussed elsewhere, it is this area that is known as the "Block" where drug dealing and prostitution activity are carried out openly. Although the Project ROAR neighborhood comprises only 0.7 percent of the city's population, it accounted for 13 percent of the City's drug arrests and 8 percent of reported robberies during 1994.

---Exhibit 2 here---

SUMMARY

The public housing facility that was the focus of Project ROAR and of the present evaluation, is different from the types of public housing facilities that have been the subject of most prior studies. It is small, it does not include families with children, and the facility itself is relatively secure. On the other hand, the population of residents, given their age and the disabilities of many of the residents, is a particularly vulnerable one. Further, the Project was undertaken with limited external resources, at least in the sense of major public or private infusion of fiscal resources. Consequently, while the results may not be directly generalizable to the very large public housing units in

Chicago, Washington, DC, or New York City, they may provide insight to the numerous smaller public housing facilities across the country that may not be the recipients of large federally-funded, renovation grants. Further, the findings may provide ideas for organizing numerous public and private apartment complexes that may house vulnerable populations.

CHAPTER THREE

SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

The present study, funded by research grant number 93-IJ-CX-0054 from the National Institute of Justice, reflects a process and outcome evaluation of Project ROAR.

Scope of the Evaluation

Process Evaluation. A thorough qualitative account of the implementation of Project ROAR through direct observations and a focus group interview were undertaken in an effort to determine (1) the extent to which Project ROAR as implemented reflects Project ROAR as originally conceived, and (2) the extent to which Project ROAR can be considered a comprehensive community crime prevention program as described by Hammett et al. (1994) and Popkin et al. (1995).

According to Rossi and Freeman (1989), process evaluations are necessary to avoid slipping into the "black box" problem, where only inputs and outcomes are examined, without paying attention to how or to whether certain inputs may be used to effect a predicted outcome. Furthermore, as Lurigio and Rosenbaum (1986) note, the great majority of previous community crime prevention program evaluations have failed to distinguish between the program "in theory" and the program "in practice," thereby leading to serious problems with construct and external validity. The present study attempts to address the issues presented by Rossi and Freeman (1989) and Lurigio and Rosenbaum (1986).

Outcome Evaluation. In addition, the evaluation of Project ROAR focused on outcomes of the intervention. Here, the research design approximates a pre-post, quasi-experimental design with a specifically matched comparison site. The constructed comparison site is similar to the project area which surrounds the Parsons' building with regard to individual and neighborhood characteristics.

For example, as Exhibit 3 indicates, residents of the ROAR and comparison area are much older than City residents and are much more likely to reside in a single-person residence. The comparison area is slightly more diverse in terms of race/ethnicity, though the City as a whole is predominately white. For individuals who reside in the two study areas, the neighborhoods are comprised almost entirely of rental units and the median rent is much lower than for the City (see Exhibit 4). Finally, residents of the two areas are much less likely to be in the labor force and both areas witness much more poverty than Citywide (see Exhibit 5).

--Exhibits 3-5 here--

The outcome evaluation methodology is comprised of survey questionnaires, official crime reports, limited calls for police service data, and a physical and social disorder inventory to determine any program outcomes with regard to apparent crime, perceptions of quality of life, and objective measures of physical and social disorder.

The following research questions guide the outcome evaluation: (1) What effects might a collaborative anti-crime program have on residents' perceptions of the quality of their neighborhood life, including perceptions of neighborhood inhabitants, satisfaction with their neighborhood, fear of crime, and neighborhood physical and social disorder?

(2) What effects might a collaborative anti-crime program have on objective measures of physical and social disorder? (3) What effects might a collaborative, anti-crime program have on levels of neighborhood crime? and (4) What effects might a collaborative, anti-crime program have on subjective perceptions of the level and quality of policing services?

Process and Outcome Evaluation Methods

Observational Research. During the twenty-four month period beginning in January, 1994 (the official kick-off month for Project ROAR) and ending in December, 1995, direct observations were conducted of all meetings subsumed under Project ROAR, including the Parsons' resident association meetings and its sub-committees, the Neighborhood Improvement Committee meetings, the Neighborhood Business Owners' Association meetings, Community Oriented Policing Services (C.O.P.S.) meetings, and other special meetings conducted under the auspices of Project ROAR. Initially, the "complete observer" method was used; however, this method gradually evolved into the "observer as participant" approach as Project ROAR key participants became increasingly familiar (and comfortable) with the evaluation team.

Direct observation also was undertaken during many of the Parsons' social activities which were initiated by Project ROAR's social committee beginning in February, 1994. In addition, systematic observations were conducted of all other activities undertaken through Project ROAR, including press conferences, C.O.P.S. Substation activities, tenant crime prevention training, collaborative grant meetings, and the hall monitoring BlockWatch program.

All observations were recorded using the narrative method. Those researchers who attended a particular activity completed a "contact form" for the event. Contact forms were created in an effort to track the type of activity, the date of the activity, the number of individuals in attendance, and the nature of any discussion. After completing a contact form, researchers placed it in an appropriate file for all activities occurring in that particular month.

According to Rossi and Freeman (1989:205), observational methods are a preferable source of data for monitoring programs as long as the observer is not obtrusive. Despite obvious limitations (including the potential for the researcher either knowingly or unknowingly to alter the behavior of the participants, thereby limiting the external validity of the study), systematic observations are useful in drawing conclusions about the everyday world (Binder and Geis, 1983). As such, the gradual accumulation of knowledge in social science research "can be gained by good observational procedures" (Binder and Geis, 1983:132).

Focus Group Interview. In addition to direct observations, a focus group interview was conducted in February, 1995 with key stakeholders in the project area, including residents of the public housing unit, NROs, crime prevention personnel, local business owners, members of the neighborhood improvement committee, and others involved in the program. The purpose of the focus group was to supplement direct observations with more in-depth perceptions of program goals, successes, failures, and perceived changes in the program and the neighborhood.

According to Stewart and Shamdasani (1990:16), focus group interviews are an ideal way to collect data that are qualitative in nature. In addition, there are other advantages to focus group interviews including: (1) focus group interviews allow the researcher to interact directly with the program recipients; (2) the focus group format allows the researcher to obtain large amounts of data in the respondents' own words; and (3) focus group interviews allow the researcher to further question responses and build upon answers for further discussion. Furthermore, Reiss (1971) notes that interviewing in general can prove useful in augmenting naturalistic observations.

Despite the many advantages of focus group interviews as a social science research tool, there exist several notable limitations, one of which was noted with systematic observations: the potential for the researcher to influence the behavior--and in this case, the responses--of subjects. In addition, there is the potential for any given focus group to be dominated by one or more individuals, the result of which may be the researcher's reliance on information which may not be representative of the entire group. Similarly, some focus group participants may be less willing to talk openly than others, also resulting in data that may not be representative of the entire group of focus group respondents. However, it should be noted here that the role of the focus group moderator is important with respect to the previous two limitations. Through a variety of techniques, a well-seasoned moderator is able to casually extract responses from all (or at least most) focus group participants (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990).

Survey Research. Four waves of face-to-face interviews were conducted with representative samples of Parsons' public housing residents at approximately six month

intervals in April, 1994, December, 1994, May, 1995, and November, 1995. Although more comprehensive in their design, the face-to-face interviews contain a subset of items which directly relate to the focused research questions of this study. As such, both open-ended and closed-ended items which appear on the interview schedule assess residents' perceptions of the following: (1) the quality of neighborhood life, and (2) the level and quality of police services.

Here, several indicators of "quality of neighborhood life" were used, including residents' perceptions of other neighborhood inhabitants, satisfaction with the neighborhood, perceptions of the social and physical environment of the neighborhood, perceptions of social changes in the neighborhood, and perceptions of personal safety in the neighborhood.

In addition, several indicators were used to assess residents' perceptions of "police services," including general opinions of the Spokane Police Department, perceptions of the level of police services, residents' frequency of contact with the police department, whether residents either recognize or know a Spokane police officer, and changes in police presence in the neighborhood.

In addition to the survey items noted in the previous paragraphs, other information also was collected regarding background demographics and levels of participation in Project ROAR. Responses to these items allowed the researchers to determine the representativeness of the sample, and to gauge the extent of resident involvement in Project ROAR activities.

We also conducted a Citywide mail survey on many of the same items included in the Parsons' residents interviews. The intent was to conduct two such sets of interviews and to oversample from both the Project ROAR area and the comparison area. Despite oversampling four times the rate of other Spokane neighborhoods, in the hopes of gaining sufficient numbers of respondents from these two neighborhoods, we did not end up with sufficient numbers of respondents to draw conclusions about these two areas (the Dillman "Total Design Method" was followed with 3 waves of follow-up and a final phone call). The City survey, however, did allow us to look for trends among City residents as a whole. Given differences in method of administration (face-to-face interviews versus mail surveys), direct comparisons between the Parsons' resident interviews and the City survey should not be made. To the extent that trends among the Parsons' residents do not track with City-wide trends, however, we gain confidence that the change is likely the result of Project ROAR.

Finally, a sample of project area residents (non-public housing residents) and comparison area residents was drawn in January, 1996. A subset of items from the public housing residents' questionnaire was used to determine any differences between project area residents and comparison area residents with regard to perceptions of the quality of neighborhood life and perceptions of police services. Unfortunately, in several of the locked residential buildings, limited access was granted to researchers. This resulted in a convenience sample and thus our use of these interviews is limited to certain qualitative observations that were offered.

Official Statistics. Twenty-four months of pre-program implementation crime data and twenty-four months of post-program implementation data were collected from the Spokane Police Department's Crime Analysis Unit for the period beginning January 1, 1992, and ending December 31, 1995. The Crime Analysis Unit routinely collects reported crimes only for burglaries, robberies, and sex offenses. Here, statistics for burglaries and robberies are analyzed. The crime of "burglary" is defined as any unauthorized entry into a residential or commercial dwelling. The crime of "robbery" is defined as any use of force or the threat of force for purposes of committing a theft.⁴

In addition to the above crimes tracked by the Crime Analysis Unit, felony drug arrest data, collected by the Special Investigations' Unit also are analyzed here for the twenty-four months prior to the implementation of Project ROAR and the twenty-four months following its implementation. Here, drug arrests are identified by type of drug used, and includes both trafficking and possession.

Data for the crimes outlined in the preceding paragraphs were collected both for the project and comparison area, in addition to the City of Spokane. While it is expected that crime totals will differ between the project and comparison areas, analysis of these data will concentrate on crime trends over time, and proportional differences in the three areas.

Limited calls for police service (CFS) data also were collected. Spokane Police Department's ability to analyze CFS data for specific locations began in 1994. Thus, it is impossible to include CFS data in the pre- and post- comparison. We do, however, compare CFS data for 1994 and 1995 to examine potential short-term trends. Given the

extension of the Project ROAR study through a grant by the National Institute of Justice, and the improved geographically-coded crime data in Spokane, the CFS data will be analyzed for an extended timeframe in the second phase of the study.

It is recognized that one of the possible effects of such a program as Project ROAR is that drug dealing activity and associated neighborhood crime simply will be displaced from the project area to other areas of the larger "downtown core" or to other Spokane neighborhoods. As such, the analysis of crime data makes an initial step in capturing potential displacement effects by examining crime trends for the entire City of Spokane and the larger downtown area. Relatedly, it is also important to examine for the possibility of diffusion of benefits (Green, 1996). The issue of displacement versus diffusion is being addressed in the follow-up NIJ study.

Social and Physical Disorder Inventory. The block-level physical and social disorder inventory was conducted in April, 1994, (baseline data for the project), and in October 1994, April 1995, and October 1995 (post-program implementation data). The inventory was conducted for forty-four blocks--the combined total number of blocks in the project and comparison areas.⁵

For purposes of data collection, independent raters walked through all of the blocks of both the project and comparison sites and recorded observations of the physical and social environment. Inter-rater reliability checks determined that levels of inter-rater agreement were high. Each block-level inventory began with the raters recording the street name and cross streets, date, time, and the estimated temperature. Immediately thereafter, the social environment inventory was conducted. For exactly one minute,

raters recorded the social activity on the block, recording the number of individuals present outside, their gender, approximate age, and their behavior. Behavior categories included "pedestrian," "working," "hanging out," "illegal activity," and "other."

After the one minute elapsed, the physical environment inventory commenced.⁶ Here, raters recorded the number of guardianship items, lighting items, and disorder items found on each block. Since blocks varied in length, the physical environment inventory (per block) lasted anywhere between five and forty minutes.

Analysis

The results of the analysis are presented in Chapter Four. The tables and figures present the descriptive findings. Where appropriate, we include tests of statistical significance. We were somewhat limited in the analysis of the survey research, however, given the small sample size of the Parsons' residents interviews (Wave 1, N=29; Wave 2, N=32; Wave 3, N=28; Wave 4, N=28). We addressed this limitation in two ways. First, where we compared results from the initial wave of surveys with the final wave, we collapsed the table into either a 2X2 or 2X3 table. This provided acceptable cell sizes for chi-square comparisons.

Second, where comparable items were available from the citywide surveys (1994, N=1,134; 1995, N=586), we performed similar chi-square analyses to see if citywide responses were changing over a comparable time period. Additionally, we used the citywide data to construct three scales that were then used with the data from the Parsons' resident's surveys. The scales included a two-item Neighborhood Satisfaction Scale

based on an item that asks whether the neighborhood is a place where people help one another or go their own way and an item that asks how satisfied respondents are with their neighborhood (5-category Likert scale; $\alpha = .53$). A second scale is a Fear of Crime Scale based on how safe respondents feel in the neighborhood during the day and at night ($\alpha = .71$). The third scale measures perceptions of policing levels in the neighborhood. It is based on an item asking about the adequacy of the level of police services and an item asking whether there are too few, too many, or about the right number of police in the neighborhood ($\alpha = .60$).

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

Process Evaluation

Direct observations of Project ROAR activities occurred on a regular basis during the course of the twenty-four month research period beginning in January, 1994, and ending in December, 1995. Although every attempt was made to observe all activities subsumed under Project ROAR, the burden of this task eventually became insurmountable as Project ROAR activities increased to unexpected levels. Despite the high activity level, all collaborative meetings were observed. Direct observation data here indicate that Project ROAR is a comprehensive anti-crime program which seeks to improve the quality of life in the downtown urban core of the City of Spokane. The key elements of the program as implemented and observed are presented in Exhibit 6 below.

---Exhibit 6 here---

In addition, a focus group interview was conducted in February, 1995--approximately one year after the official start of Project ROAR--for the purpose of assessing the implementation of Project ROAR. Fourteen Project ROAR participants participated in the one-and-a-half hour long session, including six Parsons' residents, the resident resource coordinator, a Spokane Housing Authority representative, the downtown Neighborhood Resource Officer, one area resident (not residing at the Parsons' apartments) and four downtown business leaders.

Because of the way in which focus group participants were solicited, estimating a response rate is problematic. Flyers announcing the focus group session were posted in

the Parsons building and at the Downtown Crime Prevention Center, and were distributed to area businesses for posting. Rather than individually selecting focus group participants, it was reasoned that the above method would ensure with some degree of certainty that most Project ROAR participants interested in participating in the focus group would be informed of the time and place. As such, the data presented below are not to be construed as the product of rigorous scientific selection procedures, but rather they reflect the attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs of those participants who had the desire and time to participate in the interview.

With only a few notable exceptions, both direct observation and focus group data attest to the fact that Project ROAR "as implemented" not only represents Project ROAR "as originally conceived" but also has gone well beyond its originally defined scope. And, by the end of the evaluation period, key participants in Project ROAR had grown substantially even though Parsons' public housing residents' participation had declined. This trend is illustrated in Exhibit 7.

---Exhibit 7 here---

In addition, observational data indicate that a total of ninety Project ROAR problem-solving meetings took place during the data collection period (just under four per month). These meetings included monthly Parsons resident association meetings, Neighborhood Improvement Committee meetings, Neighborhood Business Owners' Association meetings, C.O.P.S. Shop committee meetings, and other special meetings under the rubric of Project ROAR. Interviews with key informants indicated that

meetings of this type were extremely rare in the years prior to implementation of Project ROAR.

---Exhibit 8 here---

Finally, both observational and focus group data attest to the fact that social activities for the Parsons' residents significantly increased during the implementation phase of Project ROAR and led to significant inroads in community building among the public housing residents. Observational data indicate that a total of 216 formally organized social activities took place at the Parsons' building during the evaluation period (an average of nine per month; see Exhibit 9). And although only nine social activities took place during the first six months of the implementation of Project ROAR (January, 1994 to June, 1994), 209 social activities occurred during the remainder of the research period (July, 1994 to December, 1995).⁷ These activities included dinners and potlucks, special parties, resident lunch get-togethers, bingo parties, movie nights, Christian services and music, special outings, and rummage sales. Once again, key participants reported such social activities were extremely rare during the years preceding Project ROAR (estimated at two or three per year).

---Exhibit 9 here---

Outcome Evaluation

Multiple sources of data were used to assess the impact of Project ROAR with regard to perceptions of public housing residents regarding the quality of their neighborhood life, and their perceptions of police services; felony drug arrests and

reported crime in the West First neighborhood; CFS data; and objective measures of neighborhood physical and social disorder. The results and discussion that follow make use of these sources of data as they relate to the posed research questions for this study.

Public Housing Respondents' Characteristics. The age and gender of public housing interviewees were recorded for the December, 1994, May, 1995, and November, 1995 interviews.⁸ The majority of respondents in all three waves were female, while approximately 40 percent of the respondents in December, 1994 and May, 1995, and 46 percent in November, 1995 were male.⁹ In addition, the age of the majority of interviewees for both waves was between 30 and 50. The number of respondents who were between the ages of 61 and 70 was just under 20 percent for both waves. And while the number of individuals between the ages of 51 and 60 increased from 6 percent in December, 1994, to 25 percent in November, 1995, the number of respondents between the ages of 71 to 80 decreased from 12 percent in December, 1994, to 4 percent in November, 1995.

Respondents' familiarity with Project ROAR gradually increased over all waves of interviews, from 86 percent in April, 1994, to more than 90 percent in December, 1994, and May, 1995, to 100 percent in November, 1995. While most of the respondents had at least "heard" about Project ROAR, a lesser number were "involved in some way" with Project ROAR. Slightly over 40 percent of the respondents reported personal involvement with Project ROAR in December, 1994, slightly more than 60 percent reported personal involvement with Project ROAR in May, 1995, and approximately 32 percent reported involvement with Project ROAR in November, 1995.

Residents' Perceptions of the Quality of Their Neighborhood Life. Survey data presented below suggest that the overall quality of life from the perspective of Parsons' residents in November, 1995, was greater than it was in April, 1994. And, many of these noted positive changes in the quality of neighborhood life for Parsons' residents likely are attributable to Project ROAR.

With regard to residents' perceptions of other Parsons' residents and neighborhood inhabitants, several notable changes were found as reported in Exhibit 10. First, with regard to other Parsons' residents, those respondents who viewed Parsons' residents as unwilling to help one another substantially decreased between April, 1994, and November, 1995. Similarly, those who viewed residents living in the greater West First area as unwilling to help one another also substantially decreased from April, 1994, to November, 1995. By November, 1995, the overwhelming majority of Parsons' respondents believed that the Parsons building and the greater West First neighborhood consisted of a mix of people, some of whom help one another, others of whom go their own way. This finding is a significant departure from earlier waves of the survey where many more Parsons residents felt that Parsons' residents and other neighborhood residents go their own way.

---Exhibit 10 here---

Parsons' residents' satisfaction with their neighborhood, another key dimension of "quality of life," also increased throughout the waves of survey administration. Here, significant differences were found in the positive direction between April, 1994, and November, 1995. Those residents who reported feeling dissatisfied with their

neighborhood decreased from 62 percent in April, 1994 to 7 percent in November, 1995. Similarly, by November, 1995, over 90 percent of the Parsons' respondents were satisfied--at some level--with their neighborhood, up from 38 percent in April, 1994. When compared to the citywide sample of Spokane residents, this marked increase in Parsons' residents satisfaction with their neighborhood, approximates the level of satisfaction for citywide residents as a whole both in the spring, 1994 and 1995. Further, as indicated in Exhibit 11, there was no change among city residents from Spring 1994 to Spring 1995.

---Exhibit 11 here---

These results are confirmed in the Perceptions of Neighborhood Scale presented in Exhibit 12. The scale, based on items presented in Exhibits 10 and 11, reflects a significant increase in neighborhood satisfaction among Parsons residents with no change among city respondents (low scale scores reflect higher satisfaction).

---Exhibit 12 here---

In addition, many residents reported having noticed positive physical and social neighborhood changes in the West First area from April, 1994, to November, 1995. As illustrated in Exhibit 13, Parsons' residents acknowledged the accomplishments of Project ROAR as contributing to their more favorable perception of the physical environment, including improvements in lighting, the brightening of area railroad viaducts, the opening of new businesses, improvements to building facades, the greater visibility of police officers, and the opening of the neighborhood community policing substation, among others. When this question was asked of the citywide sample of Spokane residents in the

spring of 1995, proportionally fewer residents reported noticing positive physical changes in their neighborhood.

---Exhibit 13 here---

Similarly, Exhibit 14 shows that residents reported several "improvements" in their social environment from April, 1994, to November, 1995, including fewer occurrences of prostitution, drug dealing, and loitering in the West First area, as well as less noise, fewer panhandlers, friendlier people, and greater community involvement, among others. Only one resident reported a negative social change in the neighborhood.¹⁰ And, when this question was asked of the citywide sample of residents in the spring of 1995, proportionally fewer residents reported positive social changes in their neighborhood.

---Exhibit 14 here---

As noted in Exhibit 15 and Exhibit 16, the number of residents who perceived decreases in drug-related crime in the West First neighborhood from April, 1994, through November, 1995, greatly outweighed those who perceived increases (71 percent versus 4 percent, respectively). And, while none of residents perceived increases in street-walking prostitution in the neighborhood by the November, 1995 interview, almost three-quarters of the residents in November, 1995 reported feeling that street-walking prostitution had decreased.

---Exhibit 15 and Exhibit 16 here---

Finally, three significant differences from April, 1994, to November, 1995, in the positive direction, were found with regard to the residents' perceptions of personal safety

in the neighborhood (both during the day and at night), and in the Parsons' building as noted in Exhibits 17-20. By November, 1995, 82 percent of the Parsons' residents reported feeling safe while walking alone in their neighborhood during the day. When compared to the interviews which took place in April, 1994, this represents a 41 percent increase, and approximates the level of safety reported by the citywide sample of Spokane residents both in the spring of 1994 and 1995.

---Exhibit 17 here---

And, although only 14 percent of the residents in November, 1995, reported feeling safe while walking in the West First area at night, the percentage of residents who felt this way in November, 1995 as compared to April, 1994, increased by 7 percent. Perhaps more striking, those who reported feeling unsafe walking in the neighborhood alone at night decreased by 24 percent from April, 1994 to November, 1995, many of whom reported feeling "neither safe nor unsafe." According to the results from the citywide sample of Spokane residents in the spring of 1995, approximately 49 percent of the respondents reported feeling safe in their neighborhood at night, while 28 percent reported feeling unsafe in their neighborhood at night.

---Exhibit 18 here---

Exhibit 19 presents the results obtained when the fear during the day and the night items are combined in a scale. Whereas there was no change in fear among city residents, there was a significant decrease in fear among Parsons' residents.

---Exhibit 19 here---

Finally, all of the Parsons' respondents in November, 1995, reported feeling safe while in the Parsons' building itself. This represents a 28 percent increase in those feeling safe from the initial interviews in April, 1994.

---Exhibit 20 here---

Perceptions of Police Services. Positive program effects also were found regarding public housing residents' perceptions of police services. Here, several notable changes were found across the three waves of Parsons' interviews, including opinions of the Spokane Police Department, perceptions of the level of police service in the West First neighborhood, the frequency of residents' contacts with members of the Spokane Police Department, attitudes regarding the number of police officers in the neighborhood, and the extent to which residents recognize police officers working in their neighborhood. These data are presented in Exhibits 21 through 26.

---Exhibit 21 here ---

Favorable opinions by residents regarding the Spokane Police Department in November, 1995, increased by 31 percent over levels from April, 1994. Conversely, those residents who reported having an unfavorable opinion of the police department decreased by 37 percent from April, 1994, to November, 1995. As indicated in Exhibit 21, these changes attained statistical significance.

Similarly, when asked whether their opinion of the police department had changed as a result of their involvement with Project ROAR, more than one-quarter of the residents in December, 1994, and more than one-half of the residents in November, 1995 said that their opinion of the Spokane Police Department, indeed, had changed for the

better. However, by November, 1995, four interviewees reported that their opinion of the police department had changed for the worse; in prior waves of the interviews, none of the interviewees had reported an unfavorable opinion of the police department.

As noted in Exhibit 22, Parsons' residents' perceptions with regard to the level of police services in the West First neighborhood also substantially changed in the positive direction from April, 1994 to November, 1995. Seventy-one percent of the respondents in November, 1995 reported that the level of police services was "about right," an increase of almost one-third from April, 1994. Conversely, 7 percent of the respondents in November, 1995 reported feeling that the level of police services was "inadequate," a decrease of more than one-third from April, 1994. And when comparing these findings to those of the citywide sample of Spokane residents, substantial differences were found. Just over one-third of the citywide sample of residents reported that the level of police department service was "about right" (compared to 71 percent of the Parsons' respondents), and just over one-third of the citywide sample reported that the level of police department service was "not adequate" (compared to 7 percent of the Parsons' respondents). Further, the results from the city samples did not change over the time period.

---Exhibit 22---

And, while about two-thirds of the Parsons' residents both in April, 1994, and November, 1995, said that they seldom come into contact with the services provided by the Spokane Police Department, 26 percent more residents in November, 1995, than in April, 1994, said that they quite often come into contact with the services provided by the

police department. Those who reported “occasional” contact with the Spokane Police Department decreased by 30 percent from April, 1994 to November, 1995.

In addition, high levels of police officer recognition were reported by Parsons' residents across all three waves of interviews, especially when compared to the results of the citywide sample. And, while the percentage of residents who reported that they either knew or recognized police officers working in the neighborhood decreased by 20 percent from April, 1994 to November, 1995, the 46 percent who did know or recognize police officers in November, 1995 is substantially larger than their citywide counterparts (5% in the spring of 1995).¹¹

---Exhibit 23---

When asked whether respondents' had noticed any changes in police presence in the area within the last six months, the great majority of Parsons' residents across three waves of interviews reported an increased presence during the six month period prior to each interview. By the November, 1995 interview, 96 percent of the Parsons' respondents had reported an increase in police presence in their neighborhood.

---Exhibit 24---

Similarly, the number of residents who felt that there were about the right number of police officers working in the area increased from 41 percent to 50 percent from April, 1994, to November, 1995. Those who felt that there were too few police officers in the neighborhood decreased from 48 percent in April, 1994, to 39 percent in November, 1995. And when compared to the citywide sample of residents, substantially fewer Parsons' residents in November, 1995, than citywide residents in the spring of 1995 felt

that there were too few police officers in the neighborhood (39 percent vs. 55 percent, respectively). However, these changes were not statistically significant.

Similarly, substantially more Parsons' residents in November, 1995, than citywide residents in the spring of 1995 felt that there were about the right number of police officers in the neighborhood (50 percent versus 32 percent, respectively). When looking at trends over time, fewer citywide residents in the spring of 1995 felt that there were about the right number of police officers than in the spring of 1994, and substantially more citywide residents in the spring of 1995 felt that there were too few police officers than in the spring of 1994.

---Exhibit 25 here---

Finally, the Perceptions of Policing Levels Scale indicates that Parsons' residents were more likely to report adequate or improved levels by the end of the study period than were city respondents (see Exhibit 26).

---Exhibit 26 here---

Official Statistics: Drug Arrests and Reported Crime. Changes in the levels of reported crimes and arrests often are deceiving. While the overarching goal of community-anti crime programs, and here Project ROAR, specifically, is to typically affect a change in the amount of crime and disorder in a specific area, determining which direction of the change actually is an indicator of program success is problematic. Here, both felony drug arrests, and reported crimes for burglaries and robberies were tracked in the project area, matched comparison area, and the city for the 24 months prior to the

implementation of Project ROAR and for the 24 months coinciding with the implementation of Project ROAR.

Felony Drug Arrests

The analysis of felony drug arrests that follows makes use of available data collected from the Special Investigations' Unit at the Spokane Police Department. The mean number of total felony drug arrests per month in the project area, comparison area, and for the City of Spokane are compared prior to the implementation of Project ROAR (1992 and 1993) and during the implementation of Project ROAR (1994 and 1995). In addition, year to year trends are examined for the years 1992 and 1993, 1993 and 1994, and 1994 and 1995.

When examining felony drug arrests during the two year period prior to the implementation of Project ROAR versus the two year period during which time Project ROAR was implemented, a consistent upward trend in monthly drug arrests was found in the project area, comparison area, and for the city as a whole.

---Exhibit 27 here---

Here, monthly felony drug arrests in the project area almost tripled when comparing 1992 and 1993 with 1994 and 1995. Most of the project area arrests, upon closer examination of the data, were felony crack cocaine arrests. Similar, yet not as profound, changes in felony drug arrests were found in the comparison area and for the city as a whole when comparing pre-implementation data with post-implementation data.

Not surprisingly, when the pre-implementation and the post-implementation data were disaggregated, and year-by-year drug arrest trends were examined between 1992 and 1995, steady increases in the mean number of felony drug arrests were found, albeit with two exceptions.

---Exhibit 28 here---

First, while the number of felony drug arrests per month increased between 1993 and 1994 both in the project area and for the city as a whole, the number of felony drug arrests in the comparison area for this same period decreased. However, because there were so few arrests in the comparison area between 1993 and 1994 (.46 versus .25 arrests per month), the decrease is far from significant. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, while the number of drug arrests between 1994 and 1995 continued to increase in both the comparison area and for the city as a whole, a substantial decrease occurred for this same period in the project area. Interviews with residents, police officers, and business owners, tended to attribute the decline in 1995 to the effectiveness of the 1994 crackdown on drug dealing in the neighborhood. The previously discussed survey data on reductions in open drug sales would seem to corroborate the reduced drug activity in the neighborhood in 1995.

Reported Crimes: Robberies and Burglaries

A similar, yet slightly different picture is found when examining reported crimes data collected from the Spokane Police Department's Crime Analysis Unit. Exhibit 29 shows trends for reports of robberies and burglaries in the project area, comparison area, and for the city as a whole for the two year period prior to the implementation of Project

ROAR, and for the two year period corresponding to the implementation of Project ROAR.

---Exhibit 29 here---

Here, while increases in the number of reported crimes per month were found in the comparison area and for the city, a small decrease was found in the project area.

Comparisons between the ROAR area and both the comparison area and the citywide trend were analyzed.¹² The trend in robbery and burglary from the pre-intervention period to the program period was not statistically significant when contrasting the ROAR area to the comparison area. It was, however, statistically significant when contrasting ROAR to the city.

When the pre-implementation and the post-implementation data were disaggregated, and year-by-year reported crime trends were examined between 1992 and 1995, these trends were very similar in the project area, comparison area, and for the city as a whole. As illustrated in Exhibit 30, reported crimes in all three areas decreased between 1992 and 1993, then increased between 1993 and 1994. One important factor in the decline in 1993 may be the weather. The winter witnessed record snowfalls.

---Exhibit 30 here---

However, when comparing the years 1994 and 1995, reports of burglaries and robberies in the comparison area continued to increase, remained approximately the same for the city, but substantially decreased in the project area (4.1 versus 2.3 reports per month). Recall that a similar finding between the years 1994 and 1995 was reported for felony drug arrests.

Calls for Police Service

As noted in Chapter Three, Spokane Police Department gained the ability to geographically code and analyze calls for police service (CFS) data in 1994. Hence, we are unable to conduct a pre- and post-analysis. Exhibit 31, however, presents total CFS for the project and comparison sites and citywide. Here we see that in 1995 the project area experienced a 10 percent decline from 1994 levels. Conversely, the comparison area and the city experienced 10 and 5 percent increases in CFS, respectively. Although the analysis is too limited to be conclusive, it is consistent with other data suggesting a decrease in crime and disorder as Project ROAR was more fully implemented.

---Exhibit 31 here---

Social and Physical Disorder Inventory. A block-level social and physical disorder inventory, conducted both in the project and comparison areas in April, 1994, October 1994, April 1995, and October 1995 was used to attempt to objectively assess the extent to which Project ROAR efforts could affect change in the neighborhood environment. The objective assessment of the social and physical environment was intended to serve two purposes: (1) to complement the survey data to determine the level of congruency between project area residents' perceptions of their social and physical environment and objective measures, and (2) to illustrate whether or not any changes in the project area could be attributed to the activities of Project ROAR via a comparison with the matched "non-treatment" area. For the analysis, we focus on comparisons between the baseline survey in April 1994 and the final survey of October 1995.

Social Inventory Results. Observed levels of social disorder during both waves of the inventory, both in the project and comparison area, were minimal. In addition, the mean differences of the observed occurrences of loitering, solicitation of prostitution, drug trading, and intoxicated individuals did not significantly change in either area for the two waves of data collection. As discussed in the subsequent chapter, however, we believe the measurement of social disorder was far from reliable given the obtrusiveness of the raters and the time of day of the survey.

Physical Inventory Results. With regard to objective measures of the physical environment, two sets of measures were used: (1) indicators of physical disorder within the neighborhood, and (2) indicators of target hardening efforts and signs of guardianship. Figure 32 presents the findings for the indicators of physical disorder for the project and comparison areas.

---Exhibit 32 here---

As illustrated in Figure 32, there was little--albeit some--change in signs of physical disorder from 1994 to 1995 both in the project and comparison areas. When examining trends in the project area versus the comparison area, several findings are worth noting. First, there were fewer abandoned buildings in the project area in 1995, yet more abandoned buildings in the comparison area in 1995. Secondly, while there were small increases in the number of broken windows and broken lights in the project area in 1995, more significant increases were found for these same indicators in the comparison area in 1995. Thirdly, the differences in broken glass and litter between 1994 and 1995,

both in the project and comparison area were negligible. Finally, significant increases in graffiti were found in 1995, both in the project and comparison area.

Exhibit 33 presents the findings for signs of target hardening and guardianship in the project and comparison area.

---Exhibit 33 here---

Here, increases--though not overwhelming increases--in signs of target hardening and guardianship were found in the project area across all but one of the indicators. The numbers of barriers, such as fences and security alarms increased from 1994 to 1995, though they also increased in the comparison area. And, while there was also a fairly significant increase in the number of BlockWatch signs posted in the project area and in the number of security cameras, there was no comparable increase in the comparison area, thus suggesting positive program effects. Finally, there were no substantial changes in the number of unbroken lights or the presence of security bars either in the project or comparison areas.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Multiple sources of data were used to assess the implementation and impact of Project ROAR, a collaborative community anti-crime program involving not only public housing residents and the police, but also other neighborhood residents, business leaders, the housing authority, the city, and other service providers.

Process Evaluation

Similar to what Popkin, Hammett, and their colleagues found in their evaluations, the data here suggest that Project ROAR as implemented can be considered comprehensive in scope, consisting of law enforcement activities, community involvement, and situational crime prevention activities.

Law Enforcement Activities

Throughout the data collection period, the Spokane Police Department's participation in Project ROAR--at the line-level--was consistent. Both traditional suppression activities in the form of automobile, bicycle, and "gang emphasis" patrols, and more progressive community policing activities such as the Neighborhood Resource Officer program, foot patrol, bicycle patrol, and the department's involvement with the downtown, neighborhood C.O.P.S. Shop contributed to achieving Project ROAR's objectives during the evaluation period.

The police department's aggressive approach to combating drug-crimes in the project area, in the form of special patrols and undercover operations likely was one of several factors for the significant increases in felony drug arrests in the area in 1994 and reported by Giacomazzi et al. (1995). In addition, the Neighborhood Resource Officer (NRO) program, established in the City of Spokane in 1992 and initiated in the Parsons' building in 1993 contributed to Project ROAR in a number of ways. First, given that NROs were relieved from radio calls, the downtown NROs maintained a consistent police presence in the area. In addition, both observational and focus group data attest to the fact that the NROs were instrumental in initiating target hardening activities in the project area at the request of residents and business owners. Thirdly, the NROs, representing the Spokane Police Department, more often than not were in attendance at collaborative problem-solving meetings of area residents and business owners, and as such proved to be a "broker" for the solving of neighborhood problems. Indeed, our observations suggest that the NROs acted as a catalyst for neighborhood change by bringing together varied neighborhood interest groups to focus on crime, disorder, and community development issues.

With the opening of the downtown neighborhood T.O.P. C.O.P.S. ("To Our People--Community Oriented Policing Services") Shop in the public housing building in March, 1995, police presence in the area continued to increase. In addition to the NRO who is based out of the C.O.P.S. Shop, other officers assigned to the larger downtown core of the city frequent the neighborhood sub-station, getting to know residents, writing reports, or eating lunch.

Through the efforts noted above, the Spokane Police Department remained a vital component of Project ROAR throughout the duration of the evaluation period. For the most part however, these efforts were orchestrated on an "ad hoc" basis, rather than products of a coordinated effort to stem the tide of decay in the downtown neighborhood. For example, Project ROAR as originally conceived called for a comprehensive plan to "seed, weed and then seed more." In essence, the proposed plan (outlined in the 1994 Public Housing Drug Elimination Program grant application) called for a coordinated effort through the police department's community policing initiatives to "pre-seed" and prepare surrounding neighborhoods for the impact of police operations under Project ROAR. As such the plan acknowledged the great potential for displacement of drug-related crime from the downtown neighborhood to surrounding areas of the city. In addition, the plan also noted the need for long-term neighborhood recovery in the area through the use social services, drug prevention education, and tenant empowerment after the weeding component was in effect. However, at the close of the evaluation period it still remained to be seen whether the key components of the plan to "seed, weed, and seed more" would be initiated (Subsequent study indicates "seeding" activities are underway. The issue is being studied in the follow-up investigation.).

Community Involvement

According to Popkin et al. (1995), Skogan (1990), and Schuerman and Kobrin (1986), community involvement in crime prevention activities in selected sites has increased informal social control and promoted a stronger sense of community, factors which research has shown are related to reductions in crime, fear of crime, and

neighborhood social and physical disorder. As such, many Project ROAR activities--as originally conceived--sought to increase meaningful interactions among public housing residents, other neighborhood residents, and area business owners.

Both direct observation and focus group data attest to the fact that a sincere effort was undertaken to increase social interactions among those groups identified above.

Through collaborative problem-solving meetings, social activities offered at the Parson's building, the efforts of the resident resource coordinator, and crime prevention education and programs offered through the Spokane Police Department and BlockWatch, Project ROAR--as implemented--appears to have successfully achieved this goal.

Collaborative Problem Solving Meetings. As reported above, observational data indicate that a total of ninety Project ROAR problem-solving meetings took place during the data collection period. These meetings included monthly Parsons' resident association meetings, Neighborhood Improvement Committee meetings, Neighborhood Business Owners' Association meetings, C.O.P.S. Shop committee meetings, and other special meetings under the rubric of Project ROAR.

Although the Business Owners' Association, the Improvement Committee, and the Parsons' resident association were working toward similar goals--even during the initial months of Project ROAR's implementation--there was, however, little in the way of a coordinated and collaborative effort between area residents and business leaders. However, by June, 1994, collaboration among business leaders, Parsons' residents, the Spokane Housing Authority, and the Spokane Police Department significantly increased, as evidenced by several successful, joint projects observed throughout the remainder of

the evaluation period, including a visit to the area by the Mayor of Spokane, physical improvements to the Parsons' public housing building, target hardening efforts in the neighborhood, the coordination of a Town Hall meeting, and ultimately, the opening of T.O.P. C.O.P.S., the neighborhood community policing substation.

Perhaps it was the eventual realization that all inhabitants of the neighborhood--public housing residents, other area residents, service providers, and business owners alike--should be concerned about the quality of life, and specifically about the physical and social disorder problems in the neighborhood that led to their joining together in a concerted effort to address these problems. Or perhaps it was the directive of a HUD consultant in June, 1994, that resulted in increased cooperation and collaboration among Project ROAR participants. Whatever the reason, by July, 1994 these distinct groups became "one distinct group," working together with the aim of enhancing the overall quality of life in the downtown neighborhood.

It also should be noted here that although seventy-two problem solving meetings took place during the evaluation period, most of which might be deemed "collaborative," involving business leaders and residents, in addition to the Spokane Police Department NRO, the resident resource coordinator, and representatives of the Spokane Housing Authority, actual participation in these meetings hovered between ten and twenty people. With the exception of several residents and business owners who participated in problem-solving meetings on an occasional basis, there remained a core group of public housing residents and business owners who set out to accomplish their goals, knowing that the

potential benefits of their efforts would be realized not only among themselves, but also by those who chose not to be involved in Project ROAR.

Although participation in collaborative problem-solving meetings remained relatively low throughout the evaluation period when compared to the actual numbers of businesses and residents in the area, three points are worth noting here. First, although participation in problem-solving meetings can be considered low, these numbers do not reflect actual participation in Project ROAR activities. Indeed, many more residents and business owners have been and continue to be involved with such Project ROAR activities as BlockWatch, social activities, crime prevention activities, the production of a Project ROAR newsletter, and participation in T.O.P. C.O.P.S. Second, the comments of Smith and Davis (1993) are relevant here: the involvement of large segments of the community--although desired--is not a necessary precursor to effective community crime prevention efforts. And third, efforts to mobilize other "non-participating" residents and business owners in the area continue to be a large part of Project ROAR's outreach agenda.¹³

Despite this, however, by October, 1995, as Project ROAR activities continued to expand throughout the neighborhood, the core group of six to ten public housing residents who appeared to have a hand in most of the activities began to voice their concerns that "burnout" was becoming a significant problem. For example, at the October, 1995, Parsons' resident association meeting, one of Project ROAR's leaders (and a public housing resident) pleaded for more active participation in Project ROAR activities from other public housing residents. Simply put, almost two years of steady

participation in Project ROAR activities were taking their toll on the core group of Parsons' residents. However, the project's outreach agenda was firmly in place by mid 1995; while the Parsons' core lessened their participation, others from the broader neighborhood increased theirs.

In sum, the major accomplishments of Project ROAR were products of a collaborative effort among a group of stakeholders in the neighborhood who, prior to the design and implementation of Project ROAR, rarely--if ever--worked together. These stakeholders included both residents and business leaders, as well as the Spokane Police Department, the City of Spokane, the Spokane Housing Authority, and other service providers.

Social Activities. Both observational and focus group data attest to the fact that social activities for the Parsons' residents significantly increased during the implementation phase of Project ROAR and led to significant inroads in community building among the public housing residents. Observational data indicate that a total of 216 formally organized social activities took place at the Parsons' building during the evaluation period. And although only nine social activities took place during the first six months of the implementation of Project ROAR (January, 1994 to June, 1994), 207 social activities occurred during the remainder of the research period (July, 1994 to December, 1995).

The responsibility for planning the Parsons' social activities was left for the "social committee" of the Parsons resident association which was comprised of four Parsons residents who considered input regarding events from other Parsons' residents.

Although participation in social activities varied depending upon the event, survey data reported in the outcome evaluation indicated that more than one-half of the residents participate in social activities at least on an "occasional" basis.

The social activities enabled residents to come together for a specific reason, whether to celebrate a resident's birthday, to observe Independence Day, to play games, or simply to eat. However, the activities had the indirect effect of allowing residents to become acquainted with neighbors whom they did not know, and getting to know better those residents with whom they already were acquainted. And according to data gleaned from the focus group interview, social activities at the Parsons have led to "community building" and a "greater perception of safety" among residents.

Although social activities at the Parsons' apartments have sustained the high levels observed beginning in July, 1994, it is difficult to estimate any effects that these interactions may have on residents. Needless to say, direct observation data and focus group data indicate that the efforts of the Parsons' social committee have resulted in a substantial number of opportunities for residents to come together, become acquainted with one another, and increase their sense of belonging to the Parsons' community.¹⁴

Resident Resource Coordinator. According to the Project ROAR plan, the Resident Resource Coordinator (hereafter, coordinator) had the responsibility of acting as a liaison among the Parsons' residents, area business leaders, the Spokane Police Department, the Spokane Housing Authority, and other agencies participating in the program, as well as mobilizing public housing residents to participate in Project ROAR. Here, observational data indicate that the coordinator was a vital component of Project

ROAR in several ways. First, the coordinator was instrumental in collaborating with residents (and at times directing residents) in Project ROAR efforts, such as working closely with the Parsons' resident association and its committees in organizing social activities, writing by-laws to the association's constitution, and editing the Parsons Resident Newsletter. In this capacity, the coordinator was an integral part of increasing resident interactions.

In addition, the coordinator served as a vital source of information regarding Project ROAR. Here, the coordinator would apprise residents of the status of Project ROAR, recruit resident volunteers, and attempt to increase residents' awareness of crime prevention strategies. Finally, the coordinator served as a liaison among the various groups which comprise Project ROAR. In this capacity, the coordinator served as important link among the Parsons' residents, other residents, business leaders, and service providers, and was instrumental in spearheading the major projects under the rubric of Project ROAR.

It also should be noted that during the first twelve months of the implementation of Project ROAR, the coordinator was available to meet with residents during regular office hours (twenty hours per week), and was in attendance at all formal collaborative problem-solving meetings. However, because of the denial of federal funding, the coordinator, who volunteered all of her time during the first year of Project ROAR, eventually left her position to accept paid employment elsewhere.¹⁵ However, by August, 1995, approximately eight months after the first resident coordinator left her position,

another resident coordinator was hired on a part-time basis using funds received from a federal special purpose grant awarded to the Spokane Housing Authority.

Crime Prevention Education and Programs. As Popkin et al. (1995) note, crime prevention programs and education have the direct benefit of informing residents of measures that can be taken to avoid becoming a victim of crime. In addition, these authors maintain that an indirect benefit of crime prevention programs and education is increased social interaction, which has been related to increases in informal social control and a stronger sense of community.

Crime prevention education and programs began in January, 1994, and continued throughout the duration of the research period. Here, observational data indicate that a variety of crime prevention programs were initiated by public housing residents, including vertical BlockWatch and a resident witness reporting program in January, 1994, a "buddy system"¹⁶ in March, 1994, a BlockWatch butterfly program¹⁷ in May, 1994, and a property engraving program in July, 1994.¹⁸

In addition, a variety of crime prevention educational presentations were offered to Parsons' residents during the evaluation period, including a presentation by a Spokane Police Department representative in April, 1994, regarding measures that can be taken to avoid becoming a victim of crime; a collaborative presentation by the police department, BlockWatch, Crime Check, and E-911 in April, 1994, regarding proper communication channels when reporting crimes; a personal safety workshop conducted by BlockWatch in September, 1994; and crime prevention training conducted by the Spokane Police Department on an ongoing basis beginning in January, 1995, for those who had

volunteered to staff the downtown C.O.P.S. Shop. And, in addition to formal crime prevention presentations, residents were apprised of crime prevention techniques through crime prevention articles that appeared sporadically in the Parsons Resident Newsletter.

Given the available data, it is difficult to speculate on the effects of the observed crime prevention programs and education presentations on informal social control and residents' sense of "community." However, suffice it to say, the noted programs and presentations brought many residents together, and at times, for extended periods; meaningful interactions among the public housing residents, the Spokane Police Department, BlockWatch, and other service providers occurred on account of these efforts.

C.O.P.S. Shop. Interaction among area residents, business owners, the police department, the housing authority, and other service providers also was facilitated through the planning and eventual opening of T.O.P. C.O.P.S. in March, 1995. Here, observational and focus group data indicate that the above groups closely worked together, not only in planning for the opening of the C.O.P.S. Shop, but also in providing services to the residents of the downtown neighborhood once T.O.P. C.O.P.S. officially opened its doors.¹⁹ In this regard, the C.O.P.S. Shop has provided the impetus for a broader neighborhood focus of Project ROAR since its opening.

Through collaborative problem-solving meetings, social activities offered at the Parsons' building, the efforts of the resident resource coordinator, crime prevention education and programs offered through the Spokane Police Department and BlockWatch, and the activities associated with the community policing substation, social

interactions among all Project ROAR participants were diverse and numerous, and likely has resulted in greater informal social control and a stronger sense of "community" for at least some Project ROAR participants. This stands to reason given the sheer number of interactions among residents, business leaders, the police department, the housing authority, and other service providers during the research period, in addition to having worked toward the shared goal of improving the overall quality of life in the neighborhood.

Situational Crime Prevention Efforts

According to Popkin et al. (1995:78) and Clarke (1992), situational crime prevention efforts, which constitute the third criterion for comprehensive community anti-crime programs, involve attempts at reducing the opportunity to commit specific crimes in particular locations. As such, these activities may include exit/entry screening, access control, formal surveillance, and rule setting, among others (Popkin et al., 1995).

Direct observation and focus group data indicate that a variety of situational crime prevention activities were initiated in and around the Parsons' public housing facility during the data collection period. These activities included (1) the installation of surveillance cameras at the front of and on the floors of an apartment building in the neighborhood, (2) the installation of "dummy cameras" in an apartment building located across the street from the Parsons' building, (3) the installation of a surveillance camera in the alley behind the Parsons' building, (4) increased lighting in an alley near the Parsons' building, (5) the painting and resultant increased visibility under railroad viaducts in the area, (6) the removal of parking spaces, the posting of "no parking or

stopping" signs, and the fencing of alcoves under railroad viaducts near the Parsons' building, and (7) the gating of two alleys next to the Parsons' building.

The above activities were initiated by residents and business owners in the neighborhood, and were accomplished through the collaborative efforts of the Neighborhood Improvement Committee, the Spokane Housing Authority, the Spokane Police Department, and the City of Spokane. In addition, all of the above efforts were undertaken with the assumption that the opportunity for social disorder, in the form of drug dealing and street-walking prostitution, could be reduced if the appropriate "hot spots" were targeted.

It also should be noted that a Greyhound Bus Station, previously located across from the Parsons' building, and by all accounts a major source of social disorder problems in the neighborhood, moved out of the area in January, 1995. The move, unrelated to Project ROAR activities, greatly was applauded by Project ROAR participants, many of whom felt that the influx of transient individuals in the area was a direct result of the proximity of the bus station.²⁰

Two other activities also are worth mentioning here. First, in May, 1994, the West First Avenue Business Owners' Association purchased signs which read, "This Area Under Video and Citizen Surveillance." The signs, posted throughout the project area, readily are visible to passersby. Second, although observational data indicate that a variety of situational crime prevention activities were undertaken through a collaborative effort involving many groups, the original Project ROAR plan called for a comprehensive security design analysis of the area conducted by a trained expert in crime prevention

through environmental design. The security design analysis, originally included as a budget item in a 1993 PHDEP (Public Housing Drug Elimination Program) grant application, had not yet been conducted at the close of the evaluation period. And, although the 1993 PHDEP grant application was denied funding by HUD in the spring of 1994, the security design analysis was included in a 1994 PHDEP grant application which was approved for funding in April, 1995.

Other situational crime prevention activities had been approved for funding at the close of the research period. For example, the 1994 PHDEP grant provided moneys to secure windows at the north and south entrances of the Parsons' building, exterior lighting and alarms on the Parsons' building, five low-light surveillance cameras to be installed on the exterior of the Parsons' building, and additional lighting for the Parsons' parking lot.

In all, direct observation and focus group data indicate that Project ROAR--as implemented--truly reflects a comprehensive community crime prevention program, and with only a few noted exceptions goes far beyond Project ROAR as originally conceived; this largely is attributable to the opening of T.O.P. C.O.P.S. in April, 1995.

With the opening of the community policing substation, Project ROAR increasingly has taken on a more "outward" neighborhood focus, while maintaining most of its more "inward" activities focused on the Parsons' public housing building and its residents. And while Project ROAR as originally conceived considered neighborhood outreach to be important in the effort to reduce crime, fear, and disorder in the neighborhood, the opening of T.O.P. C.O.P.S. seemed to have solidified this effort.

For example, by December, 1995, Project ROAR participants were serving as members of a variety of neighborhood action committees, involved in the mailing of letters to businesses and residents to inform them of the services offered through T.O.P. C.O.P.S., preparing T.O.P. C.O.P.S. brochures for neighborhood-wide distribution, and organizing a neighborhood observation patrol. As such, by the close of the evaluation period it became virtually impossible to determine whether many of the community groups and their activities were initiated by Project ROAR participants, or were established by others in the neighborhood only with the guidance of Project ROAR participants. Whatever the case, it seems that the enthusiasm of Project ROAR participants and their increased presence in the neighborhood has generated "fuel for the fire."

However, we also acknowledge the limitations associated with the use of observational research methods in general, and our specific approaches in obtaining observational data in a comprehensive program such as Project ROAR. According to Rossi and Freeman (1989:205), observational methods are a preferable source of data for monitoring programs as long as the observer is not obtrusive; obtrusiveness, in effect, leads to reactive effects among participants who are observed, thereby threatening measurement validity.

Initially, the "complete observer" method was used; however, this method evolved into the "observer as participant" approach as Project ROAR key participants became increasingly familiar (and comfortable) with the evaluation team.²¹ By the end of the evaluation period, evaluators became "participant observers" in some aspects of Project

ROAR, namely as staff volunteers at the C.O.P.S. Shop located within the public housing complex.

While the reactive effects of observation undoubtedly were reduced as the evaluators developed rapport with the project participants and in their role as project volunteers, the argument can be made that the evaluators themselves--in their role as project participants--may have threatened the integrity of the project by influencing its activities. Quite simply, the question here is whether other outcomes may have been observed had some of the evaluators not been involved in the project. This is a question that is not easy for us to answer. However, given the limited role the evaluators had in the project implementation (a few hours per week as volunteers at the C.O.P.S. Shop), given the fact that these evaluators work and/or reside in the broader neighborhood anyway, were interested in improving the quality of life in the area, and would likely have volunteered even without their involvement in the evaluation activities surrounding Project ROAR, we suggest that the impact that the evaluators had--as evaluators--in the implementation and success of Project ROAR was quite limited, if that.

Nonetheless, the above issue again brings to light the complexities of obtaining valid process evaluation data for community crime prevention programs. The findings we report must take into account these threats to measurement validity and program integrity.

Another, perhaps even more important rationale for conducting the process component of the evaluation using observational research concerned our interest in the "black box" problem. As noted earlier, Rossi and Freeman (1989) suggest that process

components to evaluations are necessary to avoid slipping into the "black box" problem, where only inputs and outcomes are examined, without paying attention to how or to whether certain inputs may be used to effect a predicted outcome.

While Project ROAR as conceived included "some" undefined elements, at the project's core were the following: (1) opening a "Cop Shop" within the public housing area, (2) assigning neighborhood resource officers (community policing officers) to the target area; (3) coordinating efforts with the city's Crime Prevention Center, located in the public housing unit; (4) hiring a resident resource coordinator; (5) creating an "adopt the tenants program" with local businesses; and (6) addressing physical target hardening and neighborhood improvements.

Quite frankly, our process evaluation component sought to provide direct, empirical evidence that the project was indeed implemented as outlined in "theory." However, our findings suggest that Project ROAR participants did much more in their crime prevention effort than originally conceived, leading to three problems which we highlight below.

First, given the increase in the number and frequency of Project ROAR meetings, by the end of the first year of the evaluation, it became virtually impossible to collect observational data regarding all program functions as we initially set out to do. Time and resource constraints were factors that contributed to this. In addition, as project activities expanded, especially after the opening of the C.O.P.S. Shop in the public housing facility, the evaluators were not systematically contacted about meetings and activities under the

rubric of Project ROAR as they were during the first year when the project was smaller in scope.

A second and related problem concerned an effort by project participants to broaden the focus of Project ROAR. Initial Project ROAR activities were conceived by a rather small group of people representing public housing residents, the police department, the housing authority, and local business owners, and tended to focus on the area within and immediately surrounding the public housing facility. But by the end of the second year of the evaluation, the project expanded to the broader West First Avenue neighborhood. The new focus of the project was a neighborhood revitalization effort that would attract individuals from the broader neighborhood--and city, for that matter--by creating a new market and arts district. With new community groups and activities spinning off from more established Project ROAR groups and activities, it became difficult for the evaluators to know with certainty whether the neighborhood revitalization effort was, in fact, still Project ROAR.

Finally, our first two points lead us to the third. Given the increase and frequency of activities surrounding Project ROAR, of which we felt we adequately captured in our process evaluation research, we are left with the original problem which we intended to overcome with the process evaluation in the first place, namely, the "black box" problem. While our plan was to collect survey data at specific intervals corresponding to the implementation of new project activities, these activities increased at a rate that precluded us from "disentangling" them from other activities, thereby not allowing us to answer adequately the question, "What could have been left out of the project for the project to

have still been a success?" It is of some irony that a community crime prevention project that by all accounts is a success is one which is not conducive to a well conceived evaluation research endeavor. However, so is the case with Project ROAR.

Impact Evaluation

Three sources of data used to assess the impact of Project ROAR suggest that the program has resulted in changes in the positive direction with regard to public housing residents' perceptions of the overall quality of their neighborhood life, and substantial positive changes in their perceptions of police services. And, while official crime statistics indicate that the implementation of Project ROAR likely has led to a crime suppression effect in the project area between the years 1994 and 1995, inventory data show little change in the physical and social environment during that same period.

Perceptions of Quality of Life

As noted in the findings above, four waves of face-to-face interviews with a representative sample of Parsons' Public Housing residents indicate that their perceptions of the quality of their neighborhood life substantially have improved over the two year evaluation period. Comparisons of interview data between April, 1994 and November, 1995 show that Parsons' respondents are more likely to view other Parsons' residents as "willing to help one another," and are more likely to view other neighborhood residents as "willing to help one another."

In addition, significant changes in the positive direction were found with regard to Parsons' residents' satisfaction with their neighborhood between April, 1994 and November, 1995. And, while the percent of residents who were satisfied with their neighborhood in April, 1994 was much lower than overall satisfaction among Spokane city residents as found in a citywide survey conducted at about the same time, levels of neighborhood satisfaction among Parsons' residents in November, 1995, approximated the level of satisfaction among citywide residents in 1995.

With regard to perceptions of physical and social changes in their neighborhood, Parsons' residents were much more likely than the citywide group of residents to report both positive physical and social changes in their neighborhood. Parsons' residents tended to acknowledge the accomplishments of Project ROAR as contributing to their more favorable perception of their physical and social environment, including improvements in lighting and to building facades, and decreases in drug-related crime and street-walking prostitution.

Finally, perceptions of personal safety also were used to gauge overall quality of neighborhood life. Consistent with trends for the other indicators, substantially more Parsons residents in November, 1995 reported feeling safe during the day, at night, and in the Parsons' Public Housing building than in April, 1994.

Perceptions of Police Services

As reported in more detail above, positive program effects also were found regarding public housing residents' perceptions of police services. Here, the percent of residents who had favorable opinions of the Spokane Police Department increased from April, 1994 to November, 1995. In addition, more than one half of the Parsons' respondents in November, 1995 had reported that their opinion of the police department had changed for the better--because of the police department's involvement in Project ROAR.

In addition, substantial positive changes were noted between April, 1994 and November, 1995 with regard to level of police services. Here, almost three-quarters of the respondents indicated that the level of police services in the area was "about right." Conversely, only about one-third of the citywide sample of residents in 1995 reported that the level of police services was "about right."

More Parsons residents in November, 1995 than in April, 1994 reported that they "quite often" come into contact with the services provided by the Spokane Police Department, that they have noticed an increased presence of police in the area, and that their were "about the right number" of police officers working in the neighborhood. Similarly, almost one-half of the Parsons' respondents said that they knew or recognized individual police officers working in their neighborhood. Conversely, only 5 percent of the citywide respondents in 1995 reported either knowing or being able to recognize a police officer in their neighborhood.

In summary, the consistent trends across the survey research outcome variables suggest that Project ROAR has contributed to more favorable perceptions of the quality of neighborhood life and police services for Parsons' Public Housing residents between April, 1994 and November, 1995. These findings suggest a remarkable turn-about in attitudes in a relatively short period of time, and highlight the effects of a collaborative, community-based approach to improving the quality of life for a particularly vulnerable group of public housing residents. At the level of perceptions then, these findings indicate that collaborative and "comprehensive" community crime prevention efforts can have a positive effect for residents living in economically disadvantaged areas (cf. Smith and Davis, 1993).

But despite these trends, it should be noted that the findings here are suggestive rather than definitive. For example, survey research, although a widely used social science research tool, is not without its limitations. These limitations include the possibility of "center of attention" effects, interviewer bias, question bias, and low response rates. Although the "schedule-structured interview" approach was used for the face-to-face interviews with Parsons' residents, typically reducing the risk that differences both in the wording of questions and in the sequence of questions might elicit variations in responses, the potential for interviewer bias, and problems associated with anonymity apply here.

In addition, the survey research design here equated to a reflexive pretest-posttest design, for which several caveats generally preclude researchers from confidently determining whether any noted impacts truly can be attributable to a particular program,

or some other intervening variables. These limitations include the role of history, testing techniques, mortality, and others.

Finally, although more than half of the Parsons' tenants were interviewed for this component of the outcome evaluation, their numbers remained relatively small (approximately 30 tenants for each wave).

Official Measures: Drug Arrest and Reported Crimes Data

While a steady and dramatic upward trend in felony drug arrests was found in the project area, comparison area, and for the city when comparing pre-implementation years (1992 and 1993) with post-implementation years (1994 and 1995), these findings, at the surface, appear only to show that drug arrests, especially crack-cocaine arrests, continue to escalate not only in the project and comparison areas, but for the City of Spokane as a whole. In the project area, for example, changes in the numbers of felony drug arrests for all drug types (with the exception of crack cocaine arrests) from 1992 through 1995, were minimal, and not significant. As such, simply few arrests for cocaine, heroin, meth-amphetamines, and "other" drugs over the data collection period occurred in the project area.

Given that felony crack cocaine arrests were the major source of variance in the year-by-year analysis, there were significant changes in the mean number of felony drug arrests in the project area from 1992 to 1993, 1993 to 1994, and 1994 to 1995. Here, felony drug arrests increased by 57 percent from 1992 to 1993, by 258 percent from 1993

to 1994, then decreased by 31 percent from 1994 to 1995. Here, program effects, if any, are difficult to determine for several reasons.

First, the City of Spokane has been experiencing a growing crack cocaine problem in the West First area (which includes the project area) associated with street gangs from the Los Angeles metropolitan area who have come to the city seeking greater profits from their wares (Spokane Housing Authority, 1993). Given the increases in the numbers of individuals who have come into the West First area for the purpose of selling crack cocaine, it might be expected that increases in arrest statistics simply are the product of greater numbers of persons selling the drug.

Conversely, it also may be the case that the significant increases in the number of arrests from 1993 to 1994 are due to the special sting operations conducted under the auspices of Project ROAR. Another potential explanation for these increases may be due to a greater willingness on the part of West First neighborhood residents to report observed occurrences of drug dealing, along with a concerted police department response to such actions.

In addition, it also might be the case that the efforts of Project ROAR participants to reduce and prevent drug crimes in the area simply have had no positive effects. This, however, appears to be the least likely scenario, given the findings from survey data which show that close to two-thirds of the residents in December, 1994 felt that occurrences of drug-related crime either had decreased or remained the same during the last six months of 1994.

Unfortunately, these data shed little light on explaining the increases in felony crack cocaine arrests in the project area between the years 1992 and 1994. However, interpreting the changes in the combined drug arrests in the project area from 1994 to 1995 (of which crack cocaine arrests accounted for 90 percent of the total arrests in 1994, and 77 percent of the total arrests in 1995) may be less problematic.

Here, the mean number of combined drug arrests per month in the project area decreased by 31 percent from 1994 to 1995. Conversely, the mean number of combined drug arrests per month for the City of Spokane increased by 11 percent from 1994 to 1995. And, while the combined number of drug arrests in the project area in 1994 accounted for more than 42 percent of the combined felony drug arrests for the entire city, they accounted for only 14 percent of the city total in 1995.

Of interest to note here is that the number of felony drug arrests for the City of Spokane substantially increased, while the number of felony drug arrests in the project area significantly decreased, while special drug enforcement efforts in the project area have remained stable from 1994 through 1995. Further, residents continued to report declines in drug sales. These findings appear to indicate a positive program impact.

We note again, however, that a significant, unintended change in the physical environment occurred in the project area in January, 1995. The Greyhound bus depot, which Spokane Police Department officials considered to be a major transportation source for in-bound crack cocaine dealers from the Los Angeles metropolitan area, moved out of the project area during the third week in January. Although this move and its effects on the crack cocaine trade in the West First area could be considered a

compelling explanation for the decreases in the numbers of felony drug arrests in the project area in 1995, it appears that it is not. The Greyhound bus depot, in fact, moved into the matched-comparison area, and here, while there was an increase in felony drug arrests between 1994 and 1995, the number of felony drug arrests per month was less than one in 1995, suggesting that the bus depot may not have been a main source of the drug dealing in the project area in the first place.

But the bus depot's move highlights a number of problems that affects evaluation research of this type. First, the bus depot, thought to be a major contributor for drug sales around the public housing facility closed, independent of the Project ROAR activities. By all accounts, the closure could be considered a local history threat to the internal validity of our findings, and indeed, emphasizes the complexity of evaluation research in the field. Simply put, this unplanned, physical environment change could have threatened the internal validity of our official measures of crime and disorder. Ironically, however, with the bus depot's move into the comparison area, we were able to track the short term effects in the bus depot's new location. Here, we expected to find significant increases in drug crimes in the comparison area--but we did not. Instead, we found little differences in the comparison area in the number of drug crimes in the year prior to the move versus the year after the move even though law enforcement efforts in the comparison area escalated.

Similar trends were found in the project area with regard to changes in the levels of the combined reported crimes of robberies and burglaries. Here, the combined mean number of reported crimes per month increased by 82 percent from 1993 to 1994, and

decreased by 44 percent from 1994 to 1995.²² And overall, when comparing the mean number of combined reported crimes per month in the project area during the pre-program implementation months with those during the post-program implementation months, a slight and non-significant decrease was found; increases were found, however, in the comparison area and for the city as a whole.

As indicated on Exhibit 30 for the comparison area, the mean number of combined reported crimes also increased, yet not significantly between 1993 and 1994. However, unlike the project area, the mean number of combined reported crimes in the comparison area increased by 28 percent between 1994 and 1995. In addition, when comparing the mean number of combined reported crimes in the comparison area during the pre-program implementation months with those during the post-program implementation months, a 56 percent increase was found.

However, when comparing the mean number of reported crimes per month for the City of Spokane for 1994 and 1995, a net decrease of one percent was found, compared to a net decrease of 44 percent for the same time period for the project area.

In all, the above crime data, in the form of felony arrest statistics and reported crimes statistics, suggest that Project ROAR has had some degree of impact on felony drug arrests and reported crimes in the project area. Although it is problematic to determine the source of the substantial increases in crack cocaine arrests in the West First area between the years 1993 and 1994, these increases likely are attributable to a combination of factors which include aggressive law enforcement attempts to apprehend crack cocaine dealers, increases in the numbers of crack cocaine dealers in the area, and a

greater willingness on the part of neighborhood residents to report "suspicious" individuals.²³

The decreases in the combined number of felony arrests in the project area from 1994 to 1995 in combination with the increases in felony drug arrests for the City of Spokane for the same period, may indicate with a greater level of certainty that the West First neighborhood is becoming less "drug infested" as a result of Project ROAR. Again, this inference gains credibility when considered in light of resident survey data.

And, while levels of reported crime increased in the project area, comparison area, and for the entire City of Spokane from 1993 to 1994, the project area experienced the greatest proportional increases in reported crimes from 1993 to 1994. Although these data are difficult to interpret by themselves, both observational and survey data attest to the fact that increases in the number of reported crimes per month in the project area from 1993 to 1994 may be attributable, at least in part, to a greater willingness on the part of area residents to report crimes that interfere with the quality of their neighborhood life. Indeed, one of the first efforts of Project ROAR in early 1994 was to develop crime reporting forms for use by Parsons' residents.

Finally, while levels of reported crime slightly decreased for the City of Spokane from 1994 to 1995, and increased in the matched comparison area for the same period, the mean number of reported crimes per month in the project area substantially decreased from 1994 to 1995. And, when considering other sources of data, these data may indicate a slight reduction in the number of reports of robberies and burglaries for the City of

Spokane, and an even greater reduction in the number of reports of these crimes for the project area.

However, the limitations associated with using official crime statistics as an indicator of program success or program failure also have been documented elsewhere in this work. Most notably, it often is difficult to determine which directional change in official crimes leads to program success, especially with regard to community anti-crime programs. And second, official crime statistics used here, including felony drug arrest statistics and reported crime statistics, do not account for the actual prevalence of "all" crime. The amount of unreported crime, in any area, remains unknown.²⁴

Social and Physical Inventory

While levels of social disorder both in the project and comparison area were minimal, and did not significantly change between April, 1994 and April and May, 1995, two important points stand out. First, although the researchers attempted to be as unobtrusive as possible in their data collection procedures, the very nature of the inventory required them to mark a form indicating the presence and levels of social disorder. Typically carrying clip-boards, the researchers often were mistaken for "police officers" or "code enforcement officials." And because of their "official" looking appearance, and their presence on a given block, it is the conventional wisdom of the research team that they, indeed, may have contributed to low levels of social disorder while conducting research on a particular block.

Second, although one would expect at least "some" indicators of social disorder in the project area, especially in the immediate vicinity of the Parsons' building, for most of these blocks, this simply was not the case. Aside from the reason delineated above, this may have been due to the fact that observations were recorded on weekdays, typically between the hours of 10 a.m. and 2 p.m., when less social disorder would be expected to occur. As such, little was gleaned from the social disorder inventory.²⁵

While the physical inventory data suggest some positive program effects, especially with regard to fewer abandoned buildings, target hardening and signs of guardianship in the project area, several caveats should be mentioned here. The evaluation team had the impression that small changes, changes that were not likely to have had much impact on the quantitative data captured in the physical inventory, could have a significant effect on resident impressions of their environment and on police intervention. For example, although the number of unbroken lights in the project area did not significantly change between 1994 and 1995, residents continually spoke of their appreciation of increased lighting in the parking lot behind the Parsons' building that had previously been dark and where much loitering had occurred in the evening hours. Similarly, police officers spoke of their appreciation of the cooperation of the business owner in the area to allow the fencing off of the alleyways as a way of hindering the movement of drug dealers and patrons. The strategic placement of these barriers may be more meaningful than the increase from .95 barriers per block to 1.7 barriers per block as found in the data from physical inventory. In addition, survey data and informal observations by the research team attest to the fact that numerous improvements to the

physical environment were undertaken and completed through Project ROAR efforts, including improvements to the facades of buildings, and improvements to sidewalks, among others. These improvements simply were not captured in the quantitative data gleaned from the physical environment inventory.

Finally, the increases in graffiti in the project area from 1994 to 1995 initially were a surprise to the evaluation team, considering that the elimination of graffiti was considered a high priority in 1995. In fact, the Spokane Police Department worked with the juvenile court to have some youths paint over graffiti in the area as part of their community service obligation. In addition, a city ordinance was passed requiring property owners to clean up graffiti, or volunteers from the T.O.P. C.O.P.S. Shop would paint it for them. Three pieces of information may at least partially explain the increases found in the physical inventory. First, the decision rules for the raters conducting the physical inventory required them to count large amounts of graffiti (typically occurring in the railroad viaducts in the project area) as “one” instance of graffiti if the space between graffiti markings was less than the width of the rater’s hand. Survey research and informal observations by the evaluators indicate that a significant amount of graffiti was removed under the viaducts, but may not have been captured in the quantitative data.

Second, Spokane Police Department officials were not surprised at the increases in graffiti in the project area due to the fact that graffiti has been substantially increasing citywide; the increases in graffiti in the comparison area appear to support this explanation. Finally, because graffiti removal is considered a constant battle, the data

generated from the physical inventory may be an artifact of the timing of the data collection.

The above observations are particularly interesting in light of the survey research component of the evaluation, and speak to the utility of using multiple methods of research. Our findings indicate that rather small improvements to the physical environment can have a dramatic impact on residents' perceptions of their surroundings and levels of personal safety. Here, a well placed, single light fixture which was virtually buried in the block-level physical inventory data appears to be a significant enough change to substantially influence some residents' perceptions of the quality of their neighborhood life.

It is also worth noting that while we found increases in graffiti in the project area--confirmed by the local police department--residents, at the same time, reported improvements in their physical environment. These findings suggest the context dependence of physical environment changes. What may be important for one particular community (i.e., the removal of graffiti) may be less so for another. Here, for the project area, the increases in graffiti may have been overshadowed by other, more positive improvements to the residents' physical environment. In other words, we surmise that sweeping and dramatic changes in the physical environment may not be necessary precursors to rather remarkable, positive changes in residents' perceptions of disorder and their feelings of safety.

In all, multiple sources of data, including direct observation, focus group data, survey research, official crime statistics, and the social and physical inventory suggest

that a collaborative, grass-roots program that combines law enforcement activities, community involvement, and situational crime prevention efforts may have a positive impact on perceptions of the quality of neighborhood life, perceptions of police services, crime, and levels of physical disorder. These data suggest that public-private, multi-level collaborations among neighborhood residents, business owners, the police, and other service providers can make a difference in the lives of some of Spokane, Washington's most economically disadvantaged residents.

While these data are encouraging, especially as they relate to the quality of life of Parsons' residents in 1996, the degree to which the Parsons' residents differ from public housing residents in other areas is difficult to determine, and thus may raise questions regarding the generalizability of these findings to other sites. While both Parsons' residents and other "urban core" public housing residents generally share in common "low income levels" (at the individual level), and "heterogeneity" and "community disorder" (at the neighborhood level), other characteristics of the Parsons' residents might distinguish the group from other public housing residents, including the large percentage of Parsons' residents who live alone, and who suffer from physical and mental disabilities.²⁶

Despite this, however, Holzman (1996: 365-366) reminds us that many public housing facilities across the United States--indeed--are rather small: almost half of all public housing facilities in the U.S. encompass row houses, low rise apartments, or single family homes (Holzman, 1996:366) and 98 percent of public housing facilities in the United States have more less than 500 units; more than 99 percent have less than 1,000

units (Holzman, 1996:365-366). As such, this study differs from others in the sense that it sheds light on collaborative efforts involving public housing residents living in "small" public housing units.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

While the results of several decades of research on the ability of formal agents of social control to effect positive changes in the levels of neighborhood crime through traditional suppression techniques have been discouraging (cf., Skolnick and Bayley, 1986; Clark and Heal, 1979; Kelling et al., 1974), the community policing and community crime prevention movements within the last two decades have led to new hope that "something" truly can be done to address the deteriorating levels of quality of life experienced by many inner-city residents (cf., Kelling and Coles, 1996; Green, 1996).

Although the effectiveness of community policing efforts across many outcome variables remains conflictual, and while community anti-crime efforts without the active involvement of formal agents of social control also have led to mixed results, it is the collaborative relationship among community residents and the police that may be the most promising vehicle in affecting positive change in neighborhood residents' quality of life (Skogan, 1987; Lewis et al., 1988; Roehl and Cook, 1984; Yin, 1986).

Here, multiple sources of data were used to assess the implementation and impact of Project ROAR, a collaborative community anti-crime program involving not only public housing residents and the police, but also other neighborhood residents, business leaders, the housing authority, the city, and other service providers. These data suggest that Project ROAR as implemented is comprehensive in scope, consisting of law enforcement approaches, community involvement, and situational crime prevention

activities, and has resulted in significant changes in the positive direction with regard to public housing residents' perceptions of other residents inhabiting their neighborhood, overall satisfaction with their neighborhood, feelings regarding social and physical disorder in the West First area, and levels of personal safety in the neighborhood.

In addition, substantial positive changes were found over a one year period for public housing residents' perceptions of police services, indicating the potential for a positive, collaborative partnership between residents and the police in the effort to improve the quality of life in an inner-city neighborhood.

Finally, official crime statistics in the form of felony drug arrests and reported crimes indicate that the collaborative efforts through Project ROAR likely have led to a dampening effect in the occurrences of crime and disorder in the project area between the years 1994 and 1995. Here, decreases in the total number of drug arrests in the West First area were observed, while the combined total of drug arrests for the City of Spokane significantly increased. And while the number of reported crimes in the project area significantly decreased from 1994 to 1995, the number of reported crimes in the comparison area slightly increased over the same period, and decreased at a substantially lower rate for the City of Spokane.

The results of this study suggest that innovative and collaborative efforts at reducing fear, crime and disorder in an around public housing facilities hold promise for improving the quality of life for residents living in smaller public housing sites. These findings are particularly relevant in light of the move away from the construction of large, highrise public housing facilities for the nation's poor.

Despite its limitations, the results of this research are encouraging, especially as they pertain to the ability of a number of diverse groups, including public housing residents and the police, to work collaboratively on effecting positive change both in the social and physical environment in an area which, by its very nature, is at high-risk for failure for such efforts (Skogan, 1990). However, future research endeavors will require an assessment of the extent of crime displacement versus diffusion of benefits. Additionally, cross-site or meta analyses are needed to specify the factors within a comprehensive program such as this which tend to result in change (Hope, 1995).

While some might suggest that the outcome evaluation findings are of no surprise in light of the changes that occurred in the project area during the two year evaluation period, Project ROAR has succeeded where many other community crime prevention programs have failed. Garofalo and McLeod (1986) note that poorer members of the community, including public housing residents, tend to be the most difficult to mobilize, even though they typically are the ones most in need of effective responses to crime and disorder problems. But here more the 60 percent of Parsons' public housing respondents in May, 1995, reported that they were involved to some degree with the efforts of Project ROAR. Although the level of involvement among Parsons' residents had decreased by the last set of interviews in November, 1995, this likely is due to the fact that the program actively broadened to include other neighborhood residents who were not included as research subjects. Further, participation in Project ROAR-initiated social activities remained high, even by the close of the evaluation period.²⁷

Through the Spokane Police Department's community policing initiatives, area residents in collaboration with the police in March, 1995, succeeded in opening a neighborhood community policing substation within the confines of the Parsons' building.

Outreach efforts to involve other neighborhood residents with Project ROAR activities previously had been hampered during the first year of implementation due to the lack of necessary skills by public housing residents to perform these functions. However, U.S. Housing and Urban Development funding for the purposes of tenant skill development and empowerment, along with moneys to support a resident resource coordinator, were made available to Project ROAR in April, 1995. This funding, and the effort among Parsons' residents to mobilize other neighborhood inhabitants, in combination with the neighborhood community policing substation, allowed Project ROAR to expand its activities to include surrounding neighborhood blocks in its effort to "Reclaim Our Area Residences." The effects of the expanded program on Parsons' residents, and other neighborhood residents living in this downtown area warrant further investigation.

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EXHIBITS

EXHIBIT 1

Changes in Public Housing Residents' Perceptions

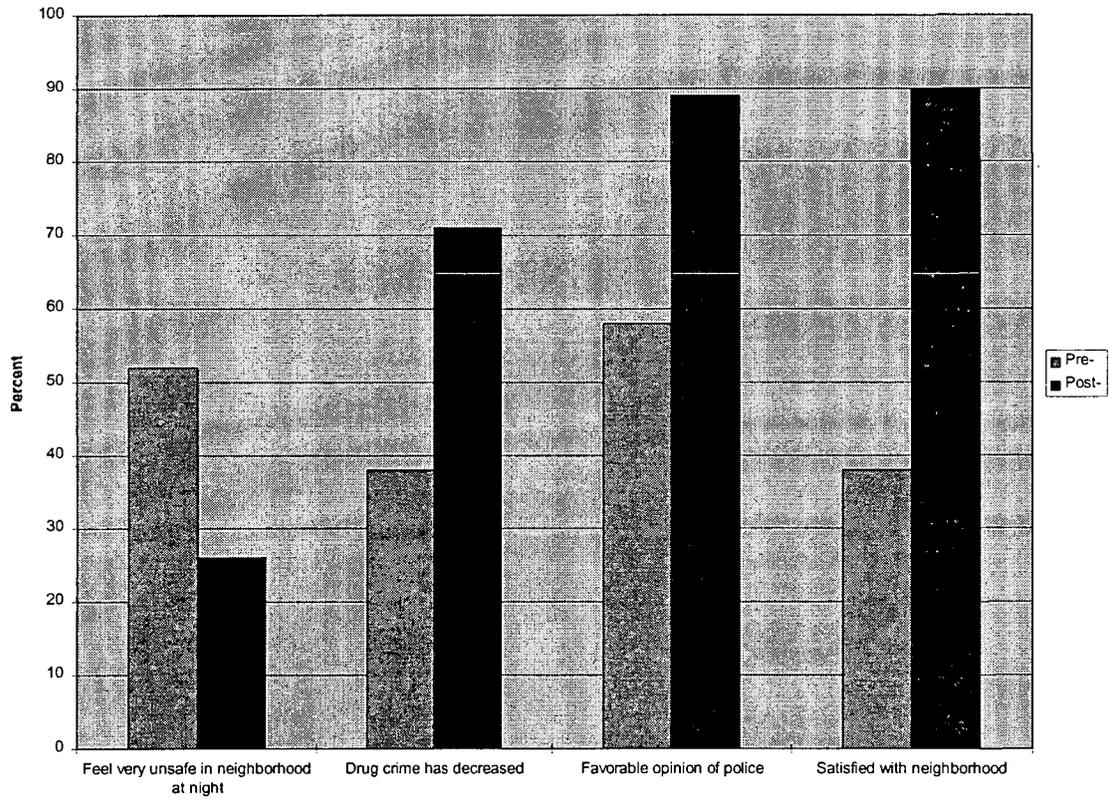


EXHIBIT 2

Selected Characteristics of ROAR Area

Population*	1,179
Percent of City Population	0.7
Percent of City Drug Arrests	12.9
Percent of City Robberies	8.1
Percent of City Burglaries	1.1
Percent of City Rapes and Sex Crimes	3.4

* The population figure is an overestimate because the census tract is somewhat larger than the Project ROAR area.

EXHIBIT 3

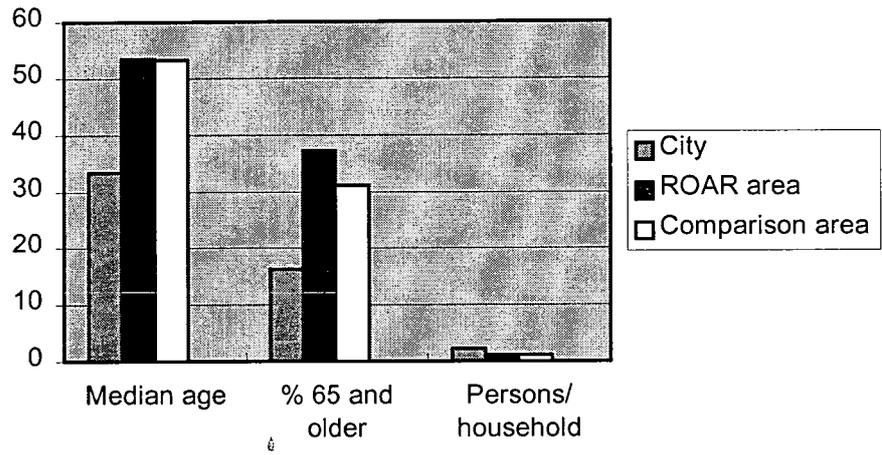


EXHIBIT 4

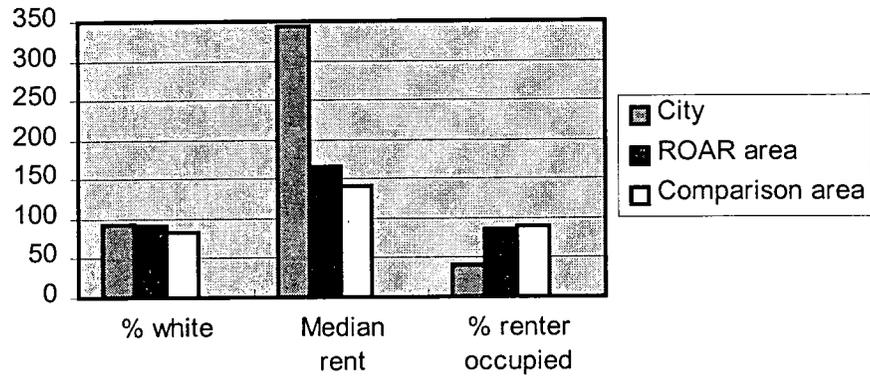


EXHIBIT 5

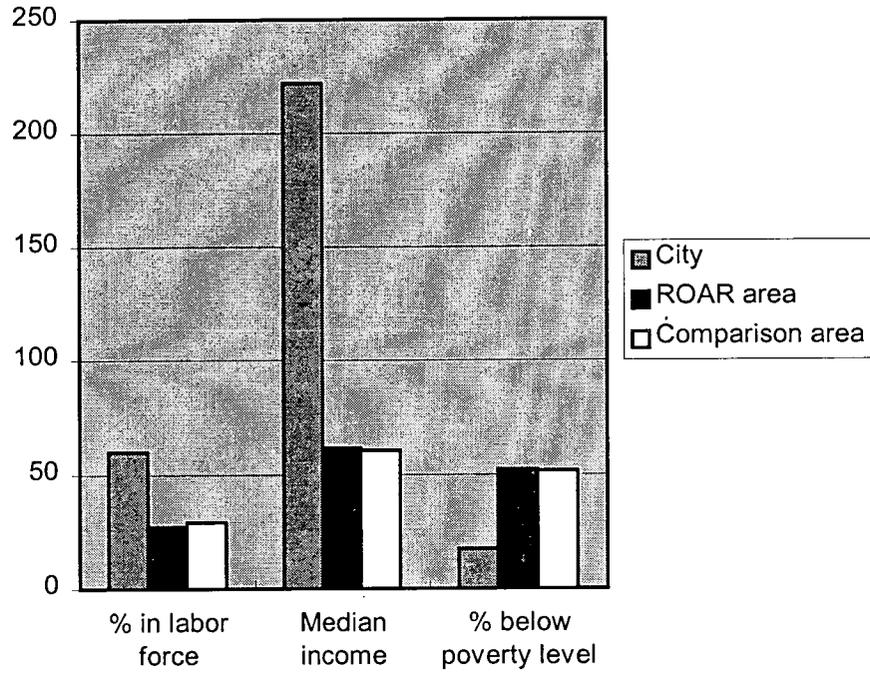


EXHIBIT 6

SUMMARY OF PROJECT ROAR ACTIVITIES AS IMPLEMENTED JANUARY, 1994-DECEMBER, 1995

Formation of a Parsons Resident Association

Constitution and Bylaws

Establishment of Social Committee, Needs Committee, and
Committee

Hospitality

Collaborative Problem-Solving Meetings and Participants

Formal Committees/Associations/Meetings

Parsons Resident Association

West First Avenue Business Owners' Association

West First Avenue Improvement Committee

Town Hall Meeting

C.O.P.S. Shop Planning Committee

Participants

Parsons Residents

Other Area Residents

Area Business Owners

Area Service Providers

Spokane Police Department

Spokane Housing Authority

City of Spokane

Crime Prevention Activities

Vertical BlockWatch

Personal Safety Workshops

Property Engraving

Parsons Floor Representatives

Parsons Buddy System

Police Department Crime Prevention Meetings

"Reward/Wanted" Signs

"Video and Citizen Surveillance" Signs

Parsons Outreach Efforts

Activities Promoting Resident Interaction and Communication

Project ROAR Social Activities (potlucks, bingo, movie nights, block party, etc...)

The Parsons Resident News

Parsons Resident Resource Coordinator

Parsons Resident Association

Butterfly Program

EXHIBIT 6 [CONTINUED]

**SUMMARY OF PROJECT ROAR ACTIVITIES AS IMPLEMENTED
JANUARY, 1994-DECEMBER, 1995**

Specific Neighborhood Beautification Efforts

Outdoor planters

Target Hardening Efforts

Installation of Security Cameras

Brightening of Area Viaducts

Removal of Parking Meters Under Area Viaducts

Fencing of Area Alley-ways

Improvements to Area Lighting

Fencing Alcoves Under Viaducts to Reduce Drug Dealing

Problem-Solving Efforts

Resident "Crime Reporting Forms"

C.O.P.S. Shop

Neighborhood Observation Patrol

Spokane Police Department Crime Reduction Efforts

Neighborhood Resource Officer Program

Bicycle Patrol

Foot Patrol

Drug and Prostitution Stings

Gang Emphasis Patrol

Resident Mobilization Efforts

Flyers

C.O.P.S. Shop Volunteer Recruitment Committee

Letters to Neighborhood Businesses and Residences

Collaborative Efforts to Secure Funding to Enhance Project ROAR

Public Housing Drug Elimination Program Grants (1993, 1994, 1995)

Tenant Opportunities Program Grants (1994, 1995)

Special Purpose Grant (1994)

EXHIBIT 7

KEY PROJECT ROAR PARTICIPANTS

Project ROAR Participants	1/ 94	4/ 94	9/ 94	3/ 95	12/ 95
Small group residents	X				
Parsons Resident Council		X	X	X	X
SHA	X	X	X	X	X
SPD	X	X	X	X	X
Blockwatch Coordinator	X	X	X	X	X
EWU -- resident coordinator	X	X	X	X	
Resident coordinator (paid position)					X
WSU -- evaluators	X	X	X	X	X
Spokane Project		X	X	X	X
Business Owner's Association		X	X	X	X
West 1st Ave Improvement Committee		X	X	X	X
Church's Social Concerns Committee			X	X	X
Town Hall Meetings			X		
TOP COPS Planning Committee			X		
TOP COPS Neighborhood Center				X	X
TOP COPS Citizen Volunteers				X	X
DOC Community Corrections Officers					X

EXHIBIT 8

**NUMBER OF PROJECT ROAR PROBLEM SOLVING MEETINGS¹ BY MONTH
JANUARY, 1994-DECEMBER, 1995**

Month	1994	1995
January	2	7
February	1	7
March	6	3
April	4	3
May	5	4
June	8	2
July	7	2
August	3	2
September	7	2
October	5	2
November	3	2
December	2	1

EXHIBIT 9

NUMBER OF PROJECT ROAR SOCIAL ACTIVITIES² BY MONTH
JANUARY, 1994-DECEMBER, 1995

Month	1994	1995
-------	------	------

January	0	17
February	1	13
March	0	8
April	3	12
May	2	14
June	3	14
July	11	9
August	13	13
September	10	9
October	9	11
November	11	7
December	16	10

EXHIBIT 10

Parsons Residents' Perceptions of Building and Neighborhood

*Is the Parsons Building a place where people
mostly help one another or where people
mostly go their own way?*

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Apr 94</u>	<u>Dec 94</u>	<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>	<u>% Change</u>
Help one another	34	22	29	21	-13
Go own way	31	9	10	11	-20
Mixed	34	69	61	68	+34

*Collapsed to 3X2 comparing t1 and t4; chi-square = 6.8**
See Appendix E-10 for chi-square comparisons

*Is the neighborhood itself a place where people
mostly help one another or where people
mostly go their own way?*

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Apr 94</u>	<u>Dec 94</u>	<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>	<u>% Change</u>
Help one another	10	6	16	4	-6
Go own way	59	28	32	15	-44
Mixed	31	66	52	81	+50

*Collapsed to 3X2 comparing t1 and t4; chi-square = 15.8***

p ≤ .05; *p ≤ .01

See Appendix E-10 for chi-square comparisons

EXHIBIT 11

Satisfaction with Neighborhood

Overall, how satisfied are you with living in the neighborhood?

Parsons Residents

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Apr 94</u>	<u>Dec 94</u>	<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>	<u>% Change April94- May 95</u>	<u>% Change April94- Nov 95</u>
Very satisfied	0	0	10	4	+10	+4
Satisfied	14	34	39	59	+25	+45
Somewhat satisfied	24	28	42	30	+18	+6
Dissatisfied	34	31	3	0	-31	-34
Very dissatisfied	28	6	6	7	-22	-21

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t4; chi-square = 13.5***
See Appendix E-11 for chi-square comparisons

City Residents

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Spr 94</u>	<u>Spr 95</u>	<u>% Change Spr 94-Spr 95</u>
Very satisfied	31	30	-1
Satisfied	43	43	--
Somewhat satisfied	21	20	-1
Dissatisfied	4	5	+1
Very dissatisfied	2	2	--

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t2; chi-square = .26, ns
p≤ .05; *p≤ .01
See Appendix E-11 for chi-square comparisons

EXHIBIT 12

Perceptions of Neighborhood Scale

	Spring '94	November '95		
Sample	Mean	Mean	T value	Significance
Parsons Residents	7.3	5.7	4.7	.001
City Residents	4.8	4.8	-.13	.897

EXHIBIT 13

Perceptions of Physical Changes in Neighborhood

*Have you noticed any physical changes in the area
within the last six months?*

Parsons Residents

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Dec 94</u>	<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>
Yes (positive)	81	71	79
Yes (negative)	0	0	0
No	19	26	21
Don't know	0	3	0

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t3; chi-square = .07, ns
See Appendix E-13 for chi-square comparisons

City Residents

<u>Percent</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Spr 95</u>	<u>NA</u>
Yes (positive)		21	
Yes (negative)		0	
No		72	
Don't know		8	

EXHIBIT 14

Perceptions of Social Changes within Neighborhood

*Have you noticed any social changes in the area
within the last six months?*

Parsons Residents

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Dec 94</u>	<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>
Yes (positive)	44	58	36
Yes (negative)	0	3	7
No	50	32	43
Don't know	6	6	14

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t3; chi-square = .14, ns
See Appendix E-14 for chi-square comparisons

City Residents

<u>Percent</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Spr 95</u>	<u>NA</u>
Yes (positive)		10	
Yes (negative)		0	
No		71	
Don't know		19	

EXHIBIT 15

Parsons Residents' Perceptions of Change in Neighborhood Crime and Disorder

*Has drug-related crime increased, decreased,
or remained unchanged in the last six months
compared to the previous six months?*

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Dec 94</u>	<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>	<u>% Change</u>
Increased	16	13	4	-12
Decreased	38	55	71	+33
Remained unchanged	22	16	11	-11
Don't know	25	16	14	-11

*Collapsed to 3X2 comparing t1 and t3; chi-square = 7.3**
See Appendix E-15 for chi-square comparisons

*Has street walking prostitution increased, decreased,
or remained unchanged in the last six months
compared to the previous six months?*

<u>Percent</u>	<u>Dec 94</u>	<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>	<u>% Change</u>
Increased	3	13	0	-3
Decreased	44	55	71	+27
Remained unchanged	19	19	11	-8
Don't know	34	13	18	-16

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t3; chi-square = 4.7**

p ≤ .05; *p ≤ .01
See Appendix E-15 for chi-square comparisons

EXHIBIT 16
Parsons Residents Reporting Decrease in Crime and Disorder

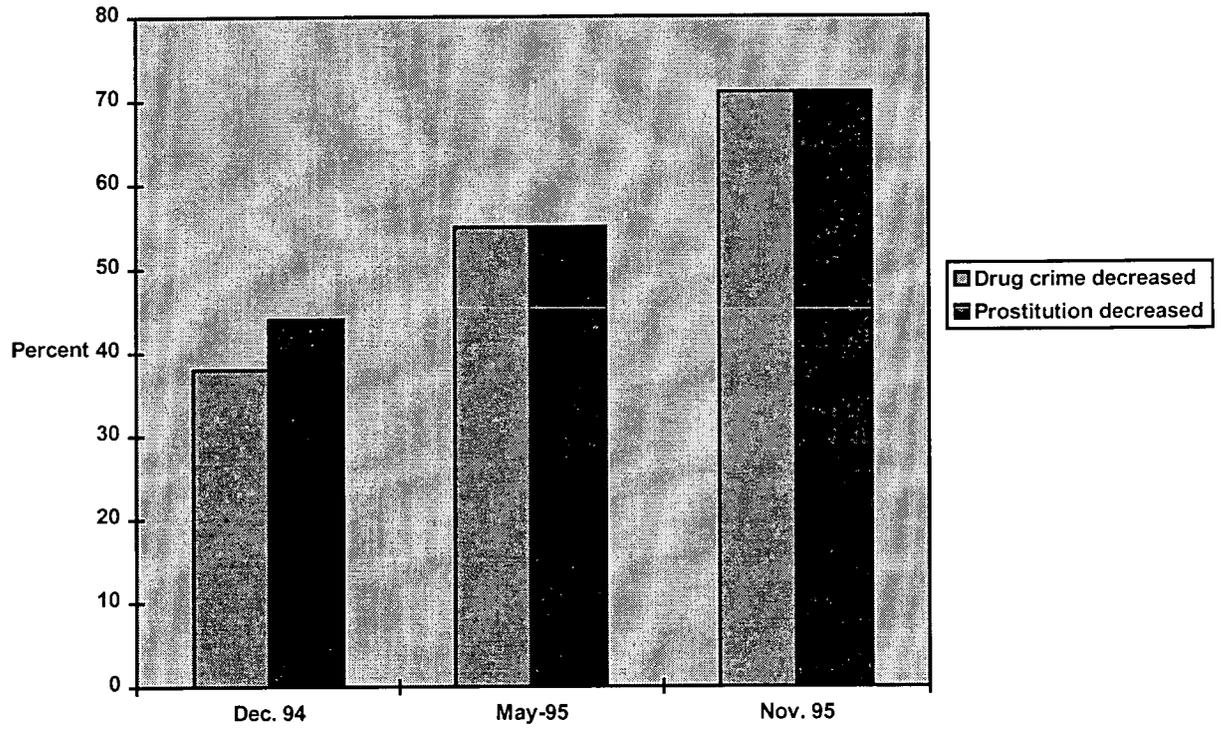


EXHIBIT 17

Feelings of Safety During the Day

How safe would you feel walking alone during the day in the neighborhood?

Parsons Residents

					%	%
	<u>Apr</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>Change</u>
<u>Percent*</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>Apr94-</u>	<u>Apr94-</u>
					<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>
Very safe	7	12	32	32	+25	+25
Safe	34	53	45	50	+11	+16
Neither safe nor unsafe	38	22	16	18	-22	-20
Unsafe	14	3	3	0	-11	-14
Very unsafe	7	9	3	0	-4	-7

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t4; chi-square = 10.0***
See Appendix E-17 for chi-square comparisons

City Residents

	<u>Spr 94</u>	<u>Spr.</u>	<u>% Change</u>
<u>Percent*</u>		<u>95</u>	<u>Spr 94-Spr 95</u>
Very safe	50	51	+1
Safe	38	37	-1
Neither safe nor unsafe	8	9	+1
Unsafe	3	3	--
Very unsafe	1	1	--

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t2; chi-square = .09, ns
See Appendix E-17 for chi-square comparisons

p ≤ .05; *p ≤ .01

EXHIBIT 18

Feelings of Safety at Night

*How safe would you feel walking alone
at night in the neighborhood?*

Parsons Residents

					%	%
	<u>Apr</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>Change</u>
<u>Percent*</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>Apr94-</u>	<u>Apr94-</u>
					<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>
Very safe	0	3	0	7	--	+7
Safe	7	16	13	7	+6	--
Neither safe nor unsafe	10	3	36	26	+26	+16
Unsafe	31	28	26	33	-5	+2
Very unsafe	52	50	26	26	-26	-26

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t4; chi-square = 3.8**
See Appendix E-18 for chi-square comparisons

City Residents

			%
	<u>Spr</u>	<u>Spr</u>	<u>Change</u>
<u>Percent*</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>Spr 94-Spr 95</u>
Very safe	14	14	--
Safe	32	35	+3
Neither safe nor unsafe	30	23	-7
Unsafe	18	20	+2
Very unsafe	6	8	+2

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t2; chi-square = 5.0**
See Appendix E-18 for chi-square comparisons

p ≤ .05; *p ≤ .01

EXHIBIT 19

Perceptions of Fear Scale

	Spring '94	November '95		
Sample	Mean	Mean	T value	Significance
Parsons Residents	7.1	5.5	3.6	.001
City Residents	4.4	4.4	-.40	.688

EXHIBIT 20

Parsons Residents' Feelings of Safety within the Building

How safe do you feel in the Parsons Building?

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Apr 94</u>	<u>Dec 94</u>	<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>	<u>% Change</u>
Very safe	34	66	64	79	+45
Safe	38	28	29	21	-17
Neither safe nor unsafe	21	3	6	0	-21
Unsafe	7	3	0	0	-7
Very unsafe	0	0	0	0	--

*Chi-square not calculated due to empty cells.

EXHIBIT 21

Parsons Residents' Opinion of Police Department

What is your opinion of the Spokane Police Department?

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>April</u> <u>94</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>94</u>	<u>May</u> <u>95</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>95</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Change</u>
Very favorable	10	22	26	25	+15
Favorable	48	44	55	64	+16
Unfavorable	31	6	3	4	-27
Very unfavorable	10	9	6	0	-10
Don't know	0	19	10	7	+7

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t4; chi-square = 6.9***
See Appendix E-21 for chi-square comparisons

Has your opinion of the SPD changed as a result

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>April</u> <u>94</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>94</u>	<u>May</u> <u>95</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>95</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Change</u>
Yes (for better)	NA	28	48	54	+26
Yes\ (for worse)	NA	0	0	4	+4
No	NA	66	45	43	-23
Don't know	NA	6	6	0	-6

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t4; chi-square = 4.0**
See Appendix E-21 for chi-square comparisons

p ≤ .05; *p ≤ .01

EXHIBIT 22

Assessment of Level of Police Service

What is your opinion of the level of service provided by SPD?

Parsons Residents

	<u>Apr</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Percent*</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>Change</u>
					<u>Apr 94-</u>	<u>Apr 94-</u>
					<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>
Not adequate	45	22	13	7	-32	-38
About right	41	50	71	71	+30	+30
Too high	0	0	0	0	--	--
Don't know	14	28	16	21	+2	+7

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t4; chi-square = 5.2**
See Appendix E-22 for chi-square comparisons

	<u>Sum</u>	<u>Spr</u>	<u>Spr</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>City Residents</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>95</u>		<u>Change</u>
<u>Percent*</u>					<u>Spr 94-Spr 95</u>
Not adequate	35	36	37		+1
About right	37	36	39		+3
Too high	1	1	0		-1
Don't know	28	27	24		-3

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t2 and t3; chi-square = 0.6, ns
See Appendix E-22 for chi-square comparisons

p ≤ .05; *p ≤ .01

EXHIBIT 23

Contact with Police and Recognition of Officers

How frequently do you come into contact with the services provided by the SPD?

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Apr 94</u>	<u>Dec 94</u>	<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>	<u>% Change</u>
Seldom	62	75	68	65	+6
Occasionally	34	16	16	4	-30
Quite often	3	9	19	29	+26

*Collapsed to 3X2 comparing t1 and t4; chi-square = 12.8***
See Appendix E-23 for chi-square comparisons

Do you recognize or know any of the police officers working in the neighborhood?

Parsons Residents

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Apr 94</u>	<u>Dec 94</u>	<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>	<u>% Change Apr 94-May 95</u>	<u>% Change Apr 94-Nov 95</u>
Yes	66	53	55	46	-11	-20
No	34	47	45	54	+11	+20

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t4; chi-square = 2.1, ns
See Appendix E-23 for chi-square comparisons

City Residents

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Spr 94</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Spr 95</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>% Change Spr 94-Spr 95</u>
Yes	8		5		-3
No	92		95		+3

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t2; chi-square = 14.7***
See Appendix E-23 for chi-square comparisons
p ≤ .05; *p ≤ .01

EXHIBIT 24

Parsons Residents' Perception of Increased Police Presence

*Have you noticed any changes in police presence
in the West First area in the last six months?*

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Dec 94</u>	<u>May 95</u>	<u>Nov 95</u>	<u>% Change</u>
Yes (greater presence)	59	71	96	+37
Yes (less presence)	12	3	0	-12
No	25	23	4	-21
Don't know	3	3	0	-3

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t3; chi-square = 11.5***
See Appendix E-24 for chi-square comparisons

p ≤ .05; *p ≤ .01

EXHIBIT 25

Assessment of Number of Officers in Neighborhood

*Would you say that there are too many, too few,
or about the right number of police officers
in the neighborhood?*

Parsons Residents

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>94</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>94</u>	<u>May</u> <u>95</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>95</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Change</u> <u>Apr 94-</u> <u>May 95</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Change</u> <u>Apr 94-</u> <u>Nov 95</u>
Too many	0	3	6	0	+6	--
About right	41	41	45	50	+4	+9
Too few	48	38	26	39	-22	-9
Don't know	10	19	23	11	+13	+1

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t4; chi-square = .49, ns
See Appendix E-25 for chi-square comparisons

City Residents

<u>Percent*</u>	<u>Spr</u> <u>94</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>Spr</u> <u>95</u>	<u>NA</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Change</u> <u>Spr 94 - Spr 95</u>
Too many	1		1		--
About right	29		32		+3
Too few	57		55		-2
Don't know	13		12		-1

*Collapsed to 2X2 comparing t1 and t2; chi-square = 2.5, ns
See Appendix E-25 for chi-square comparisons

EXHIBIT 26

Perceptions of Policing Levels Scale

	Spring '94	November '95		
Sample	Mean	Mean	T value	Significance
Parsons Residents	7.9	6.9	2.3	.022
City Residents	7.8	7.8	-.06	.949

EXHIBIT 27

Felony Drug Arrest: Pre-ROAR and Post ROAR

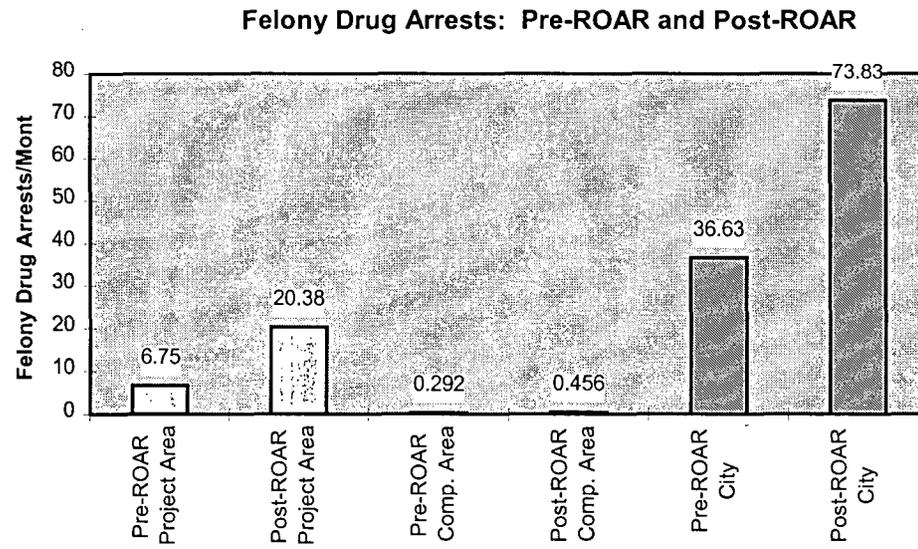


EXHIBIT 28

Felony Drug Arrests: 1992-1995

Felony Drug Arrests: 1992-1995

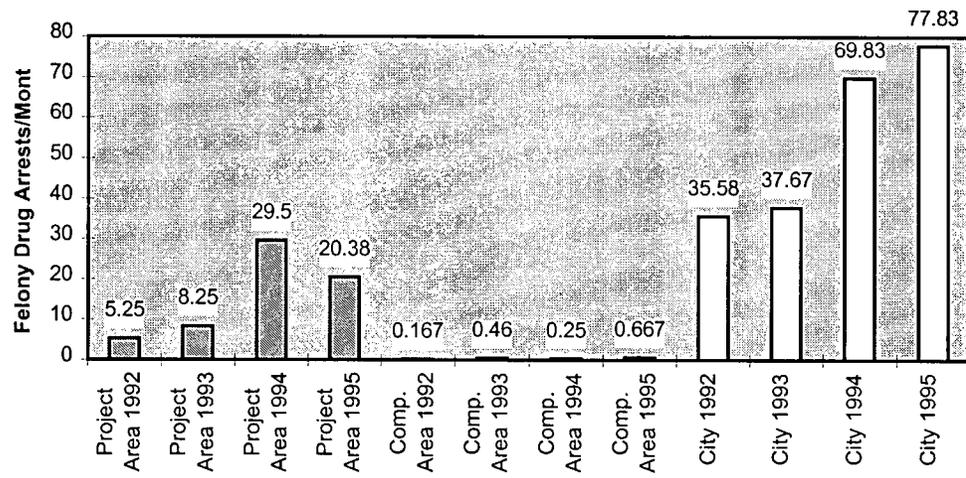


EXHIBIT 29

Robberies and Burglaries Per Month: Pre-ROAR and Post-ROAR

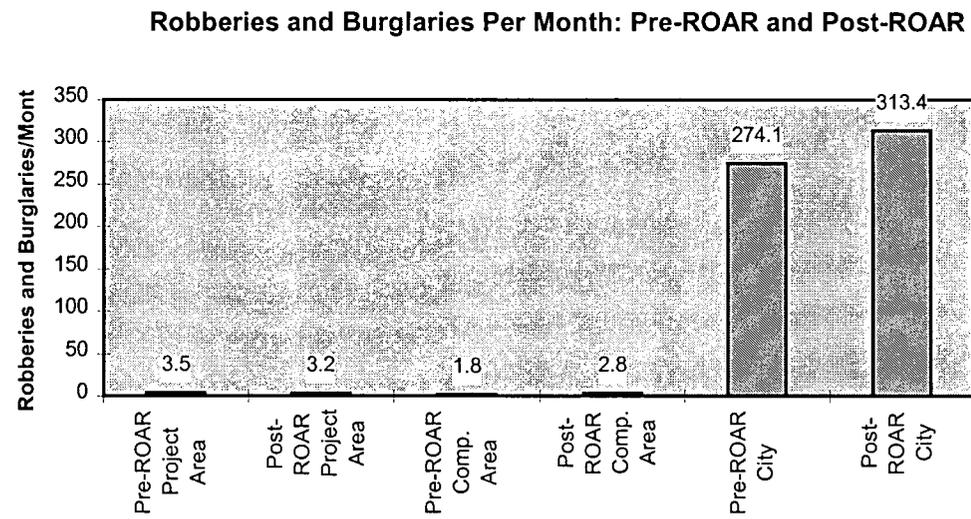


EXHIBIT 30

Monthly Robberies and Burglaries: 1992-1995

Monthly Robberies and Burglaries: 1992 - 1995

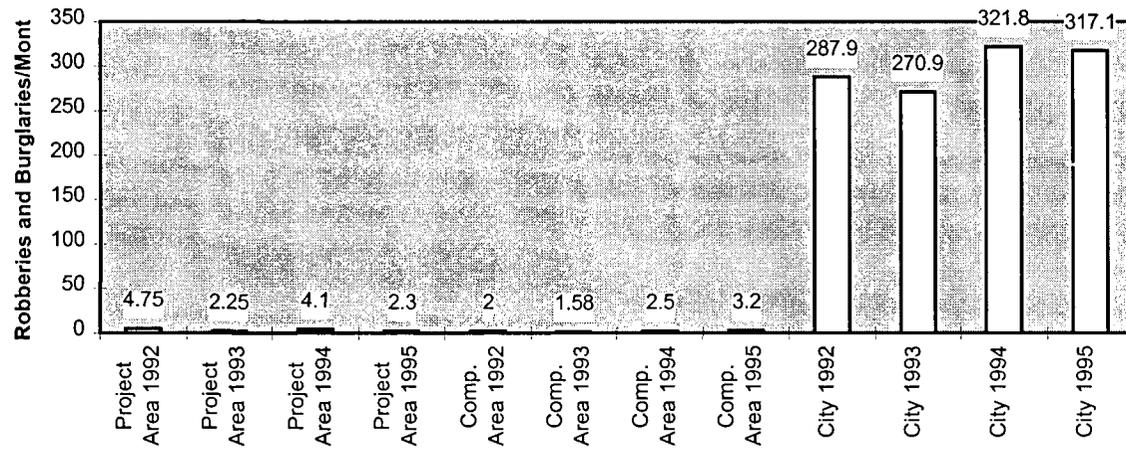


EXHIBIT 31

Calls for Police Service

Area	Total CFS 1994	Total CFS 1995	Percent Change
ROAR	2,399	2,156	-10.1
Comparison	1,026	1,135	+10.6
Citywide*	200,252	211,680	+5.7
*Excludes ROAR and Comparison areas.			

EXHIBIT 32

Physical Inventory -- Signs of Disorder

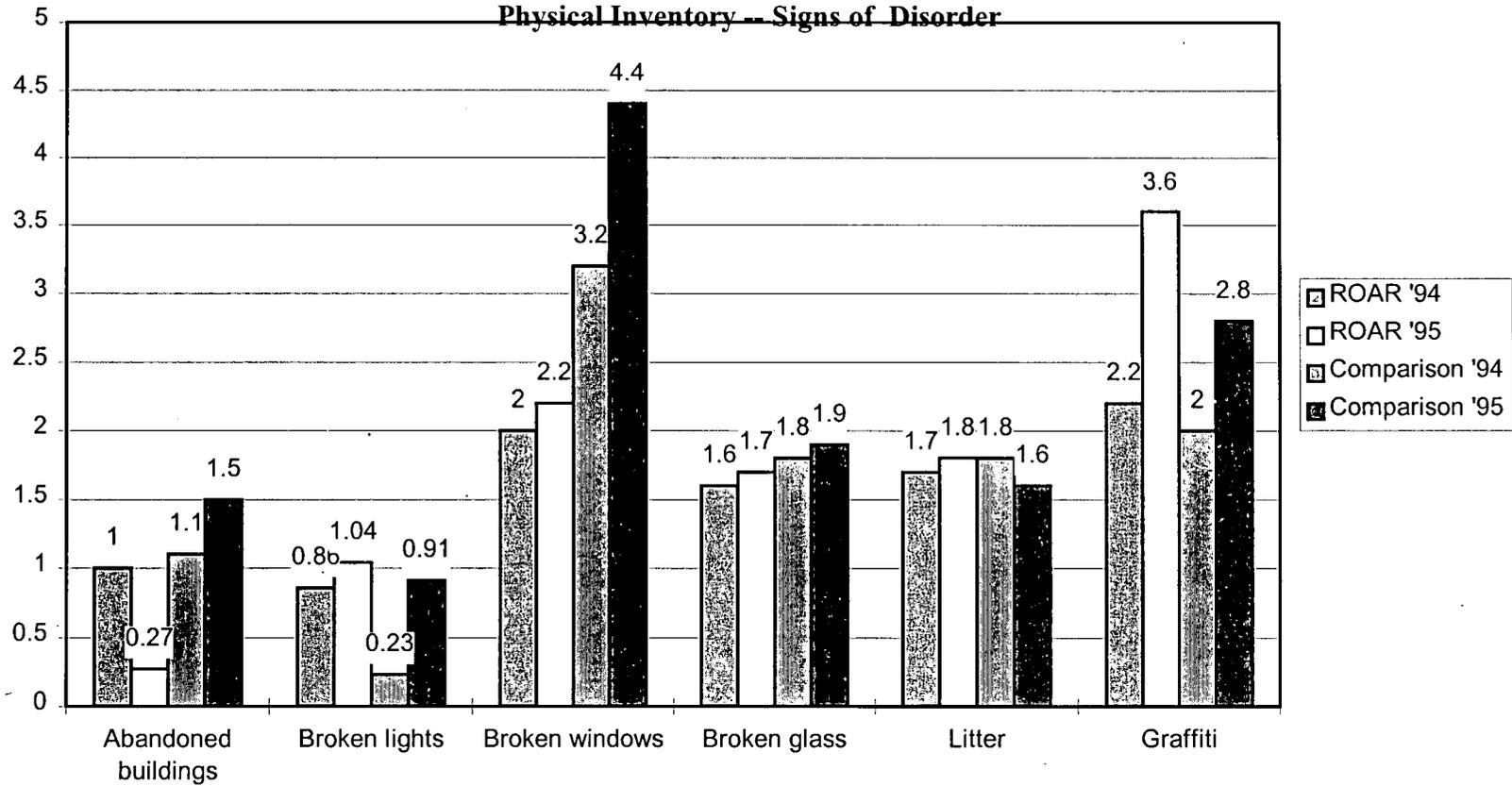
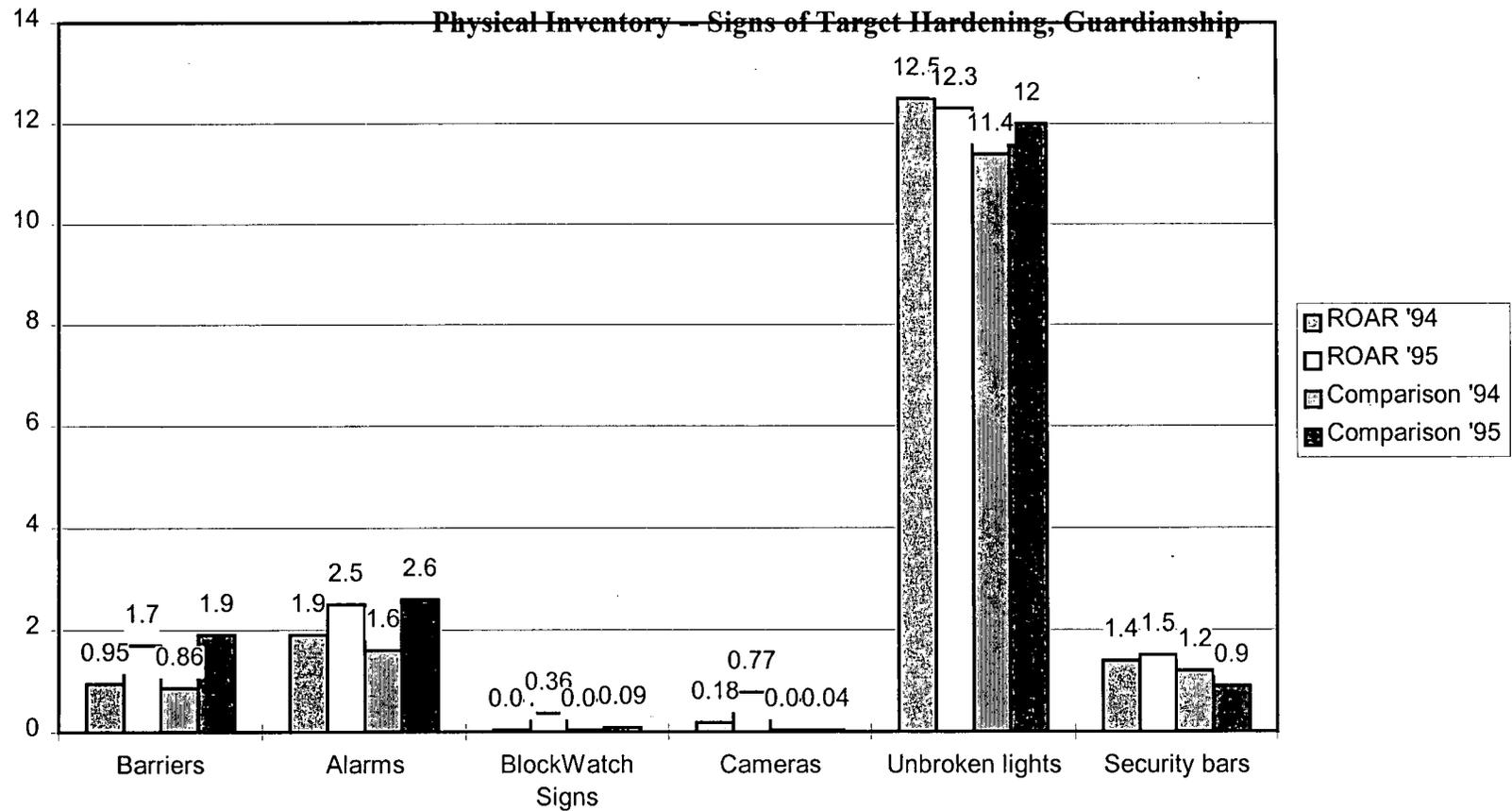


EXHIBIT 33



Appendix A

Sample: Public Housing Residents' Interview Schedule

(3a) Have you spoken to anyone about these concerns?

___ Yes

___ No

(3b) If yes: To whom have you spoken about these concerns, and have they been addressed?

(3c) If no: May I ask why you haven't talked to anyone about your concerns?

(4) Have you heard about Project ROAR?

___ Yes

___ No

(5) Are you involved with Project ROAR?

___ Yes

___ No

(6) Are you aware of the Parsons Resident Association?

Yes

No

(6a) If yes to either 5 or 6: In what way are you involved with ROAR/Parsons Resident Association?

Resident Association Officer

Resident Association Committee Member

Goes to Resident Association Meetings

Occasional Volunteer (but not at TOP COPS)

Works on the Newsletter

TOP COPS Volunteer

Other

(6b) If no to either 5 or 6: May I ask you why you choose not to be involved with Project ROAR/Parsons Resident Association?

Hard to find time

Medical Reasons

Other

(7) Did you happen to take part in any of the preparations for the opening of TOP COPS, the Neighborhood Police Substation?

Yes

No

(8) How frequently would you say that you generally participate in social activities offered at the Parsons (such as potlucks, bingo nights, movie nights, etc...).

___ Never

___ Seldom

___ Occasionally

___ Quite often

Next, I would like to ask some more specific questions about living here.

(9) Would you describe the Parsons Building as a place where people mostly help one another or where people mostly go their own way?

___ People help one another

___ People go their own way

___ Mixed: some help, some go their own way

___ Don't know

(10) What about the neighborhood itself? Would you describe it as a place where people mostly help one another or where people mostly go their own way?

___ People help one another

___ People go their own way

___ Mixed: some help, some go their own way

___ Don't know

(11) How many of your friends and relatives reside in the neighborhood (within a 15 minute walk of your home)?

___ none

___ some

___ most

___ all

(12) Have you noticed any physical changes in the area within the last six months (that is, changes in the amount of lighting, improvements to the outside of buildings, worsening conditions of buildings, improved or worsened security measures, etc...)?

___ Yes

___ No

___ Don't know

(12a) If yes: What specific changes have you noticed?

(13) Have you noticed any social changes in the area within the last six months (that is, changes in the types of people in the area, etc...)?

___ Yes

___ No

___ Don't know

(13a) If yes: What specific changes have you noticed?

(14) In your opinion, has drug related crime increased, decreased, or remained unchanged in the last six months compared to the previous six months?

___ Increased

___ Decreased

___ Remained the same

___ Don't know

(15) In your opinion, has street walking prostitution increased, decreased, or remained unchanged in the last six months compared to the previous six months?

___ Increased

___ Decreased

___ Remained the same

___ Don't know

(16) Overall, how satisfied are you with living in the Parsons Building?

___ Very satisfied

___ Satisfied

___ Somewhat satisfied

___ Dissatisfied

___ Very dissatisfied

(17) Overall, how satisfied are you with living in the neighborhood?

___ Very satisfied

___ Satisfied

___ Somewhat satisfied

___ Dissatisfied

___ Very dissatisfied

(18) Could you suggest any programs or activities that might improve conditions for Parsons' residents?

I also would like to ask you a few questions about crime and the police.

(19) What is your opinion of the Spokane Police Department?

___ Very favorable

___ Favorable

___ Unfavorable

___ Very unfavorable

___ Don't know

(19a) Comments:

(20) Has your opinion of the Spokane Police Department changed as a result of their involvement with Project ROAR?

___ Yes ___ Changed for the better ___ Change for the worse

___ No

(21) How frequently do you come into contact with the services provided by the Spokane Police Department?

___ Seldom

___ Occasionally

___ Quite often

(22) Have you noticed any changes in police presence in the West First area in the last six months?

Yes Greater presence Less presence

No

(23) Thinking about the number of police you see in this neighborhood, would you say that there are too many, too few, or about the right number?

Too many

About the right number

Too few

Don't know

(24) What is your opinion of the quality of service provided by the Spokane Police Department? Would you say there is:

Not an adequate level of service

About the right level of service

Too high a level of service

Don't know

(25) Do you either recognize or know any of the police officers working in this neighborhood?

___ Yes

___ No

Next, I would like to ask some questions about walking outside in the neighborhood.

(26) How often during a typical week do you go outside of the Parsons Building?

___ Never Is the crime problem the reason that you do not leave the building?
 ___ Yes ___ No

___ Once or twice a week

___ Three to six times a week

___ Everyday

(27) How safe would you feel walking alone during the day in the neighborhood?

___ Very safe

___ Safe

___ Neither safe nor unsafe

___ Unsafe

___ Very unsafe

(28) How safe would you feel walking alone at night in the neighborhood?

___ Very safe

___ Safe

___ Neither safe nor unsafe

___ Unsafe

___ Very unsafe

(29) How safe would you feel in the Parsons Building?

___ Very safe

___ Safe

___ Neither safe nor unsafe

___ Unsafe

___ Very unsafe

(30) Within the last six months, would you feel safer, just as safe, or less safe walking alone during the day in this neighborhood as compared to the previous six months?

___ Safer

___ Just as safe

___ Less safe

___ Don't know

(34) Is there anything else you would like to tell me about living here, the crime problem, or any related issues?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME. YOUR INPUT HAS BEEN VERY VALUABLE.

Interviewer:

Check appropriate boxes for characteristics of the interviewee:

Female

Approximate age

Male

I.D. #

Appendix B

**Spokane Police Department
Crime and Criminal Justice Survey, 1995**

SPOKANE POLICE DEPARTMENT CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE SURVEY

1995

You are being asked to take part in this community-wide survey sponsored by the Spokane Police Department. Your participation is important.

The survey was requested by Spokane P.D. as another step in its commitment to community policing. This questionnaire gives the citizens of Spokane an opportunity to identify neighborhood and city-wide problems and give their assessment of the level and quality of police services. In addition, it allows the Spokane P.D. to gauge the extent to which citizens are aware of police department programs.

This is a request for completely **voluntary participation**, and your responses will remain totally anonymous--neither your name nor any other identifying information will be asked or recorded. Please note that the Division of Governmental Studies and Services at Washington State University - Pullman and Washington State University at Spokane is conducting this survey for the Spokane P.D. Police department officials only will be presented with average responses and percentages. You have been provided a pre-addressed, postage-paid envelope for your convenience.

Thank you in advance for your participation in this important community effort.

Terrence Mangan
Chief of Police

I.D. # _____ NOTE: The ID number is used only to coordinate mailings. When you return the survey, your number will be checked off our mailing list.

SECTION TWO: Questions in this section ask about specific problems and programs that may exist in **your neighborhood**. Using the following scale, please write the number which most accurately describes the extent of these problems.

(1) NO PROBLEM (2) A PROBLEM (3) SERIOUS PROBLEM (4) UNCERTAIN

- People's homes being broken into and things being stolen
- People being robbed or having their purses/wallets taken
- People being beaten up
- Drunk drivers on the road
- People drinking in public
- Groups of teenagers or others hanging out and harassing people
- Youth gangs are present
- People using illegal drugs
- Child abuse/neglect is occurring
- Vandalism-- that is, kids or others breaking windows, writing things on walls, or damaging property
- Inadequate police services
- Inadequate city government services
- Physical decay-- such as abandoned cars, run down buildings, houses in disrepair, etc.
- Victimization of the elderly
- Lack of community interest in crime prevention activities
- Police-community relations are poor
- Garbage/litter on streets and sidewalks
- Traffic problems (congestion, speeding, etc.)
- Noise-- such as barking dogs, loud parties and juvenile drinking
- Other (please specify) _____

Have you heard about Project R.O.A.R., the downtown public housing anti-crime program?

Yes No

SECTION THREE: Listed below are 20 items designed to explore the **relationship between the general public and the Spokane Police Department**. Please indicate YOUR opinion by writing a number in the blank beside each statement, based on the following scale:

(1) STRONGLY AGREE (2) AGREE (3) UNDECIDED (4) DISAGREE (5) STRONGLY DISAGREE

- _____ Most citizens are really **interested** in the problems faced by Spokane police officers.
- _____ There are few dependable **personal ties** between police officers and the public.
- _____ **Friendship** between the citizens and the Spokane P.D. is easy to develop.
- _____ Police officers seem content **staying in their patrol cars** rather than interacting with the citizens.
- _____ The citizens and Spokane police officers **work together** in solving problems.
- _____ Spokane police officers are usually **fair**.
- _____ Spokane police officers are usually **courteous**.
- _____ Spokane police officers are usually **honest**.
- _____ Spokane police officers are usually **intimidating**.
- _____ In general, Spokane police officers treat all citizens **equally**.
- _____ Spokane police officers **show concern** when asked questions.
- _____ Only the police department can **control crime** in Spokane.
- _____ Spokane police officers are **more strict** in some neighborhoods than in others.
- _____ A good police officer is one who maintains the peace by **using creativity** to solve problems relating to public safety.
- _____ A good police officer is one who maintains the peace by making **frequent arrests**.
- _____ I believe police must **patrol for relatively minor law violations** if there is to be general compliance with laws in our community.

SECTION FOUR: In this section we would like to learn about your neighborhood. Please indicate your response to each item with a check mark.

1. Were you raised in the same neighborhood (within a 15 minute walk) as you now live?
 YES NO
2. Would you describe your neighborhood as a place where people mostly help one another or where people mostly go their own way?
 People help one another People go their own way
3. Do you feel your neighborhood is more of a "real home" or more like "just a place to live"?
 Real home Just a place to live
4. How many of your neighbors do you know by name?
 None Some Most All
5. How often do you talk with your neighbors?
 never 1-3 times per month daily
 less than once a month 1-3 times per week have not lived here long enough to get to know my neighbors
6. How **safe would you feel** walking alone during the day in your neighborhood?
 Very safe Safe Neither Safe nor unsafe Unsafe Very Unsafe
7. How **safe would you feel** being outside and alone in your neighborhood at night?
 Very safe Safe Neither Safe nor unsafe Unsafe Very Unsafe
8. How likely is it for local groups or organizations to get government officials to respond to a neighborhood problem?
 Very likely Somewhat likely Somewhat unlikely Very unlikely
9. How likely are adults in this neighborhood to take responsibility for the behavior of youths other than their own children? Would they do so:
 Often Sometimes Rarely Never
10. Overall, how satisfied are you with your neighborhood?
 Very satisfied Satisfied Somewhat satisfied
 Dissatisfied Very dissatisfied

4. Please check the highest level of schooling you have completed:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Not a High School Graduate | <input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor Degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> High School Graduate | <input type="checkbox"/> Some Graduate Coursework
(degree not completed) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Some College
(degree not completed) | <input type="checkbox"/> Graduate degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Associate Degree | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) _____ |

5. What is your present **occupation**? (If retired, please put an "X" in this blank, and mark your former occupation.)

- | <u>SELF-EMPLOYED</u> | <u>EMPLOYED</u> | <u>OTHER</u> |
|---|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Farmer, fisher, etc. | <input type="checkbox"/> Manual worker
(blue collar, etc.) | <input type="checkbox"/> Homemaker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Professional (lawyer,
accountant, doctor, etc.) | <input type="checkbox"/> White collar
(office worker, staff, etc.) | <input type="checkbox"/> Student |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Business owner | <input type="checkbox"/> Executive (management,
director, etc.) | <input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed |
| | | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: List
_____ |

6. Please record the number of school-age children currently living in your household. ____

7. Please indicate your approximate family income before taxes in 1991.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> less than \$4,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000-\$24,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$4,000-\$6,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,000-\$29,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$7,000-\$9,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000-\$49,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000-\$14,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000 and over |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,000-\$19,999 | |

8. Are you a homeowner or a renter?

- HOMEOWNER RENTER

9. Type of residence (Check one)

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Apartment | <input type="checkbox"/> Mobile Home |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Single Family Home | <input type="checkbox"/> Condominium |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Duplex | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |

10. How long have you lived in Spokane? ____ YEARS

11. How long have you lived in your current neighborhood? ____ YEARS

12. Where would you place yourself on the following scale regarding political outlook?
(Check the appropriate space)

VERY LIBERAL___ LIBERAL___ MIDDLE OF THE ROAD___ CONSERVATIVE___ VERY CONSERVATIVE___

13. Compared to the **average citizen**, how well informed would you say you are on crime and criminal justice issues?

LESS INFORMED___ EQUALLY WELL INFORMED___ BETTER INFORMED___

14. In general, police services in Spokane have been:

GETTING WORSE THE PAST COUPLE OF YEARS --- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 --- GETTING BETTER THE PAST COUPLE OF YEARS
|
STAYING THE SAME

15. In general, crime in Spokane has been:

GETTING WORSE THE PAST COUPLE OF YEARS --- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 --- GETTING BETTER THE PAST COUPLE OF YEARS
|
STAYING THE SAME

COMMENTS: We would appreciate any observations or suggestions you would like to record. Your comments will receive our careful attention.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN THIS IMPORTANT UNDERTAKING

Appendix C

**Social and Physical Environment Inventory,
and Decision Rules**

PROJECT "R.O.A.R." ENVIRONMENTAL INVENTORY

[Adapted in part from Douglas D. Perkins (1994)]

Date: _____ Time started _____ Time finished _____
 Street name _____ Cross streets _____
 Rater name _____ Est. Temperature _____

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT [Part A]: List each person who is in your view during the first minute of your observation. Estimate age and note their behavior. Bracket on right those groups who are engaged in some activity together. Use reverse side for additional descriptions of behavior or comments.

<u>SEX</u>		<u>AGE</u>						<u>BEHAVIOR</u>					
M	F	<10	14	19	29	59	60+	P=pedestrian W=working, H=hanging-out I=illegal activity, O=other					
0	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	P	W	H	I	O	_____
0	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	P	W	H	I	O	_____
0	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	P	W	H	I	O	_____
0	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	P	W	H	I	O	_____
0	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	P	W	H	I	O	_____
0	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	P	W	H	I	O	_____
0	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	P	W	H	I	O	_____
0	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	P	W	H	I	O	_____
0	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	P	W	H	I	O	_____
0	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	P	W	H	I	O	_____

If > 9, how many total? _____ What are the others doing? _____

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT [Part B]: List the total number of occurrences of the following activities at any time during the first hour of your observation period. NOTE: The specific occurrence of an activity already recorded in Part A should not be recorded again in Part B.

Activity	Number of Occurrences	
	Tally	Total
Loitering Youths.....	_____	_____
Young Adults Hanging Out.....	_____	_____
Panhandlers.....	_____	_____
Open Prostitution.....	_____	_____
Open Drug Sales.....	_____	_____
Public Drunkenness.....	_____	_____

BLOCK PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT:

- | | No | Yes |
|---|----|-----|
| 1. Does the block have sidewalks?..... | 0 | 1 |
| 2. Does the block have curbs and gutters? | 0 | 1 |

3. Property Types:	Tally	Total
Residential Property.....	_____	_____
Commercial Property.....	_____	_____
Store.....	_____	_____
Restaurant.....	_____	_____
Bar/Tavern.....	_____	_____
Office.....	_____	_____
Parking Garage.....	_____	_____
Parking Lot.....	_____	_____
Empty lot.....	_____	_____
Unboarded Abandoned Bldgs.....	_____	_____
Boarded Abandoned Bldgs.....	_____	_____
UNKNOWN.....	_____	_____
Other _____	_____	_____

4. Residential/Commercial _____

5. How would you describe the amount of **litter** on the entire block?

- a. **virtually no litter** (only traces of litter)
- b. **light** (approximately half of a large paper sack)
- c. **moderate** (approximately one large paper sack)
- d. **heavy** (more than one large paper sack)

6. How would you describe the amount of **broken glass** on the entire block?

- a. **virtually no broken glass** (only traces of broken glass)
- b. **light** (approximately one beer bottle)
- c. **moderate** (two to six beer bottles)
- d. **heavy** (more than six beer bottles)

7. How many **potholes** are visible on the block?

- a. none
- b. 1-3
- c. 4-6
- d. 7-9
- e. 10+

BLOCK PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT (Continued)

For each of the following, please indicate whether the item(s) is/are visible on the block and the frequency of occurrence.

8. Guardianship Items

	Y	N	Tally	Total
Barrier (wall, fence, hedge).....	—	—	—	—
Personalizations on property.....	—	—	—	—
Windows or doors w/ security bars/gates?.....	—	—	—	—
Surveillance cameras.....	—	—	—	—
Signs of a dog.....	—	—	—	—
Signs of security/alarms.....	—	—	—	—
Places to sit outside.....	—	—	—	—
Block, neighborhood or crime watch signs.....	—	—	—	—
Trees, shrubs or plantings in pub. domain....	—	—	—	—
Individual properties w/ trees, shrubs,..... plantings, etc...	—	—	—	—

9. Lighting Items

	Y	N	Tally	Total
<u>Unbroken</u> public street lights.....	—	—	—	—
Broken public street lights.....	—	—	—	—
<u>Unbroken</u> private outdoor lights.....			—	—
Broken private outdoor lights.....	—	—	—	—

10. Disorder Items

	Y	N	Tally	Total
Abandoned cars on street.....	—	—	—	—
Damage on public property.....	—	—	—	—
Graffiti on public property (include signs)..	—	—	—	—
Graffiti on private property.....	—	—	—	—
Broken windows/fixtures.....	—	—	—	—
"For sale" signs.....	—	—	—	—

**Decision Rules to Accompany Project ROAR
Block Physical Environment Inventory**

1. Indicate whether the block has a sidewalk.
2. Indicate whether gutters are present on the block.
3. Walk through the block, noting in the "tally" section the property type for each land use. For property types not listed, use the "other" category. If a property is both residential and commercial, record each of its uses in all relevant categories. Proceed to item # 4.
4. Keep track of the number of properties for which you have recorded in item # 3 both a residential and a commercial use.
5. Record the approximate amount of litter found on the entire block. Indicate whether most of the observed litter on the block is concentrated in one specific area.
 - Record "Virtually no litter" if the block appears to be recently cleaned (with only traces of litter scattered throughout the block).
 - Record "Light" if the amount of litter over the entire block would approximately half-way fill a large paper sack (grocery store type).
 - Record "Moderate" if the amount of litter over the entire block would approximately fill a large paper sack (grocery store type).
 - Record "Heavy" if the amount of litter over the entire block would fill more than one large paper sack (grocery store type).
6. Record the approximate amount of broken glass found on the entire block. Indicate whether most of the observed broken glass on the block is concentrated in one specific area.
 - Record "Virtually no broken glass" if the block appears to be recently cleaned (with only traces of broken glass scattered throughout the block).
 - Record "Light" if the amount of broken glass approximates one 12 ounce beer bottle.
 - Record "Moderate" if the amount of broken glass approximates 2 to 6 12 ounce beer bottles.
 - Record "Heavy" if the amount of broken glass approximates more than six 12 ounce beer bottles.

7. Indicate the approximate number of potholes larger than your foot over the entire block. Do not count cracks in the street.

8. **GUARDIANSHIP ITEMS:**

Barrier: Include a wall, fence, or hedge of any sort or height that surrounds part of or the entire property.

Personalizations on property: Include family names, initials, emblems, ornaments, fancy address signs (but not regular address numbers). Look for these on doors, mail boxes, lampposts, welcome mats, windows, and gates.

Windows or doors w/ security bars/gates: Include any type of window barrier. Check front and side windows, doors, and especially basement windows. Include extra barriers on fences, including fences topped with barbed wire.

Surveillance cameras: Indicate the total number of surveillance cameras found on the entire block.

Signs of a dog: Include any evidence of a dog living on any property (i.e., dog house, "beware of dog" sign or droppings on the property). Do not count droppings along the street or sidewalk.

Signs of security/alarms: Include various "security" signs (e.g., alarm or patrol stickers) found on windows or doors of businesses or residences. **Record the total number of properties for which a sign of security is present (i.e., if a business has two security stickers on the front of the property, strike the "tally" section once).**

Places to sit outside: Include "stoops" if the steps or low walls are a comfortable height for sitting and extend beyond a building.

Block, neighborhood or crime watch signs: Indicate the total number of properties displaying any one of the above signs.

Trees, shrubs or plantings in public domain: Count the total number of trees, shrubs and other plantings in public domain (i.e., the area extending from the sidewalk to the street, including the strip between the sidewalk and the street).

Individual properties with trees, shrubs or plantings: Count the total number of individual properties with trees, shrubs or plantings which are **not** in the public domain (i.e., the area to the right of the sidewalk when facing the "right of way").

9. LIGHTING ITEMS

Please indicate multiple occurrences of any item which is found in one specific place by "circling" the strike marks in the tally section.

Unbroken public street lights: Include both high traffic lights and low pedestrian lamps. Count as "one" any light pole which contains multiple light sources.

Broken public street lights: Include both high traffic lights and low pedestrian lamps. Count as "one" any light pole which contains multiple light sources.

Unbroken private outdoor lights: Include exterior lighting on private property, and public and private buildings. For parking lots and other "open" properties, count the number of lights located on the outer perimeter of the property only. Count as "one" any light pole which contains multiple light sources.

Broken private outdoor lights: Include exterior lighting on private property, and public and private buildings. For parking lots and other "open" properties, count the number of lights located on the outer perimeter of the property only. Count as "one" any light pole which contains multiple light sources.

10. DISORDER ITEMS

Please indicate multiple occurrences of any item which is found in one specific place by "circling" the strike marks in the tally section.

Abandoned cars on street: Count a car as abandoned if it does not appear to be drivable (i.e., has shattered windows, dismantled parts, has been in a wreck, or has one or more flat or missing tires.

Damage on public property: Damage on public property includes any damage to street signs, street trees, fire hydrants, etc... Count damage just once per vandalized object. Do **not** count graffiti or broken lights in this section.

Graffiti on public property: Count graffiti only if it is clearly a name, design, or mark at least as big as your hand. Include graffiti on signs, lights, trees, etc... Count graffiti just once per vandalized object (i.e., do not count multiple marks on a sign or the sign separately from its post). For very large objects (such as walls) count multiple pieces of graffiti if the graffiti is spaced as such that you can put your hand between the pieces without touching them.

Graffiti on private property: Count graffiti on buildings only if it is clearly a name, design, or mark at least as big as your hand. Count graffiti just once per vandalized object (i.e., do not count multiple marks on a sign). For very large objects (such as walls) count multiple pieces of graffiti if the graffiti is spaced as such that you can put your hand between the pieces without touching them.

Broken windows/fixtures: Include as broken, windows that are visibly cracked; these sometimes have tape along the cracks. Broken fixtures to look for include exterior "personalizations." Do not include broken lights in this section.

"For sale" signs: "For sale" or "Sold" signs may be on the lawn or window of either private or commercial property. Include "For lease," "For rent," etc... signs as well.

Appendix D

**Focus Group Interview Schedule
February, 1995**

Focus Group Interview Schedule
Project R.O.A.R.
Thursday, February 16, 1995

- (1) In your estimation, what are the overall goals of Project R.O.A.R.?
- (2) Have any of these goals changed since Project R.O.A.R. has been implemented?
- (3) What has been done thus far to achieve these goals?
- (4) What barriers have you come across in achieving these goals?
- (5) What would it take at this point to enhance R.O.A.R.'s effectiveness?
- (6) What changes in the neighborhood have you seen that you attribute to Project R.O.A.R.?
- (7) Has the interest level among the housing authority, residents, business owners, police department changed over the last year? In which direction?
- (8) To what extent has Project R.O.A.R. expanded to include other residences outside the Parsons?
- (9) What kinds of assistance--through grants or any other funding sources--have you received--or applied for and not received?
- (10) To what extent has each of the following program components contributed to the implementation of Project R.O.A.R. at the present? [Interviewer: a description of the program elements as originally conceived is outlined after each heading.]
 - [a] Downtown N.R.O.
[responsible for conducting foot patrols, making contacts with residents and business owners, promoting business involvement in local community efforts, and focusing on disorder problems]
 - [b] Crime Prevention Center
[BlockWatch staff, tenant education and training, open houses to foster contact with Parsons tenants and neighborhood residents]
 - [c] West-First Avenue Improvement Committee

[created to become actively involved in eliminating drugs from the area; also responsible for planning and coordinating educational and training programs]

[d] Tenant Resource Coordinator
[acts as a liaison between tenants, the P.D., and other participating agencies; acts as an outreach person to neighborhood residents and businesses]

[e] Adopt the Tenants Program
[businesses will be encouraged to adopt the tenants in one of the multifamily buildings in their area; activities may include a monthly lunch, free bus passes, sponsoring or working on a neighborhood workshop, or other social events; the goal is to increase opportunities for partnership and identification with the local neighborhood]

[f] Target Hardening
[specific physical enhancements undertaken to the Parsons building as part of the crime prevention effort, and other efforts undertaken in the neighborhood in general]

[g] Other Program Elements
[some of the originally undefined aspects of the program, such as drug prevention programs, tenant crime prevention workshops, tenant newsletter, volunteer hall monitors, and volunteer escort plan, bicycle patrol]

- (11) Are there any other program elements of Project R.O.A.R. that have not yet been mentioned?

Appendix E
Chi-square Tables

Exhibit E-10

Parsons Residents' Perceptions of Building and Neighborhood

*Is the Parsons Building a place where people
mostly help one another or where people
mostly go their own way?*

	April '94	Nov '95
Help one another	34%	21%
Mixed/dk	34%	68%
Go own way	31%	11%
N	29	28

Chi-square = 6.8; $p \leq .05$

**Is the neighborhood itself a place where people
mostly help one another or where people
mostly go their own way?**

	April '94	Nov '95
Help one another	10%	4%
Mixed/dk	31%	75%
Go own way	59%	14%
N	29	28

Chi-square = 15.8; $p \leq .01$

Chi-square = .14; ns

Exhibit E-11

Satisfaction with Neighborhood

Overall, how satisfied are you with living in the neighborhood?

Parsons Residents

	April '94	Nov '95
Very satisfied - satisfied	14%	61%
Somewhat satisfied – very dissatisfied	86%	39%
N	29	28

Chi-square = 13.5; $p \leq .01$

City Residents

	Spring '94	Spring '95
Very satisfied - satisfied	74%	73%
Somewhat satisfied – very dissatisfied	26%	27%
N	1134	586

Chi-square = .26; ns

Exhibit E-13

Perceptions of Physical Changes within Neighborhood

*Have you noticed any physical changes in the area
within the last six months?*

Parsons Residents

		Dec '94		Nov '95
Yes (positive)		81%		79%
No/don't know		19%		21%
N		29		28

Chi-square = .07; ns

Exhibit E-14

Perceptions of Social Changes in Neighborhood

*Have you noticed any social changes in the area
within the last six months?*

Parsons Residents

		Dec '94		Nov '95
Yes (positive)		44%		36%
No/don't know		56%		64%
N		29		28

Exhibit E-15

Parsons Residents' Perceptions of Change in Neighborhood Crime and Disorder

Has drug-related crime increased, decreased, or remained unchanged in the last six months compared to the previous six months?

	Dec '94	Nov '95
Increased	16%	4%
Remained unchanged/dk	47%	25%
Decreased	38%	71%
N	29	28

Chi-square = 7.3; $p \leq .05$

Has street walking prostitution increased, decreased, or remained unchanged in the last six months, compared to the previous six months?

	Dec '94	Nov '95
Increased	3%	0%
Remained unchanged/dk	53%	29%
Decreased	44%	71%
N	29	28

Chi-square = 4.7; $p \leq .05$

Exhibit E-17

Feelings of Safety During the Day

How safe would you feel walking alone during the day in the neighborhood?

Parsons Residents

	April '94	Nov '95
Very safe/safe	41%	82%
Neither safe/unsafe – very unsafe	59%	18%
N	29	28

Chi-square = 10.0; $p \leq .01$

City Residents

	Spring '94	Spring '95
Very safe/safe	88%	88%
Neither safe/unsafe – very unsafe	12%	12%
N	1134	586

Chi-square = .09; ns

Exhibit E-18

Feelings of Safety at Night

*How safe would you feel walking alone
at night in the neighborhood?*

Parsons Residents

	April '94	Nov '95
Very safe – neither safe nor unsafe	17%	41%
Unsafe – very unsafe	83%	59%
N	29	28

Chi-square = 3.8; $p \leq .05$

City Residents

	Spring '94	Spring '95
Very safe – neither safe nor unsafe	76%	72%
Unsafe – very unsafe	24%	28%
N	1134	586

Chi-square = 5.0; $p \leq .05$

Exhibit E-21

Parsons Residents' Opinion of Police Department

What is your opinion of the Spokane Police Department?

	April '94	Nov '95
Very favorable - favorable	55%	89%
Unfavorable – very unfavorable/dk	44%	11%
N	29	28

Chi-square = 6.9; p ≤ .01

*Has your opinion of the SPD changed as a result
of their involvement with Project ROAR?*

	Dec '94	Nov '95
Yes (for better)	28%	54%
No/dk	72%	47%
N	32	28

Chi-square = 4.0; p ≤ .05

Exhibit E-22

Assessment of Level of Police Service

What is your opinion of the level of service provided by SPD?

Parsons Residents

	April '94	Nov '95
About right	41%	71%
Not adequate / dk	59%	29%
N	29	28

Chi-square = 5.2; $p \leq .05$

City Residents

	Spring '94	Spring '95
About right	36%	39%
Not adequate / dk	64%	61%
N	1134	586

Chi-square = .60; ns

Exhibit E-23

Contact with Police and Recognition of Officers

How frequently do you come into contact with the services provided by the SPD?

	April '94	Nov '95
Seldom	62%	68%
Occasionally	34%	4%
Quite often	3%	29%
N	29	28

Chi-square = 12.8; $p \leq .01$

Do you recognize or know any of the police officers working in the neighborhood?

Parsons Residents

	April '94	Nov '95
Yes	66%	46%
No	34%	54%
N	29	28

Chi-square = 2.1; ns

City Residents

	Spring '94	Spring '95
Yes	8%	5%
No	92%	95%
N	1134	586

Chi-square = 14.7; $p \leq .01$

Exhibit E-24

Parsons Residents' Perception of Increased Police Presence

*Have you noticed any changes in police presence
in the West First area in the last six months?*

		Dec '94		Nov '95
Yes (greater presence)		59%		96%
Less presence / no / dk		41%		4%
N		32		28

Chi-square = 11.5; $p \leq .01$

Exhibit E-25

Assessment of Number of Officers in Neighborhood

*Would you say that there are too many, too few,
or about the right number of police officers
in the neighborhood?*

Parsons Residents

	April '94	Nov '95
About right	46%	56%
Too few	54%	44%
N	26	25

Chi-square = .49; ns

City Residents

	Spring '94	Spring '95
About right	34%	37%
Too few	66%	63%
N	1134	586

Chi-square = 2.5; ns

ENDNOTES

¹ See Greene (1997) for a broader discussion of these and other strategies to improve the quality of life in and around public housing projects.

² While beyond the scope of this work, there is a growing body of theoretical and empirical research regarding the organizational change process from traditional policing to community policing. Both internal and external factors have been recognized as potential contributors and impediments to organizational change. For recent research see Wilkinson and Rosenbaum (1994), Wycoff and Skogan (1994), Greene et al. (1994), Zhao et al. (in press), and Zhao and Thurman (1996).

³ Here Eck and Rosenbaum (1994) describe activities such as demanding additional police presence, lobbying local government for services, and threatening business owners with civil suits in order to change physical conditions or behaviors.

⁴ While we lament the fact that other reported offenses were not included here (especially disorder offenses), we were limited in our data collection to those offenses where it was possible to determine "where" the offense occurred. In 1994 and 1995, this only was possible for burglaries, robberies, and sex offenses.

⁵ The inventory was modeled on the work of Perkins, Taylor and colleagues (Perkins, 1993).

⁶ It should be noted here that the social environment inventory actually continued simultaneously with the physical environment inventory, but focused only on "social incivility." Throughout the physical inventory, raters recorded the frequency of occurrence of the following behaviors on the block: loitering youths, young adults hanging out, panhandlers, open prostitution, open drug sales, and public drunkenness.

⁷ It should be noted here that these numbers include only formally organized social activities at the Parsons' building, and do not include any of the other informal gatherings among groups of residents.

⁸ While it simply was an oversight that age and gender were not recorded for the April, 1994, administration, it is the perception of the evaluation team that the interview respondents had not significantly changed for any of the three waves of interviews.

⁹ The actual gender breakdown for the entire population living in the Parsons' building is 50% female and 50% male.

¹⁰ Here, the resident reported that there seemed to be a "rougher crowd" in the neighborhood of late.

¹¹ The change from T1 to T4 among Parsons' respondents did not attain statistical significance.

¹² ANOVA was used in the analysis. This allows partitioning of the variance into differences between the areas, differences between the pre-implementation period and the implementation period, and the interaction between area and time period. It is the interaction between area and time period that is of interest as it suggests an effect beyond area differences and general trends. The only interaction that was significant was the contrast between ROAR and the city ($F=10.7$; Significance=.002).

¹³ These outreach efforts originally were a large part of the Project ROAR plan as outlined in the 1993 PHDEP grant application which was denied funding. Tenant empowerment activities and the hiring of a part-time resident resource coordinator for the purpose of "outreach" were officially approved for funding in April, 1995.

¹⁴ Of course, there are some residents, who for a variety of reasons, choose not participate in any of the social activities. By all accounts, this is the case with the minority of Parsons' residents. It is precisely these residents, however, from whom the Parsons' social committee attempts to elicit input in an effort to organize an event which might attract a resident who generally does not participate in social activities.

¹⁵ The volunteer who worked as resident coordinator for the initial period, was a graduate student at a local university. Drawing on the University resources reflects a community-based, problem-solving approach.

¹⁶ The "buddy system" is designed to allow residents to inform at least one other resident about his or her whereabouts in the event of any prolonged absence from the Parsons' building.

¹⁷ The butterfly program was designed to aid elderly residents and those with medical conditions. Residents who participate in this program are given a marker in the shape of a butterfly which they hang on their front door by 10 a.m. and take down by 10 p.m. BlockWatch floor representatives check for these markers in the morning and in the evening.

¹⁸ As part of their outreach effort, Parsons' residents in September, 1994, met with residents of another residential building in the project area to discuss how vertical BlockWatch could be established in their building.

¹⁹ These services included making referrals to other service providers in the area, recording and forwarding resident complaints, providing general information, and making available a "community access" computer.

²⁰ The move of the Greyhound bus station is discussed further within the context of the outcome evaluation below.

²¹ It should be emphasized here that the term "observer as participant" is construed to mean an observer who "interacts only sporadically and formally (with program participants). There is no attempt at actual participation" (Binder and Geis, 1983:126). Although it is difficult to pin-point exactly when this gradual shift from "complete observer" to "observer as participant" began, it did occur early on in the program monitoring phase of the evaluation, perhaps in February or March, 1994.

²² The significant decrease in the mean number of robberies in the project area from 1994 to 1995 virtually was the sole source of variance for the decrease in the combined total.

²³ Once again, however, this statement is highly speculative since it is impossible to determine from the available felony arrest data which arrests were the result of citizen reports and which arrests were the result of proactive sting operations.

²⁴ It should be noted here, however, that the felony drug arrest data include both reported crime, and unreported crime through special "sting" operations.

²⁵ The follow-up study is attempting to correct for these limitations.

²⁶ These characteristics indicate that the Parsons' public housing residents actually may be more vulnerable to fear of crime and actual victimization than a randomly selected cross-section of public housing residents.

²⁷ Despite this evidence, however, we acknowledge the importance of the maintenance of organizational initiatives and the potential for short-lived programs (Grinc, 1994; Lavrakas and Herz, 1982). The NIJ funded follow-up study should allow us to determine whether are statements are correct ones.

²⁸ Here problem-solving meetings include monthly resident association meetings, resident association committee meetings, West First Avenue Improvement Committee meetings, West First Avenue Business Owners' Association meetings, town hall meetings, and community policing substation planning meetings, among others. Only meetings formally organized by Project ROAR participants are included.

²⁹ Here, social activities include dinners and potlucks, special parties, resident lunch get-togethers, bingo nights, movie nights, Christian services and music, special outings, and rummage sales.